Hans E. Mayer

Kings and Lords in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

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Professor Hans Eberhard Mayer

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The articles in this volume, as in all others in the Collected Studies Series, have not been given a new, continuous pagination. In order to avoid confusion, and to facilitate their use where these same studies have been referred to elsewhere, the original pagination has been maintained wherever possible.

Each article has been given a Roman number in order of appearance, as listed in the Contents. This number is repeated on each page and quoted in the index entries.

PREFACE

In 1983 Variorum Publishers kindly undertook to publish two volumes of collected studies of mine, viz. *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten* (Collected Studies 171) and *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem* (Collected Studies 178). I am deeply grateful to Variorum Publishers and, in particular, to Dr John Smedley, for giving me the opportunity to follow this up with a third volume comprising 18 studies in German, English, and French published between 1982 and 1991.

As in the previous two volumes the studies reprinted here are not chronologically arranged but rather according to subject matter. My work on the edition of the charters of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem has led me time and again towards problems connected with the monarchy. Most of the studies in section I are owed to this work which is, at the moment, taking a big step forward as I am finishing the history of the chancery of the Latin Kings. Section II owes less to this edition. It deals to a large extent with a problem which, in 1959, baffled even as great a scholar as Joshua Prawer (*Le Moyen Age* vol. 65, p. 44): how did the lordships of the Latin kingdom come into existence? In investigating the lordships of Jaffa, Ramla–Lydda, Beirut, Caesarea, and Hebron I tried to show that the royal castellanies were one of the most important roots of the lordships. It seems to me that Martin Rheinheimer, *Das Kreuzfahrerfürstentum Galiläa* (1990) demonstrated this even for the early history of the principality of Galilee.

I should like to thank all publishers and editors of the periodicals in which the studies reprinted below were originally published, for granting the necessary reprint permissions. I should like to offer my thanks to my successive secretaries, Ms. Annelie Gutow and Ms. Ute Gudschun, for much and indispensable help with the original publication of these studies and with the current reprint. My thanks also go to Ms. Julia Goette who, with habitual painstaking care, compiled the index.

HANS EBERHARD MAYER

Kiel, July 1993

I

Die Hofkapelle der Könige von Jerusalem

Wie andere mittelalterliche Könige hatten auch die Kreuzfahrerkönige von Jerusalem ihre Hofkapelle. Daß sie gänzlich unerforscht ist, dürfte neben dem geringen Material auch damit zusammenhängen, daß nur in Deutschland die Hofkapelle der Herrscher ein zentrales Thema mittelalterlicher Forschung ist, so daß eigentlich auch nur hier ein größeres Interesse an der Hofkapelle von Jerusalem vorausgesetzt werden darf. Es kommt hinzu, daß sich Kapellenforschung nicht durchführen läßt, ohne der Frage nachzugehen, inwieweit es Beziehungen zwischen Kapelle und Kanzlei gab, was wiederum eine intime Kenntnis der Kanzleigeschichte voraussetzt, die mir durch meine im Manuskript abgeschlossene Geschichte der Kanzlei der Könige von Jerusalem zugewachsen ist. Das Thema der Kapelle kann also jetzt bearbeitet werden und bringt mehr Resultate, als man zuerst meint[1].

Als der Pilger Jakob von Verona 1335 nach Zypern kam, fand er dort eine königliche Kapelle mit 10 Kapellänen[2]: Jakob kommt nach Nikosia zum König, *qui omni dominico et festo in sua capella audit predicationes a*

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[1]) Der Erforschung der Hofkapelle hat begrifflich und methodisch den Weg gewiesen Hans-Walter Klewitz, Cancellaria. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des geistlichen Hofdienstes, DA 1 (1937) S. 44–79; ders., Königtum, Hofkapelle und Domkapitel im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert, AUF 16 (1939) S. 102–156; ders., Kanzleischule und Hofkapelle, DA 4 (1941) S. 224–228. Fundamental ist Josef Fleckenstein, Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige (Schriften der MGH 16), 2 Bände (1959–1966). Aus der weiteren Literatur verdienen für andere Regionen und Zeiträume hervorgehoben zu werden: Hans Martin Schaller, Die staufische Hofkapelle im Königreich Sizilien, DA 11 (1954/55) S. 462–505 und Reinhard Elze, Die päpstliche Kapelle im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert, ZRG KA 36 (1950) S. 145–204. Zur päpstlichen Kapelle in avignonesischer Zeit mit ihren vorwiegend liturgischen und musikalischen Funktionen siehe Bernhard Schimmelpfennig, Die Organisation der päpstlichen Kapelle in Avignon, QFIAB 50 (1971) S. 80–111. Zu bischöflichen Kapellen siehe Siegfried Haider, Das bischöfliche Kapellanat, Bd. 1 (MIÖG Ergänzungsband 25, 1977).

[2]) Jakob von Verona, Liber peregrinationis, hg. von Ugo Monneret de Villard (Il Nuovo Ramusio 1, 1950) S. 17.

religiosis: et ego coram eo predicavi. Et habet capellanos X, qui cotidie celebrant. Et ipse semper adest officio. Isti capellani sunt religiosi tres de ordine nostro (Augustinereremiten) *et duo Predicatores et alii seculares.* Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, daß auch die Kapelle des Königs von Jerusalem eine derartige Stärke erreichte, auch wenn wir niemals auch nur annähernd zehn Kapelläne gleichzeitig nachweisen können. Man möchte zunächst meinen, daß die höhere Finanzkraft des Königs von Zypern diesem auch mehr Kapelläne erlaubt hätte, aber hatte er mehr Geld, so hatte er weniger Domkapitel, und gerade diese scheint der König von Jerusalem zur Finanzierung seiner Kapelle verwendet zu haben (s. unten S. 505 f.). Auch deutet es auf einen Personenverband von mehr als minimaler Stärke, daß es in der Kapelle eine zweistufige Hierarchie von Kapellänen und Hofklerikern (s. unten S. 491) gab.

Auf dem ersten Kreuzzug hatten die hochmögenden Herren natürlich ihre Kapelläne, die häufig genug auch ihre Historiographen wurden. Kapellan Roberts II. von der Normandie war der Flandrer Arnulf von Chocques, der später zum Patriarchen von Jerusalem aufstieg, Graf Stephan von Blois diktierte seine Briefe seinem Kapellan Alexander. Der Graf von Toulouse hatte als Kapellan unter anderen den Chronisten Raimund von Aguilers in seinem Gefolge. Fulcher von Chartres schloß sich als Kapellan auf dem Kreuzzug dem Bruder Gottfrieds von Bouillon Balduin an und diente ihm erst in Edessa, später in Jerusalem. Der Chronist Radulf von Caen, ein Schüler Arnulfs von Chocques, stand in Epirus in den Diensten Boemunds von Antiochia und später im Osten in denen seines Neffen Tankred; daß er ihr Kapellan war, ist nicht bezeugt, aber wahrscheinlich. All das ist bekannt.

In der Aufzählung klafft eine auffallende Lücke: Gottfried von Bouillon[3]. Es ist nicht vorstellbar, daß der Herzog von Niederlothringen keinen Kapellan in seinem Gefolge gehabt haben sollte, wenn sein Bruder Balduin einen hatte. Ebensowenig ist es vorstellbar, daß er keinen eigenen Geistlichen gehabt haben sollte, wenn er schon auf dem Kreuzzug einen Kämmerer hatte[4]. Kurz vor dem Aufbruch zum Kreuzzug machte Gottfrieds Mutter Ida von Boulogne 1096 eine Schenkung an die Abtei Afflighem bei Brüssel,

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[3]) Orderic Vitalis, Historia ecclesiastica IX. 1, ed. Marjorie C h i b n a l l, The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Bd. 5 (1975) S. 6 berichtet, Fulcher sei der Kapellan Gottfrieds gewesen. Das ist natürlich eine Verwechslung mit dem Bruder Balduin, denn Fulcher kam erst nach Gottfrieds Tod nach Jerusalem, und schon Guibert von Nogent, Gesta Dei per Francos, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (künftig: RHC), Historiens occidentaux (künftig: Hoc) 4 S. 250 wußte, daß er zuvor mit Balduin in Edessa gewesen war.

[4]) Albert von Aachen, Historia Hierosolymitana VI. 27 RHC Hoc 4 S. 482.

die nicht nur von ihr, sondern auch von Gottfried besiegelt wurde, der also anwesend war. Unter den Zeugen war Idas Kapellan Lambert und ein Kapellan Robert, in dem Despy sicher mit Recht den Kapellan des Herzogs von Niederlothringen sah[5]. Auf dem Kreuzzug haben wir dann keine Spur mehr von ihm, aber es sei darauf verwiesen, daß ein Priester Robert 1112 ein Diplom Balduins I. von Jerusalem für die Johanniter schrieb[6].

Die *capella* der Könige von Jerusalem ist chronikalisch erstmals zum Jahre 1102 belegt (s. unten S. 494). Urkundlich müssen wir warten bis zum Jahre 1167, bis wir dem Wort *capella* als Institution begegnen, und dann nicht einmal bei den Königen von Jerusalem, sondern beim Patriarchen (RRH n° 431). Hier bekommen wir eine Hierarchie vorgeführt. Die Urkunde des Patriarchen Amalrich von Jerusalem wird von geistlicher Seite nämlich bezeugt von zwei Diakonen, einem einfachen Kleriker sowie *Rainaldus capellanus*[7] und *Iohannes clericus de capella.* Ein Kapellan nahm in der Kapelle des Patriarchen offenbar eine höhere Stellung ein als ein Kleriker der Kapelle, und der Aussteller mußte es genau wissen, war er doch selbst einst vor 1143 Kapellan der Königin Melisendis gewesen[8]. Man kann davon ausgehen, daß die Gebräuche der Hofkapelle auf die des Patriarchen abgefärbt hatten. Und in der Tat begegnen wir in der Unterfertigung von D.RRH n° 90 von 1120 bereits einem königlichen Hofkleriker: *Brando regis predicti clericus et cancellarii consanguineus fecit.* Das würde auch der Abstufung entsprechen, die wir in der Kapelle Philipps I. von Frankreich finden, wo Gau-

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[5]) E. de Mareffe, Cartulaire de l'abbaye d'Afflighem (Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de la Belgique, Section II, Fasz. 1, 1894) S. 13 n° 6. Georges Despy, Les actes des ducs de Basse-Lotharingie du XIe siècle, in: La maison d'Ardenne. Actes des Journées Lotharingiennes 24–26 octobre 1980 (Publications de la section historique de l'Institut G.-D. de Luxembourg 95, 1981) S. 127 Anm. 30. Jonathan Riley-Smith, The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading (1986) S. 79 und ders., The Crusades (1987) S. 47 hat behauptet, Abt Balduin von Josaphat, der später der erste Erzbischof von Caesarea wurde, sei Kapellan Gottfrieds gewesen. Davon kann nicht die Rede sein, Gottfried hätte sich auch sicher eine weniger bizarre Person (Guibert von Nogent S. 182) ausgesucht. Riley-Smith stützt sich auf Wilhelm von Tyrus, Chronique, hg. von R. B. C. Huygens, 2 Bände (CC Cont. med. 63–63 A, 1986; künftig WT), X. 15 (16), S. 472: *electo ibi archiepiscopo quodam Balduino, qui cum domino duce in expeditione venerat,* aber das heißt natürlich nicht, daß er sein Kapellan war, denn in Gottfrieds Kontingent marschierten viele Kleriker.

[6]) Reinhold Röhricht, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (1893; Additamentum 1904; künftig: RRH) n° 68 a.

[7]) So auch in RRH n° 430 entgegen dem dort angegebenen Druck von Delaville Le Roulx, der falsch *de Capellis* liest.

[8]) WT XVIII.20, S. 840.

frid vom *subcapellanus* zum *capellanus* aufstieg[9]. Tatsächlich haben wir von 1150 ein königliches Diplom, das von einem *regis capellanus* bezeugt und von einem *regis clericus* unterfertigt ist (RRH n° 258).

Kapelläne hatten in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten außer den Königen von Jerusalem im geistlichen Bereich (mit Ausnahme der Ritterorden) die Patriarchen von Jerusalem (RRH n° 182.183.215.251.430.431) und von Antiochia (RRH n°513.636. Elie Berger, Reg. d'Innocent IV n° 1608), von den Erzbischöfen der von Apamea (RRH n° 513), Caesarea (RRH n° 1234), Nazareth (RRH n° 198.529.594, vielleicht auch RRH n° 97.515), der Bischof von Akkon[10], der Bischof von Ramla[11], vielleicht der Bischof von Tiberias (RRH n° 142), der Bischof von Tortosa (RRH n° 874), schließlich der Abt von Josaphat und die Äbtissin von Bethanien (beide RRH n° 591 a), der Leprosenkonvent von St. Lazarus (RRH n° 251) und wohl auch der Vorsteher des Stifts im Templum Domini (RRH n° 213). Im weltlichen Bereich haben wir die Belege für einzelne Kapelläne der Könige von Zypern nicht zusammengestellt. In Antiochia und Tripolis finden wir fürstliche Kapelläne oder Hofkleriker (RRH n° 182.233.347.523.560.605 a.680.792.1235), zweimal sogar Pfalzkapelläne (RRH n° 194.195). Wir haben dann weiter unten in der sozialen Hierarchie Kapelläne der Herren von Transjordanien (RRH n° 279.454.551), von Ramla[12], von Haifa (RRH n° 418), von Toron (RRH n° 266), im Norden von Marash (RRH n° 390) und von Byblos (RRH n° 904).

Dabei ist es bezeichnend, daß es in dieser sozialen Schicht nur Kapelläne gibt, während die Bezeichnung *clericus* nicht ein einziges Mal vorkommt. Die großen und mittleren Barone, die wir aufgezählt haben, hatten natürlich einen Kapellan, der ihnen den Gottesdienst besorgte und die Urkunden schrieb, aber sie hatten im Gegensatz zu den Höfen in Antiochia und Jerusalem und ebensowenig wie die Bischöfe mit Ausnahme vielleicht des Pa-

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[9]) D. Philipps I. n° 30 von 1067. M. P r o u , Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier, roi de France (Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France, 1908) S. LXV. Siehe auch unten S. 503.

[10]) Jakob von Vitry, Lettres, hg. von R. B. C. H u y g e n s (1960) ep. II, S. 97. RRH n° 1323, vielleicht auch RRH n° 155.

[11]) RRH n° 594; vielleicht auch Erchenbert in RRH n° 360, dagegen-gegen Reinhold R ö h r i c h t , Syria sacra, Zs. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 10 (1887) S. 29 – sicher nicht Azo in RRH n° 360, da er ausweislich von RRH n° 333 Kapellan in Casale Balneorum war.

[12]) RRH n° 333 (Radulf). 335.360.472 (Petrus und Radulf). 611 (Alanus als Kapellan des siegelnden Herrn von Ramla; der Aussteller ist gemäß RH n° 597 der Kastellan von Ramla). Vielleicht schon in RRH n° 284 der Kapellan Alexander Apuliensis, denn der Aussteller Robert de Frandolio ist gemäß RRH n° 201 aus Ramla.

triarchen von Jerusalem keine institutionalisierte Kapelle mit einer Mehrzahl von darin dienenden Geistlichen. Der Kleriker, der sie versorgte, war ihr Kapellan; für eine hierarchische Abstufung war hier kein Platz mehr. Das bestärkt mich in der Annahme, daß bei Patriarch, König und Fürst die Differenzierung in Kapelläne und Hof- oder Kapellenkleriker eine reale Abstufung bedeutete.

Der erste uns wirklich bekannte Hofkapellan in Jerusalem ist der Chronist Fulcher von Chartres. Während des ersten Kreuzzuges schloß er sich in Marash 1098 Gottfrieds Bruder Balduin an und zog mit ihm nach Edessa. *Ego vero Fulcherus Carnotensis capellanus ipsius Balduini eram*[13]. Mit Balduin blieb er in Edessa, bis dieser im November 1100 nach Jerusalem zog, um als Balduin I. den Thron zu übernehmen. Fulcher war auf diesem Zug mit dabei, denn als man nördlich von Beirut am Hundefluß in eine sehr mißliche Situation geriet, machte er aus seinem Herzen keine Mördergrube: *ego quidem vel Carnoti vel Aurelianis mallem esse*[14]. Es war eine gewagte Textinterpretation, als Hagenmeyer aus Fulchers Beschreibung des Felsendomes[15] herauslas, Fulcher sei 15 Jahre lang im Templum Domini aus- und eingegangen, habe also dort eine Pfründe gehabt. Wilhelm von Tyrus hat seine Quelle Fulcher von Chartres jedenfalls anders verstanden[16], auch wenn es auffallend bleibt, in welchem Ausmaß Fulcher das Templum Domini in den Vordergrund seiner Beschreibung Jerusalems stellt. Hagenmeyer hat den Hofkapellan mit dem *Fulcherius clericus* identifiziert, der als Zeuge 1108 in einem Diplom Balduins I. erscheint[17]. Das ist aber zweifelhaft, einmal weil Fulcher mindestens als *clericus regis* bezeichnet worden wäre, zum andern weil er in der Kapelle die höhere Stufe des Kapellans erreicht hatte. Noch viel weniger wahrscheinlich ist es, daß Fulcher von Chartres auch zu identifizieren ist mit dem Prior Fulcher des Ölbergstifts von 1112 (RRH n° 68), zumal der Ölberg in Fulchers Chronik nahezu keine Rolle spielt. Wegen seiner Bewunderung für den Felsendom hat die Spekulation, Fulcher sei dort versorgt worden, noch die höchste Wahrscheinlichkeit. Jedenfalls gehörte er nach dem Zeugnis des Bartolf von Nangis, der vor 1109 in

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[13]) Fulcher von Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana I. 14. 15., hg. von Heinrich Hagenmeyer (1913) S. 215; als Kapellan Balduins I. von Jerusalem bezeichnen ihn auch Guibert von Nogent, RHC Hoc 4 S. 250, Wilhelm von Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum, hg. von William Stubbs (Rolls Series), 2 (1889) S. 434.

[14]) Fulcher von Chartres II. 2. 4, S. 360.

[15]) *Cum in Templi medio, quando prius intravimus et postea per XV fere annos, rupes quaedam ibi nativa habebatur,* der dann *postea* mit einer Marmorplatte überdeckt wurde; Fulcher von Chartres I. 26. 7–9, S. 287, 289 f. Hagenmeyer, ebd., S. 287 Anm. 18.

[16]) WT VIII. 3, S. 387.

[17]) RRH n° 52. Hagenmeyer (wie Anm. 13) S. 2.

Jerusalem schrieb, dem Regularklerus an, denn Bartolf nennt ihn *frater Fulcherus Carnotensis*[18]. Urkunden hat er für den König nicht verfaßt; seine Aufgabe war die Historiographie[19].

Neben Fulcher wirkte, jedenfalls 1102, ehe er Archidiakon von Jerusalem wurde, Arnulf von Chocques als Reliquienverwalter in der königlichen Kapelle. Die kurz nach 1124 geschriebene Chronik von St.-Pierre-le-Vif in Sens berichtet vom Grafen Stephan von Blois, er habe 1102 in Jerusalem den König um Reliquien gebeten. *Rex vocavit Arnulfum scriniarium suum et ait ei, ut quicquid scriniarii in capella sua eligerat* (scil. Stephan), *totum absque mora sibi tribueret*[20]. *Scriniarius* ist hier natürlich nicht der Archivar, sondern der Reliquienkustos der königlichen Kapelle oder des königlichen Schatzes[21]. Eine solche Stellung lag für Arnulf umso näher, als er auch Reliquienkustos des Hl. Grabes war[22]. Um 1190 ist die Kapelle von Jerusalem als Reliquienhort auch in einem von einem französischen Pilger verfaßten Reliquienverzeichnis der kaiserlichen Palastkapelle in Konstantinopel bezeugt. Bei der Erwähnung der Nägel vom Kreuz Christi, die auch König Amalrich von Jerusalem 1171 gezeigt bekam, weist der Berichterstatter darauf hin, zwei davon würden in Frankreich verehrt, *tercius, inquam, cum tenaliis, quibus devotissime Nichodemus cum Ioseph corpus domini Ihesu avulsit de ligno, in capella regis Ierusalem cum corpore ipsius Ioseph habetur*[23].

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[18]) Bartolf von Nangis, Gesta Francorum expugnantium Iherusalem, RHC Hoc 3 S. 492.

[19]) Ein Zusatz zur Chronik des Raimund von Aguilers in der aus dem 13. Jh. stammenden Hs. Paris, Arsenal 103 H (RHC Hoc 3 S. 309) nennt *Fulcherius eiusdem regis Balduini notarius,* wofür es aber an jedem Hinweis gebricht. Insbesondere ist es unmöglich, in Fulchers Chronik den Stil der ersten (anonymen) Diktatgruppe der jerusalemitanischen Königsurkunden zu finden, die allein für eine Zuschreibung an Fulcher in Betracht käme.

[20]) Chronique de Saint-Pierre-le-Vif de Sens dite de Clarius, hg. von Robert-Henri Bautier und Monique Gilles (Sources de l'histoire médiévale de France, 1979) S. 186.

[21]) So schon Jean Richard, Quelques textes sur les premiers temps de l'Eglise latine de Jérusalem, Recueil de travaux offert à M. Clovis Brunel (Mémoires et documents publ. par la Société de l'Ecole des Chartes 12), 2 (1955), S. 422. Bautier übersetzt *scriniarius* sicherlich richtig mit „le garde de son trésor"; so schon Heinrich Hagenmeyer, Chronologie du royaume latin de Jérusalem, Revue de l'Orient latin 11 (1905–1908) S. 151 f. n° 636. Vgl. Ducange, Glossarium 7, 368 s. v. scrinium. *Quicquid scriniarii* (*sanctuarii* in der älteren Edition) heißt hier Reliquiar.

[22]) Albert von Aachen VI. 39, S. 489. Albert X. 48, S. 653 nennt Arnulf *clericus et cancellarius regis.* Letzteres ist ganz bestimmt verkehrt, ersteres könnte richtig sein und *regis* könnte sowohl auf *clericus* wie auf *cancellarius* zu beziehen sein. Als Archidiakon von Jerusalem begegnet Arnulf erstmals im Herbst 1102; Albert IX. 16, S. 599.

[23]) WT XX.23, S. 944. Descriptio sanctuarii Constantinopolitani bei P. Riant, Exu-

Der Hofkleriker Brando, der 1120 das Diplom RRH n° 90 verfaßte (s. oben S. 491), ist das nächste Mitglied der Kapelle, das uns bekannt ist. In der Kapelle hatte ihn wohl die Verwandtschaft mit dem Kanzler Paganus untergebracht. In der Kanzlei war er aus besonderen Gründen nur einen Monat lang aushilfsweise als Urkundenkonzipient tätig, aber er scheint schon länger Diplome, die der Kanzler selbst diktiert hatte, mundiert zu haben[24].

Im Jahre 1123, als Graf Joscelin I. von Edessa in Gefangenschaft geraten war, marschierte der König Balduin II. zur Entlastung Edessas dorthin, so berichtet ein Brief des Erzbischofs von Edessa an seinen Kollegen in Reims (RRH n° 103). In seiner Begleitung befand sich der königliche Kapellan E., dessen vollen Namen wir nicht wissen. Es handelt sich jedenfalls nicht um einen Lesefehler für F. = Fulcher (von Chartres), denn bei diesem Unternehmen wurde der König im Frühjahr 1123 selbst gefangengenommen, und Fulcher befand sich in Jerusalem, als die Nachricht eintraf[25]. Dieser E. war ein vorsichtiger Mann, denn neben seiner Stellung als Kapellan Balduins II. war er außerdem noch Kapellan in Reims, hatte also eine Basis in der Heimat beibehalten. Jetzt erwirkte er in Edessa Reliquien für die heimatliche Kirche. Die Familie Balduins II. hatte enge, wenn auch nicht immer glückliche Beziehungen zur Kirche von Reims gehabt. Die ihr gehörende Grafschaft Rethel in den Ardennen gehörte kirchlich zu Reims, und Balduins Bruder Gervasius hatte 1106 einen letztlich erfolglosen, aber hartnäckigen Versuch unternommen, Erzbischof von Reims zu werden. Es lag also durchaus nahe, wenn sich Balduin II. einen Hofkapellan aus Reims holte. Urkunden hat auch er nicht geschrieben.

Um den Jahreswechsel 1124/1125 beurkundete *Ogerus clericus in Turre David* einen Hausverkauf in Jerusalem (RRH n° 110). Daß er in Beziehung zum König stand, wird nicht gesagt, ist aber offenkundig, denn der Davidsturm war die Zitadelle von Jerusalem. Er braucht deshalb nicht zur Hofkapelle gehört zu haben, sondern man wird ihn eher als königlichen Burgpriester anzusprechen haben. Ein solcher erscheint erneut 1176, als Balduin IV. einem gewissen Wilhelm Lovella unter Fixierung des Einkommens das ihm

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viae sacrae Constantinopolitanae 2 (1878) 216 n° 6. Eine in der Sache identische Nachricht findet sich schon bei P. C. B o e r e n , Rorgo Fretellus et sa Description de la Terre Sainte (1980) S. 41 Anm. d. Das ist wahrscheinlich früher anzusetzen, aber die Überlieferungslage des Werks ist kompliziert, und die Entstehungszeit scheint mir noch nicht hinreichend geklärt.

[24]) Dazu demnächst Hans E. M a y e r , Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem.

[25]) Fulcher von Chartres III. 16. 2, S. 659: *Rumor iste usque ad nos in Hierusalem diffusus est.*

schon von König Amalrich auf Lebenszeit verliehene Amt des Kapellans in den beiden Burkapellen in Jaffa bestätigte[26]. Ich halte Wilhelm nach wie vor für einen Kleriker und den eigentlichen Burgpriester, aber da es nicht gesagt wird, könnte es sich auch um die – dann freilich skandalöse – Belehnung eines Laien mit der Kapellanie gehandelt haben. Wilhelm hatte nämlich einen Kleriker als Vikar, da beiden die Speisung am Tische des Burgherren bewilligt wurde, wenn dieser selbst in der Burg war. Einer der beiden war auf alle Fälle königlicher Burgpriester. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß eine solche Ernennung *ad vitam* sein konnte. Das scheint nämlich auch für andere Hofämter gegolten zu haben, worauf ich in der Kanzleigeschichte zurückkommen werde. Zur Hofkapelle gehörten die Burgpriester anscheinend nicht, da sie ja ortsgebunden waren und daher dem reisenden Hof nicht folgen konnten. Aber wie RRH n° 110 zeigt, spannte der König sie in anderer Weise ein, hier als Urkundenschreiber für die in Entstehung begriffene freiwillige Gerichtsbarkeit des Stadtherren in der Hauptstadt.

Ein Petrus *capellanus meus* bezeugte 1130/1131 ein Diplom Balduins II. (RRH n° 137). Er dürfte identisch sein mit dem Zeugen Petrus *capellanus* in dem Diplom König Fulkos RRH n° 174 von Anfang 1138 und mit Petrus *reginae capellanus* in Fulkos Diplom RRH n° 179 von Ende 1138. Als die Kanzlei um 1150 vorübergehend zu existieren aufgehört hatte und zwei rivalisierende Schreibstuben des Königs und seiner Mutter an ihre Stelle getreten waren, unterfertigte Daniel *clericus regis, frater Salientis in Bonum Hugonis* ein Diplom Balduins III. (RRH n° 258). Dieser Bruder spielte wenig später eine gewisse Rolle in der Bourgeoisie von Jerusalem. Im selben Diplom finden wir noch einen Königskapellan Adam als Zeugen, und der gleichfalls in der Zeugenliste verankerte Wilhelm *elemosinarius regis* war doch vermutlich ein Geistlicher und auch Mitglied der Kapelle. Diese hatte also in schwieriger Zeit beim König ausgeharrt. Im Gegenzuge erging im gleichen Jahre eine Urkunde der Königinmutter Melisendis (RRH n° 262) durch die Hand ihres Kapellans Friedrich *(per manum Frederici ℭ;* die Auflösung der bisherigen Drucke zu *cancellarii* verbietet sich, da Melisendis nie einen eigenen Kanzler ernannte). Nach ihrem Sturz 1152 diente der Melisendis als Urkundenschreiber Guido *reginae clericus* (RRH n° 313.359). Als die Kanzlei wiederbelebt war, begegnen uns 1160 in den Diplomen RRH n° 352.353 Balduins III. ein Philipp *domni regis capellanus* und ein Stephan *regiae cancellariae secretarius.* Bei RRH n° 353 steht in Vat. lat. 4947 fol.

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[26]) RRH n° 538; vgl. Hans E. M a y e r, Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem (Schriften der MGH 26, 1977) S. 212–214.

57[r] das Wort *secretarius* auf Rasur von *capellanus*[27]. Man muß sich aber hüten, hieraus etwa auf eine Verbindung von Kanzlei und Kapelle zu schließen. Stephan war Kanzleimann, hatte aber, soweit wir wissen, mit der Kapelle nichts zu tun, nicht einmal mit der Secrète, der königlichen Finanzbehörde, obwohl auch das vermutet worden ist[28]. Das Wort *capellanus* ist dem Schreiber in die Feder gerutscht, weil unmittelbar zuvor der Königskapellan Philipp erwähnt ist.

In den Jahren 1176 und 1177 wurden vier Königsurkunden Balduins IV. geschrieben vom Königskapellan Lambert (RRH n° 537.538.552.553 a). Es war ein arger Fehler Röhrichts, daß er ihn in seinem Regest RRH n° 552 als Kanzler auswies. Er leitete zwar faktisch die Kanzlei, aber nur weil der Kanzler Wilhelm von Tyrus dies nicht durfte[29]. Seine eigenen Dictamina stellte Lambert in der Kanzlei jedoch nicht her. Zu angeblich 1186 ist ein Königspriester Jocius (Joscius?) bezeugt, der aber von einem Fälscher offenbar ohne Vorbild erfunden wurde (RRH n° 650). Das letzte festländische Diplom des Königs Guido von Jerusalem (RRH n° 702) ist während eines Feldzuges nach Jaffa unterfertigt von dem Königskapellan Gerhard. Allerdings hat der Kapellan hier nur den Datar vertreten, diktiert hat das Stück nachweislich ein anderer. Aimerich, König von Zypern und von Jerusalem schickte 1198 einen Kleriker als Gesandten an den Papst. Dieser teilte dem König am 21. Dezember 1198 mit, er habe *J. clericum et nuntium serenitatis regiae* empfangen[30]. Möglicherweise war dieser J. Mitglied der Hofkapelle, und dann der jerusalemitanischen, nicht der zyprischen, da der Papstbrief ohne Erwähnung des zyprischen Königstitels an den König von Jerusalem adressiert ist. Ein zu 1212 bezeugter Königskapellan Guido ist eine freie Erfindung eines Fälschers (RRH n° 855).

Als letzter der Reihe bezeugte ein *magister Balduinus regius clericus* 1214 eine Urkunde des Thaborabtes (RRH n° 871). In dem Spurium RRH n° 747 wird er als Kapellan des Königs bezeichnet und steht an der Stelle des Datars. Wo sich Balduin in echten Diplomen selber nannte, hat er nur den Namen angegeben und gar keine Funktion dazugesetzt (RRH n° 746.853:

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[27]) Nicht, wie Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 15, 1984) S. 121 Anm. a behauptet, auf Rasur von *cancellarius*. Selbst auf einem schlechten Foto ist der Abstrich des *p* deutlich zu erkennen.

[28]) Jonathan Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277 (1973) S. 58 mit Anm. 159. Zu Stephan siehe künftig meine Kanzleigeschichte.

[29]) Vgl. einstweilen Rudolf Hiestand, Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus, DA 34 (1978) S. 356 f.

[30]) Potthast 486.

Nota Balduini gegen die meisten Drucke, die *notarius Balduinus* lesen). Auch bezeugte er 1207 als *Iherusalem regius notarius* eine Urkunde des Patriarchen von Jerusalem (RRH n°824). Als am 21. September 1206 Maria la Marquise, die Thronerbin von Jerusalem, an Peter II. von Aragon zur Ehe versprochen wurde, da wurde dies unter anderem beschworen von *magister Balduinus clericus et assisius regni* (nicht *regis*, weil es nach dem Tode König Aimerichs 1205 vorübergehend keinen König gab)[31]. Balduin war also kein Hofkapellan, sondern nur Hofkleriker, hatte aber eine Pfründe vom König erhalten[32]. Balduin ist das einzige Mitglied der Kapelle, das eine Kanzleikarriere machte.

Neben den Kapellänen des Königs stehen auch noch die der Königinnen. Den Kapellan Petrus der Königin Melisendis haben wir schon erwähnt, ebenso ihre Kapelläne Amalrich und Friedrich und ihren Kleriker Guido. Dieser Amalrich ist der einzige uns bekannte Kapellan, der mit Sicherheit den Sprung in den Episkopat schaffte, und das gleich zum Patriarchat. Wahrscheinlich stieg aber auch Friedrich, der Kapellan der Melisendis aus dem Jahre 1150, zum Bischof auf, denn zwischen 1148 und 1153 wurde ein gewisser Friedrich Bischof von Akkon; 1164 wurde er Erzbischof von Tyrus. Die Wahl zum Bischof von Akkon erfolgte also möglicherweise noch vor dem Sturz der Melisendis 1152. Friedrich war ein Lothringer aus dem Hause der Grafen von Namur und war Archidiakon von Lüttich gewesen, ehe er ins Hl. Land kam. Er hätte also für einen Urkundenmann die nötige Erfahrung mitgebracht und wäre der Königinmutter auch sonst angenehm gewesen, denn sie ernannte einen anderen Lothringer, Manasses von Hierges aus dem Hause der Grafen von Rethel, zu ihrem Konstabler. Friedrich stand seit 1153 durchaus im Lager des gegen Melisendis siegreichen Königs und später seines Nachfolgers. Aber als 1157 mit massiver Einflußnahme der Melisendis ihr einstiger Kapellan Amalrich von Nesle zum Patriarchen von Jerusalem gewählt wurde, beauftragte er Bischof Friedrich von Akkon, seine Sache in Rom gegen die Appellation des Erzbischofs von Caesarea und des Bischofs von Bethlehem zu vertreten. Friedrich setzte beim Papst das Pallium für Amalrich durch, unterstützt von massiven Geldgaben[33].

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[31]) Dazu J. V i n c k e, Der Eheprozeß Peters II. vonAragon, in: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens (Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft Reihe 1, Bd. 5, 1935) S. 166.

[32]) Zu *assisius* = Pfründeninhaber siehe M a y e r, Bistümer (wie Anm. 26) S. 213.

[33]) WT XVIII.20, S. 840 f. zur Wahl Amalrichs und zur Intervention Friedrichs. Zur Herkunft Friedrichs Alberich von Troisfontaines, Chronik, MGH 23, S. 853. Zu Manasses von Hierges siehe WT XVII.13, S. 777 und demnächst Hans E. M a y e r, Manasses of Hierges in East and West, Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire.

Was hätte näher gelegen, als daß ein ehemaliger Kapellan der Königin einen anderen mit seiner Interessenwahrung beauftragt hätte? Friedrich vertrat hier neben den Interessen des Patriarchen eher die Linie der Königinmutter als die des Königs, da der appellierende Bischof von Bethlehem gleichzeitig der Kanzler des Königs war.

Von anderen Königinnen sind Kapelläne oder Kleriker nicht bezeugt, aber sie werden sie wohl gehabt haben. Schließlich hatte auch die Gräfin von Tripolis ihren eigenen Kapellan (RRH n° 217). Dagegen steht der zu 1180 bezeugte Kapellan der Herrin von Transjordanien in einer Fälschung[34], obwohl sie sich zweifellos einen solchen Kapellan leisten konnte. Ob die Geistlichen der Königinnen Mitglieder der königlichen Kapelle waren oder ob die Königinnen ihre eigene Kapelle oder lediglich Hauskapelläne hatten wie der hohe Adel, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis. Am ehesten wird man bei der Königin Melisendis eine eigene Kapelle vermuten dürfen, weil sie ab etwa 1150 ohnehin ihren eigenen Haushalt mit eigenen Funktionären kreierte[35] und ihr nach ihrem Sturz in ihrer Apanage Nablus die königliche Kapelle nicht mehr zur Verfügung stand.

Die Kapelle als Personenverband befand sich dort, wo der König weilte, dem sie den Gottesdienst zu halten hatte. Das bedeutet nicht, daß alle Mitglieder den König auf seinen Reisen begleitet hätten. Im Jahre 1100 reiste Fulcher von Chartres mit seinem König bis ans Tote Meer und nach Petra. Im September 1101 folgte er Balduin I. in die Schlacht bei Ramla *(sicut ipse propius astans cernebam)* und nahm zu Mariae Geburt 1101 im Zelt des Königs an der Messe teil. Der alternde Fulcher aber – er starb wohl 1127, hatte aber 1125 bereits ein Alter von 66 Jahren – blieb ausweislich seiner eigenen Chronik oft genug zu Hause in Jerusalem, nicht nur unter Balduin II., dessen Kapellan er vielleicht nicht mehr war, sondern beispielsweise auch bei dem Zug Balduins I. ans Rote Meer 1116, als sich Fulcher später von Teilnehmern Bericht erstatten ließ. Auch als der König 1105 die dritte Schlacht bei Ramla schlug, war Fulcher in Jerusalem und betete *(ego quoque cum ipsis nudipes orabam)*[36].

Fulchers Tätigkeit ist die klassische eines Hofkapellans. Wenn seine Pflichten im täglichen Hofdienst ihm Zeit lassen, schreibt er die Geschichte

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[34]) RRH n° 596; Hans E. Mayer, Die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron, Zs. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 101 (1985) S. 79 f.

[35]) Hans E. Mayer, Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 26 (1972) S. 147.

[36]) Fulcher von Chartres II. 5. 1, S. 377; II. 5. 8, S. 381; II. 11. 11, S. 414; II. 13. 1, S. 417 f.; III. 44. 3, S. 771 (Fulchers Alter); II. 56. 4, S. 595; II. 31. 12, S. 494.

seines Königs und der Dynastie. Wenn seine Gesundheit es ihm erlaubt, folgt er dem König, auch in den Krieg – und ein Held war Fulcher nicht – und in die unwirtlichen Regionen von Edom. Unterwegs gehört die Teilnahme am Hofgottesdienst und wohl auch dessen Abhaltung zu seinen Obliegenheiten.

Dabei ist es interessant, daß der Gottesdienst zu Mariae Geburt 1101 in einem Zelt stattfand. Natürlich mag es Anfang September für eine Messe unter freiem Himmel noch zu heiß gewesen sein. Andererseits ist gar nicht sicher, daß die in *papilione regis* abgehaltene Messe wirklich im Privatzelt des Königs stattfand. Die Kapelle brauchte ja auch im Felde eine Örtlichkeit, an der sich ihre tägliche liturgische Funktion erfüllen konnte, auch dann wenn der König in seinem Zelt das Reich regierte. Weilte der Herrscher im Frieden in seinen Städten, so amtierten die Kapelläne liturgisch natürlich in den Palastkirchen oder den Burgkapellen. Aber für den Krieg sind uns Zeltkapellen bezeugt. Der deutsche König Konrad III. verlor vor Damaskus 1148 seine Zeltkapelle, die aus Atlas gewirkt war und angeblich auf 200 Maultieren transportiert wurde. War dies gewiß übertrieben, so wird es richtig gewesen sein, wenn ihr erhebliche Goldvorräte (200.000 Dinar) zugeschrieben wurden[37]. In der Kapelle befand sich eben die Reichskriegskasse. Friedrich Barbarossa benutzte 1162 vor Mailand das große Prunkzelt, das ihm Heinrich II. von England geschenkt hatte, als Kapelle für den Gottesdienst[38]. Eine solche Zeltkapelle muß es daher auch gewesen sein, die König Balduin III. von Jerusalem im Juni 1157 am Hula-See in Obergalilaea verlor[39]. Auch hier werden die Reichtümer der Kapelle hervorgehoben.

Daß sich der Schatz in der Kapelle befand, war üblich. Für den Reliquienhort des Königs haben wir es bereits oben S. 494 zu 1102 gesehen. Ein berühmter Fall eines Verlusts einer Feldkapelle trug sich 1194 in Europa zu, als Philipp II. Augustus von Frankreich Schatz, Kapelle und Archiv an Richard Löwenherz verlor: *Captus est etiam regis Franciae thesaurus magnus et capella regia et cartae universorum hominum regis Angliae, qui se dederant regi Franciae et comiti Iohanni* (= Johann ohne Land) *contra eum*[40]. Die

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[37]) Ibn al-Furāt, Tārīkh al-Duwal w'al-Mulūk. Diese Passage nur ediert bei J. Karabacek, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mazyaditen (1874) S. 122 (deutsche Übersetzung S. 123).

[38]) Rahewin, Gesta Friderici imperatoris III. 7, hg. von G. Waitz und B. von Simson, MGH SS rer. germ. (³1912) S. 171.

[39]) Abū Šāma, Livre des deux jardins, RHC Historiens orientaux 4 S. 89.

[40]) Roger von Hoveden, Chronica, hg. von William Stubbs, Bd. 3 (Rolls Series 51, 3, 1870) S. 256.

Kostbarkeiten, die zu einer Kapelle gehören konnten, hebt schon Guibert von Nogent zum Kreuzzug von 1101 hervor[41]: *Erat in eo quidem archiepiscopus Mediolanensis excercitu, qui capellam beati Ambrosii, planetam scilicet et albam, si qua alia nescio, secum tulerat; auro tantique pretii gemmis ornatam, ut nusquam terrarum repperire quis huic valeret aequandam.* Ähnlich kostbare Bestände der Kapelle der Patriarchen von Jerusalem beeindruckten 1184–1185 Radulf Niger[42]: *Vidi capellam eius* (scil. des Patriarchen Eraklius), *cui similem nusquam viderim neque adeo pretiosam. In summa, similem apparatum non habuit ullus occidui orbis patriarcha.* Und schon am 27. Juni 1119, am Vorabend der Schlacht bei Tell Danīṯ, beriet sich der Fürst von Antiochia *vocato secreto cancellario,* was man mit den kostbaren Geräten im Heer *(vasa pretiosa et omnis supellex onerosa)* tun solle[43]. Analog zu den anderen zitierten Beispielen muß man vermuten, daß es um die Bestände der fürstlichen Kapelle ging. Es wäre dann aufschlußreich, daß der Kanzler gefragt werden mußte, weil er offenbar eine Leitungsfunktion dort hatte. Für Jerusalem ist dies viel schwieriger zu beurteilen. Immerhin fällt auf, daß man umgekehrt auf Mitglieder der Kapelle zurückgriff, wenn man keine Kanzlei hatte (RRH n° 258.262.313.359) oder zumindest keinen Kanzler (RRH n° 537.538.552.553 a. 702).

Die beiden Fälle sind freilich grundverschieden voneinander. Hatte man keine Kanzlei, so hatte man keinen Kanzler, aber auch keinen Kanzleinotar (außer unter dem König Johann von Brienne, als der Kanzlerposten unbesetzt blieb, gleichwohl aber ein Notar amtierte). Wir glauben daher, daß die in der ersten Gruppe auftretenden Kapelläne und Hofkleriker Daniel, Friedrich, Guido nicht nur Datare waren, sondern auch Diktatoren, während Lambert und Gerhard in der zweiten Gruppe sich nachweislich der vorhandenen Kanzleinotare für die Dictamina bedienten, also die Kanzlei nur formal leiteten. Der erste Fall war ein Notstand, der zweite wohl das übliche Verfahren zur Überbrückung einer wirklichen und daher auch legalen Kanzleivakanz zwischen zwei Kanzlern, aber auch einer nur faktischen und daher wohl illegalen Kanzleivakanz, in der ein amtierender Kanzler aus der Kanzlei ferngehalten wurde. Es lag natürlich nahe, gerade wenn die Vakanz an sich illegal war, für eine solche Tätigkeit die an die Person des Königs

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[41]) Guibert von Nogent S. 244.

[42]) Radulf Niger, De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitanae, hg. von Ludwig Schmugge (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 6, 1966) S. 194.

[43]) Walter der Kanzler, Bella Antiochena II. 3. 6 f., hg. von Heinrich Hagenmeyer (1896) S. 84 f.

gebundenen Kapelläne heranzuziehen, denn abgesehen von der Frage der Loyalität brauchte man sich ja nur im Lande umzusehen, um unterhalb des Königs auf die vertraute Erscheinung des Kapellans oder Hausgeistlichen zu stoßen, der für seinen Herrn Urkunden entwarf oder schrieb. Wir zählen auf RRH n° 636 des Patriarchen von Antiochia, RRH n° 381 des Bischofs von Valania, dem ein Templerkapellan eine Urkunde schrieb, was ein anderer Templerkapellan für den Bischof von Tortosa besorgte[44], RRH n° 708.869 des Johannitermeisters, RRH n° 347.523.524.605 a.633.680.792 des Fürsten von Antiochia in eigener Sache und RRH n° 560, das von einem fürstlichen Kleriker für den Herrn von Margat geschrieben wurde, *quia cancellarium non habebamus*, RRH n° 233 des Grafen von Tripolis, RRH n° 279.454.551 des Herrn von Transjordanien, RRH n° 611, das der Kapellan des Herrn von Ramla für dessen Kastellan schrieb, RRH n° 390 des Herrn von Marash und RRH n° 904 des Herrn von Byblos. Selbst der Vizegraf von Tripolis hatte einen Hauspriester, der ihm Urkunden schrieb (RRH n° 527).

Die Heranziehung von Mitgliedern der königlichen Kapelle zur Abdeckung einer Kanzleivakanz, insbesondere wenn diese Tätigkeit nur formalen Charakter hatte und nicht zu einer wirklichen Beteiligung am Urkundengeschäft führte, mag auch mitbedingt gewesen sein von einer Leitungsfunktion realer oder formaler Art, die der Kanzler über die Kapelle ausübte. Das hätte der Situation der potentiellen Vorbilder entsprochen, die vor allem in Sizilien und Frankreich zu suchen sind. Für Sizilien hat Brühl gezeigt, daß Verbindungen zwischen Kapelle und Kanzleinotaren nicht existieren, wohl aber solche zwischen Kapelle und Kanzler[45]. Der erste Kanzler Rogers II. war sein *magister capellanus* Guarinus, der auch als Kanzler die Leitung der Kapelle beibehielt. Danach führte anscheinend der Königskapellan Heinrich die Geschäfte des Kanzlers, ohne formal zu diesem Amt ernannt zu sein. Auch der *magister capellanus* Thomas Brown scheint unter dem Kanzler Robert von Selby einmal als Vertreter des Kanzlers fungiert zu haben. Mit der Ausnahme des Guarinus ist die Verbindung

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[44]) Jonathan Riley-Smith, The Templars and the Castle of Tortosa in Syria: an Unknown Document Concerning the Acquisition of the Fortress, The English Historical Review 84 (1969) S. 288. Es ist ein Irrtum des Herausgebers, daß dieses Stück von Graf Raimund III. von Tripolis ausgestellt wurde. Es ist eine Einigung zwischen dem Templermeister und dem Bischof vonTortosa und der letztere hat es besiegelt. Der Graf gab nur seinen Konsens.

[45]) Carlrichard Brühl, Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II. von Sizilien (Studien zu den normannisch-staufischen Herrscherurkunden Siziliens. Beihefte zum ‚Codex diplomaticus regni Siciliae' 1, 1978) S. 44–51.

zwischen Kapelle und Kanzlei also locker, aber sie ist vorhanden und geht zu den Dataren, d. h. zu den Kanzlern, nicht zu den Notaren, die seit Wido in Sizilien ja Laien waren. Die sizilischen Verhältnisse werden in Jerusalem wohl bekannt gewesen sein, und dies nicht erst seit 1167, als der gestürzte sizilische Kanzler Stephan von Perche sich ins Hl. Land rettete[46].

Wahrscheinlich war aber noch einflußreicher das kapetingische Modell. Dort dirigierte Balduin, der Kanzler Heinrichs I. und Philipps I., unter ersterem als Erzkapellan auch die Kapelle. Auch waren zwei der Notare Philipps I., Eustach und Gaufrid, in der Kapelle des Königs etabliert. Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts war die Emanzipation der Kanzlei von der Kapelle komplett, die Zwischenstadien sind nicht erforscht[47]. Diesen Zustand lernte der spätere Kanzler von Jerusalem Wilhelm von Tyrus bei seinen Universitätsstudien in Paris natürlich kennen, aber auch hier kann es nicht bis zu seiner Rückkehr in den Osten 1165 gedauert haben, bis sich dies in Jerusalem herumgesprochen hatte.

Wir haben nun neben der Heranziehung von Kapellänen zur formalen Überbrückung einer Kanzleivakanz und neben der antiochenischen Analogie (s. oben S. 501) noch ein schwaches Indiz dafür, daß – jedenfalls zur Zeit Wilhelms von Tyrus – der Kanzler auch der erste Kapellan des Königs war. Als im Sommer 1177 Markgraf Wilhelm von Montferrat starb, der durch seine Heirat mit der Schwester des kinderlosen Königs 1176 Thronfolger geworden war, *magnifice satis per nostrum ministerium tumulatum est* in der Johanniterkirche von Jerusalem[48]. Es war also der Erzbischof und Kanzler Wilhelm von Tyrus, der das Begräbnis leitete. Ein toter König wurde anscheinend vom Patriarchen begraben[49], da es sich hier ja um eine Staatsaktion handelte, die oft genug unmittelbar in die Diskussion um die Thronfolge einmündete, in der der Patriarch allemal essentielle Interessen zu wahren hatte. Das Begräbnis eines Thronfolgers oder exakter des Gemahls einer Thronfolgerin war eher eine Familienangelegenheit, die in den Aufgabenkreis des obersten Hofgeistlichen gefallen sein könnte.

Wenn Kapelläne schon gelegentlich aushilfsweise Urkunden schrieben oder den Kanzler vertraten, so muß man sich fragen, ob nicht Schriftverkehr in anderer Weise zu ihren ständigen Aufgaben gehörten. Die Könige

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[46]) WT XX. 3, S. 914. Zum Datum siehe künftig Hans E. Mayer, Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šōbak), Exkurs XVIII.

[47]) Prou, Recueil des actes de Philippe Ier S. LII Anm. 3 u. S. LXV. Georges Tessier, Diplomatique royale française (1962) S. 131 f., 137, 153.

[48]) WT XXI. 12 (13), S. 978.

[49]) Ebd. XV. 27, S. 711 für König Fulko.

von Jerusalem waren so völlig abhängig vom Nachschub aus Europa, daß sie eine dauernde Korrespondenz mit dem Papst, den europäischen Herrschern, den italienischen Seestädten, natürlich auch mit Byzanz zu führen hatten. Europa wollte informiert sein und mußte auch ständig an seine Pflichten erinnert werden. Wir haben reichlich Zeugnisse über einen regen Gesandtschaftsverkehr, und alle diese Gesandten müssen natürlich Briefschaften mitgenommen haben; für einige Dezennien hat Smail die Nachrichten hierüber zusammengestellt[50]. Die Korrespondenz des Königs Amalrich mit Ludwig VII. von Frankreich wurde schon im Mittelalter gesammelt, und wir haben auch sonst noch eine ganze Reihe von Briefen dieser Art. Die Kanzlei hat sie nicht geschrieben, denn nur der erste Urkundenschreiber der Könige von Jerusalem schrieb auch Briefe, aber nicht für den König, sondern für den Patriarchen. Während sein Diktat auch in den Briefen mühelos wiederzuerkennen ist, fehlen alle diktatmäßigen Berührungen zwischen den königlichen Briefen und den Diplomen. Da die Kanzlei fast immer nur einen Notar zur Zeit hatte, fehlte es ihr wohl auch an der Zeit, um neben den Urkunden noch die Korrespondenz zu erledigen. Es bleibt dann nur die Kapelle, wo diese Briefe geschrieben worden sein können. Und vielleicht war es nicht ganz ohne Doppelsinn, wenn Wilhelm von Tyrus berichtet, er sei zum Kanzler des Königs gemacht worden, *ut esset qui regiarum epistolarum curam haberet*[51]. Natürlich waren damit auch die *epistolae* im klassischen Sinne der urkundlichen Reskripte gemeint, aber Wilhelm war ganz der neue Typ des Kanzlers, der mehr Außenminister als Urkundsbeamter war. Die Kontrolle über die diplomatische Korrespondenz des Königs auszuüben, mußte ihm ein Herzensanliegen sein.

Läßt sich wenigstens vermutungsweise eine lockere Beziehung zwischen Kanzler und Kapelle zeigen, so fehlt es an jedem Hinweis, daß wie in Deutschland und wohl auch in Frankreich das Kanzleipersonal in der Kapelle fest verankert gewesen wäre, was La Monte bestritten hat, während Richard es bejahte[52]. Es waren denn auch die Kanzler und nicht die Kapelläne, die vom Hofdienst aus die großen Karrieren im Episkopat machten; Patriarch Amalrich von Jerusalem, der vormalige Kapellan der Königin Meli-

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[50]) R. C. Smail, Latin Syria and the West 1149–1187, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 5th series 19 (1969) S. 1–20.

[51]) WT XXI. 5, S. 967.

[52]) John L. La Monte, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America 4, 1932) S. 123. Jean Richard, The Political and Ecclesiastical Organization of the Crusader States, in: A History of the Crusades, hg. von Kenneth M. Setton, Bd. 5 (1985) S. 227.

sendis, und wahrscheinlich Erzbischof Friedrich von Tyrus sind die einzigen Ausnahmen (s. oben S. 498 f.). Nur ein einziger dem Namen nach bekannter Kanzleinotar war Mitglied der Kapelle: Balduin, König Aimerichs Notar für festländische Angelegenheiten. Umgekehrt gibt es keinen namentlich bekannten Kapellan oder Hofkleriker, der in der Kanzlei Diplome des Königs oder Urkunden der Königin redigiert hätte mit Ausnahme Balduins sowie Brandos (s. oben S. 495), der aber nur vorübergehend seinem Verwandten, dem Kanzler, unter besonderen Umständen, aushalf. Die anderen Kapelläne, die Dictamina entwarfen (Daniel, Friedrich, Guido) arbeiteten in einer Zeit, in der die Kanzlei nicht etwa vakant war, sondern als Institution jahrelang überhaupt nicht existierte. Sie waren Aushilfsschreiber, auf die Balduin III. und seine Mutter Melisendis zurückgriffen, weil sie ein wirkliches Urkundenbüro nicht mehr hatten. Damit wird ihre Tätigkeit der der Kapelläne in der Kanzlei Rogers II. von Sizilien vergleichbar. Vor 1127, als es noch gar keine Kanzlei gab, überließ Roger die Herstellung seiner lateinischen Urkunden entweder dem Empfänger oder er beauftragte – fallweise! – einen seiner Kapelläne. Soweit solche auch nach der Einrichtung einer Kanzlei als Diktatoren tätig wurden, waren auch sie nur Aushilfsschreiber in einem Ein-Mann-Betrieb, in dem gelegentlich auch einmal eine Abwesenheit des Notars vorkam, ohne daß der Urkundenbetrieb stocken durfte, oder aber bei dem es auf Reisen des Königs zu vermehrtem Arbeitsanfall kam, den der Notar allein nicht mehr bewältigen konnte.

In Jerusalem stellte sich ein solches Problem nur selten. Das Reich war ja viel kleiner als dasjenige Rogers II. Empfänger, die eine Urkunde wünschten, konnten sich jederzeit kurzfristig an den Hof bemühen, so daß es auf den Reisen des Königs, sofern er im Reich blieb, nicht zu einer Arbeitshäufung kam. Allenfalls mag sich dieses Problem gestellt haben im Anschluß an die häufigen und sehr langen Abwesenheiten Balduins II. in Antiochia, während deren die königliche Beurkundungstätigkeit weitgehend aufhörte (eine Ausnahme ist RRH n° 100 a) mit Ausnahme der Gefangenschaft des Königs 1123–1124, als die Regenten in wichtigen Dingen urkunden konnten (RRH n° 102). Die lange Absenz des Königs zuvor und auch danach erregte denn auch erhebliche Kritik[53]. Einen explosionsartig vermehrten Arbeitsanfall, wie ihn in Sizilien das Revokationsedikt von 1144 mit sich brachte, gab es in Jerusalem ohnehin nicht. Jedoch muß etwa die

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[53]) Hans E. Mayer, Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudouin II, Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1980 S. 729–733.

schwierige Finanzierung der ägyptischen Kampagnen der sechziger Jahre[54] jeweils vor Beginn des Feldzuges eine erheblich vermehrte Beurkundungstätigkeit mit sich gebracht haben, weil jetzt die Lohnversprechen an die Vasallen zu beurkunden waren. Dabei scheint die Kanzlei denen, die dazu imstande waren, grünes Licht für Empfängerausfertigungen gegeben zu haben, denn wir sprechen sowohl RRH n° 452 von 1168 wie ein Jahr später RRH n° 466 im wesentlichen als Produkte der Kanzlei des Johannitermeisters an – mindestens in Gestalt von Entwürfen, die der Kanzlei des Königs eingereicht wurden –, mit denen jeweils kurz vor Beginn der Kampagne die Belohnung für den Orden von diesem mehr oder minder selbst vorgeschlagen wurde.

Die Tätigkeit der Kapelle des Königs stellt sich uns also so dar: Die Kapelle könnte – wenigstens im letzten Viertel des 12. Jh. – unter der Leitung des Kanzlers gestanden haben. Sie war aber keine Pflanzschule für den Reichsepiskopat, auch nicht für das Kanzleipersonal, schon weil der Bedarf an solchem in der Ein-Mann-Kanzlei von Jerusalem sehr gering war. Die Kapelle sorgte mit ihrem Personal vielmehr für die regelmäßige Kultfeier am Hofe, wo immer dieser auch sein mochte, in der Hauptstadt ebenso wie im Feldlager. Dabei muß ihr auch das Gebet *pro regni statu* als eine besondere tägliche Pflicht oblegen haben, auch wenn Balduin II. die großen Konzessionen an die Kirche im Konkordat von Nablus dazu benutzte, sich dieses Gebets auch seitens der Kirche von Jerusalem zu versichern (RRH n° 89). Die Kapelle hütete den königlichen Reliquienhort und das kostbare Altargerät des Königs. Der König hatte einen Schatz *(aerarium)*, wahrscheinlich öfter leer als voll, den Wilhelm von Tyrus als *regis fiscus* bezeichnet[55]. In ihn flossen die ordentlichen und außerordentlichen Einkünfte des Königs, und er unterstand nicht der Kapelle, sondern dem Seneschal, war also identisch mit der *Secrète*, der Finanzbehörde des Königs. Lediglich Reliquien und Preziosen dürften von der Kapelle verwaltet worden sein. Zu 1180 erwähnt Wilhelm von Tyrus die Existenz eines königlichen Archivs[56], in dem er kraft Amtes die Niederlegung einer Kopie eines Diploms veranlaßte. Es unterstand also seiner Leitung, ob als Kanzler oder als oberster Hofkapellan, steht dahin. Immerhin mochte es aus Sicherheits-

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54) Vgl. dazu Hans E. M a y e r, Le service militaire des vassaux à l'étranger et le financement des campagnes en Syrie du Nord et en Egypte au XIIe siècle, in: M a y e r, Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem (Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres N. S. 5, 1984) S. 140–158; d e r s., The Crusades (²1988) S. 170.

55) Albert von Aachen XII., 14, S. 696. WT XX. 9, S. 922.

56) WT XXII. 5, S. 1012.

gründen naheliegen, die wertvollen Archivalien dort hüten zu lassen, wo man auch die Reliquien und das goldene Altargerät aufbewahrte.

Das Beispiel Fulchers von Chartres zeigt, daß auch die historiographische Darstellung der Dynastie zu den Aufgaben der Kapelle gehörte, und in diesen Zusammenhang gehört wohl auch Wilhelm von Tyrus, dem der König Amalrich, der ihn mit der Abfassung seiner Chronik beauftragte, gerne eine zu seiner Disposition stehende Pfründe *(cuncta ... de suo beneficia)* verliehen hätte, wenn dies nicht durch energischen Widerstand von dritter Seite verhindert worden wäre[57]. Ob dieser Widerstand aus der Kapelle selbst kam, die den durch zwanzigjährige Universitätsstudien umfassend Gebildeten nicht so gern in ihrer Mitte sah? Die beabsichtigte Pfründenverleihung hätte Wilhelm zum Mitglied der Kapelle gemacht, anders kann man den Satz nicht verstehen.

Schließlich gehörte es wahrscheinlich zu den Aufgaben der Kapelle, die diplomatische Korrespondenz des Königs zu entwerfen, ganz sicher aber, dem König und der Königin in Ausnahmezuständen, wenn faktisch die Kanzlei zusammengebrochen war, eine Beurkundungstätigkeit zu ermöglichen, und dann, wenn die Kanzlei zwar existierte, der Kanzlerposten aber unbesetzt oder der Kanzler verhindert war, einen Datar zu stellen, lediglich um der Funktion des Kanzlers eine für jedermann sichtbare Kontinuität zu geben, ohne daß dieser Aushilfsdatar deshalb gleich Vizekanzler geworden wäre. Daß man hierfür die Kapelläne heranzog, wäre um so eher erklärt, wenn tatsächlich der Kanzler üblicherweise auch die Leitung der Kapelle innegehabt hätte.

Als Gegenleistung stand den Hofklerikern und Hofkapellänen Unterhalt mittels einer Pfründe zu, die – jedenfalls bei den Burgpriestern und wenn Wilhelm Lovella ein Geistlicher war – sogar auf Lebenszeit verliehen wurde (s. oben S. 495). Für eine solche Versorgung war der König natürlich darauf angewiesen, daß ihm Pfründen zur Verleihung zur Verfügung standen. Wilhelm von Tyrus bezeugt, daß dem so war, auch wenn der König ihn wegen der aufgetretenen Widerstände anderweitig versorgen mußte. Er bemühte sich nämlich nun, seinem Günstling Pfründen beim Episkopat zu verschaffen[58]. Innerhalb eines Jahrzehnts erhielt Wilhelm eine Pfründe im

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[57]) WT XIX. 12, S. 881 f.

[58]) Ebd. Schon daraus ergibt sich eigentlich, daß es Hofkirchen mit dort bepfründeten Königskapellänen, denen ausschließlich der König ihre Pfründe verliehen hätte, im Königreich Jerusalem nicht gab, denn sonst hätte der König an einer solchen Hofkirche leicht eine neue Pfründe stiften können. Vielmehr standen ihm anscheinend in einzelnen Domkirchen einzelne Kanonikate zur Besetzung zu, ohne daß er ihre Zahl nach Belieben

Kapitel von Akkon, das Archidiakonat von Tyrus und – zusätzlich! – dasjenige von Nazareth, ehe er Kanzler und Erzbischof von Tyrus wurde[59]. Aber nur auf das Entgegenkommen des Episkopats konnte der König sich nicht verlassen. Ich muß zugeben, daß das von mir einst gesammelte Beweismaterial für Königskanonikate in Jerusalem durch die Forschungen von Elm über das Verbrüderungswesen am Hl. Grab nicht unbeträchtlich an Glanz verloren hat, aber es bleiben Beweisstücke übrig, die auch jetzt nicht entkräftet sind[60]. Dazu gehört nicht nur die zitierte Stelle bei Wilhelm von Tyrus über die ihm zugedachte Pfründe, die zur Disposition des Königs stand, sondern auch RRH n° 356 von 1160, wo von den Chorherren des Hl. Grabes nicht nur als den *confratres* gesprochen wird, was man dem Verbrüderungswesen zurechnen könnte, sondern auch als von den *concanonici*, und das ist etwas anderes.

Man darf sich die Dinge aber nicht so vorstellen, als habe der König nur das kirchliche Fremdvermögen zur Leistung für den Hofklerus herangezogen. Er hat es wohl öfter auch für diese Zwecke erst einmal vermehrt, so in RRH n° 40 zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts, als in der Pfründenverteilung des Patriarchen Ebremar jeder Kanoniker zunächst eine Grundpfründe von 150 Byzantiner pro Jahr erhielt, die Spitzenfunktionäre dann noch extra zwischen 100 und 150 Byzantiner. Dabei wurde die Zusatzrente des Succentors nicht aus dem Kirchenvermögen herausgeschnitten, sondern von dem König Balduin I. *aeternaliter de propriis redditibus suis* bewilligt. Ob sich damit eine Hofkapellanie mit anderen Pflichten verband, wissen wir nicht, halten es aber für möglich, denn verschenkt hat Balduin I. nur selten etwas.

Wir sind am Ende unseres Überblicks über die Hofkapelle in Jerusalem. Ihre Geschichte läuft wie die der jerusalemitanischen Kanzlei mit König Johann von Brienne (1210–1225) aus, denn danach gab es nur noch landfremde Könige aus dem staufischen oder angiovinischen Hause oder aus Zypern,

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hätte vermehren können und auch ohne daß er – der Neid gegen Wilhelm von Tyrus beweist es – in ihrer Besetzung völlig frei gewesen wäre. Auch in anderem Zusammenhang sind Hofkirchen in Jerusalem nicht bezeugt. Zu Hofkirchen im allgemeinen siehe Schaller, Hofkapelle (wie Anm. 1) S. 465–483 und Nikolaus Grass, Pfalzkapellen und Hofkirchen in Österreich, ZRG KA 46 (1960) S. 345–394; 47 (1961) S. 129–195.

[59]) WT XIX. 12, S. 881; XX. 1, S. 913; XXI. 5, S. 967; XXI. 8, S. 973 f. RRH n° 518.

[60]) Hans E. Mayer, Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 21 (1967) S. 184–187. Kaspar Elm, Fratres et sorores sanctissimi Sepulchri: Beiträge zu fraternitas, familia und weiblichem Religiosentum im Umkreis des Kapitels vom Hl. Grab, Frühmittelalterliche Studien 9 (1975) S. 295, 301 f.

die sich auf ihre heimische Kapelle stützen konnten und im Osten keine Hofkapelläne mehr brauchten. Daß der Kanzler möglicherweise die Kapelle leitete, ist nicht mehr als eine Hypothese. Ansonsten aber ist ein Bild zutagegetreten, das dem in anderen Reichen durchaus ähnelt. Die Kapelle war eine als notwendig empfundene Institution, deren Mitglieder der Krone neben dem täglichen Gottesdienst mancherlei Dienste leisteten.

II

THE SUCCESSION TO BALDWIN II OF JERUSALEM: ENGLISH IMPACT ON THE EAST

The first accessions of rulers in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem were difficult. When Godfrey of Bouillon died in 1100 he willed to Patriarch Daimbert of Jerusalem, the former archbishop of Pisa, everything he had ruled over. But his Lorraine vassals ignored his testament and prevented the realm from falling under the patriarch's or under Pisan rule by installing Godfrey's brother Baldwin, count of Edessa, who had himself crowned king. As Godfrey had not been married, he had no children. His vassals, in elevating his brother, had the rules governing the succession of fiefs in Lorraine and northern France on their side. When Baldwin I died in 1118 he had been married three times but was childless. As he was dying he designated his brother Eustace III, count of Boulogne, to succeed him. Should he decline, the vassals were to elect Baldwin of Bourcq who had succeeded Baldwin I as count of Edessa and was a kinsman of Godfrey and Baldwin I. In an assembly held after the funeral of Baldwin I the opinions were sharply divided. The legitimists favored Eustace, the pragmatists supported Baldwin of Bourcq. The latter had the advantage of being present and able to make deals with the leading magnate and the patriarch. He was elevated to the kingship and anointed at Easter 1118 but not crowned until Christmas 1119. That the opposition to him was based on the rules of inheritance can be read in William of Tyre who openly declared that he considered Baldwin's accession to have been somewhat irregular because it excluded the rightful heir from the legitimate succession.[1] This was, indeed, the opinion of Eustace's supporters, who had sent an embassy to Europe to fetch him. With some difficulty he was persuaded to leave with them for the East. When they reached Apulia, it was learned that Baldwin II had been made king of Jerusalem. The ambassadors urged Eustace to go on with them because what had happened was illegal and could not possibly stand. The worst kind of civil strife in Jerusalem was avoided only because Eustace decided to turn around and go home.

Baldwin II was the first ruler of Jerusalem to have children, but he had only four daughters and no sons. On 1 October 1126 or 1127 his queen, Morphia, died.[2] It was time to settle his succession, as he no longer would have a son. The time was well chosen because the King's regency of Antioch, which had increasingly estranged him from his vassals since 1119, had been terminated in October 1126.[3]

It seems that the years 1126 and 1127 witnessed a series of arrangements by which the King's daughters were provided for and the succession was settled on the oldest daughter, Melisende. One should remember that at this time no rules had as yet been developed in the Latin East to govern the female succession to fiefs. It was not until 1171 that the count of Sancerre was called upon to mediate in a dispute concerning this problem.[4] He ruled that the oldest daughter should take over the undivided fief and should perform homage for it, but

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[1] I should like to thank cordially the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C., for its generous support of myself and my research while, along with other work, I was writing this study.

William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XII.3, in *Recueil des Historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, I,1 and I,2 (Paris, 1844), 515 f. On the succession to Baldwin I, see my study "Etudes sur l'histoire de Baudouin Ier roi de Jérusalem," in H. E. Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, *MémAcInscr*, N.S., 5 (Paris, 1983), 73–91.

[2] R. Hiestand, "Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem," *DA*, 26 (1970), 223 f.

[3] H. E. Mayer, "Jérusalem et Antioche sous Baudouin II," *CRAI* (1980), 717–33.

[4] *Idem*, "Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden," *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, Vorträge und Forschungen, 26 (Constance, 1980), 183.

should at the same time provide for her younger sisters by assigning rear-fiefs to them. While this clause did not necessarily bear upon royal successions, the principle that younger daughters had to be provided for in one way or another is clearly evident.

Alice, the second oldest daughter of Baldwin II, was married to Bohemond II of Antioch in October 1126. Hodierna, the third, was married to the count of Tripoli by 1138, but may have been betrothed to him as early as 1127.[5] The touchiest case was that of the youngest daughter, Iveta. Of the four she was the only one born into the purple, after Baldwin II had been made king. Indeed, later in the century it was argued by Hodierna's son Raymond III of Tripoli that the succession of Baldwin II should not have gone to Melisende, but rather to his mother because, as opposed to Melisende, she had been born after Baldwin II had become king (which was not true).[6] Elsewhere I have assumed that this argument was predictable already in the late twenties but that it then applied to Iveta and that it had been felt that the safest way to exclude her was to remove her to the nunnery of St. Anne. The pretext for this may have been that Iveta had been given to the Muslims as a hostage for her father when she was four years old and it was argued that she had been raped there, which disqualified her as a wife.[7] While, given her age, such an argument would have been preposterous, this was, indeed, the opinion of a thirteenth-century chronicler of the East.[8]

Melisende was married three years after Alice. Since the kingdom was to go to Melisende, this was a most consequential action to have taken. In the fall of 1127 more likely than in early 1128, an embassy was sent to France consisting of William of Buris, prince of Galilee, and Guy of Brisebarre, lord of Beirut. They offered the hand of Melisende and a place in the succession to Baldwin II to count Fulk V of Anjou. The embassy was at his court in the spring of 1128, after the ambassadors had conferred with the King of France.[9]

Contrary to what has been said in historical literature, there is no reason to assume that King Louis VI had been asked by the ambassadors to choose a husband for Melisende and that Fulk of Anjou was his choice. Even though the ambassadors appeared unexpectedly (*ex improviso*) in Anjou, William of Tyre does not even mention the French King's participation in the matter and makes Fulk clearly the choice of the assembly held in the East before the departure of the embassy.[10] Likewise, the Angevin chronicles report that it was the ambassadors who made the choice, although *consilio regis* (*Francorum*).[11] Louis' advice on the matter had to be obtained, of course, and being Louis' vassal Fulk formally had to ask his permission to leave France.[12] One cannot imagine that in the case of a royal succession the King and the magnates of Jerusalem would have given the ambassadors unrestricted power to bring home just anyone as the future king.[13]

[5] *Idem*, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der MGH, 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), 252–54.

[6] *Regni Hierosolimitani brevis historia*, ed. L. T. Belgrano, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori*, 1, FStI (Rome, 1890), 136f. Cf. J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), 104.

[7] Mayer, *Bistümer*, 250–52, 255–57. Since I argue in this paper that the essential action in the marriage negotiations concerning Melisende was demanded by Fulk of Anjou rather than granted voluntarily by Jerusalem, it may be well to remember that Fulk must have been familiar with the argument of porphyrogeniture. He made two attempts to secure the English succession of Henry I for his children: in 1119 by marrying his daughter Matilda to William Aetheling, and in 1128 by marrying his son Geoffrey to the Empress Maud. After the death of King William Rufus his older brother Robert of Normandy, under the rules of primogeniture, had a better claim to England than did Henry I. Consequently Henry justified his accession by pointing out that he had been born into the purple whereas Robert had been born before the Conquest. Cf. C. N. L. Brooke, *The Saxon and Norman Kings* (London, 1963), 32, 143, 195–96.

[8] *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 5.

[9] William of Tyre, XIII.24, XIV.2, pp. 593 f., 608. For the chronology, see Hiestand, "Chronologisches," 223, and my chronological appendix *infra*, pp. 146–47.

[10] William of Tyre, *loc. cit.*

[11] *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), 69 (*Gesta consulum Andegavorum*), 115 (*Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, where the *ex improviso* occurs).

[12] *Ibid.*, 115.

[13] Two analogies suggest that such choices had to be made in Jerusalem. In 1177 the count of Flanders suggested that the King's sister Sibyl, one of the two possible heiresses to the throne, should marry. He was told that he ought to name a candidate. He replied that he would do so only after the barons had sworn to abide by his proposal. The answer given to the count was that it would reflect on the King's honor to marry his sister to *personae ignotae et cuius etiam nomen ignoraretur* (William of Tyre, XXI.14–15, pp. 1028–30). When a ruler had to be chosen by finding a husband for Maria la Marquise, an assembly was held in the East, and it was then that someone in the assembly got up and put forward the name of count John of Brienne, who married Maria in 1210. After the decision had been taken, an embassy was sent to Philip Augustus of France, who only had to approve it or, at best, make the selection formally (Ernoul, *Chronique*, 407 f.). Other sources place the election in the hands of Philip Augustus without a prior decision having been taken in the East (cf. R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* [Innsbruck, 1898], 698 note 1), but actually Philip was at first so

Fulk was certainly not unknown in the Holy Land. In 1120 he had undertaken a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[14] His behavior in the East had been magnificent. He had maintained there at his expense a force of one hundred knights for a year.[15] That his first wife had died late in 1126 (*infra*, p. 146) need not have passed unnoticed in Jerusalem: there was a whole year to learn about it. Moreover, in 1120 Fulk had affiliated himself with the newly founded Knights Templars and had given them an annual rent of 30 pounds of Anjou which meant much to them in those days.[16] Fulk was much more likely the choice of the King of Jerusalem and of his barons than of Louis VI of France.

The ambassadors had been sent with the common consent of the nobility.[17] This implies a unanimous decision. They had been instructed to take a solemn oath on the souls of the King and the magnates that within fifty days after the safe arrival of the candidate in the East he would be married to the King's oldest daughter *cum spe regni post regis obitum*. He arrived with the embassy in midspring of 1129, i.e., in May, because immediately after his arrival but before Whitsun (2 June) 1129 the wedding was performed.[18] As Melisende's dowry, the King settled on the couple the cities of Acre and Tyre to hold during his lifetime. From now on, William of Tyre says, Fulk assisted Baldwin throughout his life in his rule.[19] It is clear that Fulk was more than just a son-in-law. He actively participated in the government. With Acre and Tyre he controlled the economically most important parts of the royal demesne.

Fulk V of Anjou was no fool and a circumspect man. When he left for the East in 1129 he did so with the intention to become king of Jerusalem and never to return. This was also his essential obligation under the contract. Even though he did not relinquish his title as count of Anjou (*infra*, p. 144), he transferred his counties of Anjou and Maine to his son Geoffrey. If his kingship had collapsed and he had been forced to return, he would have been in difficulties with Geoffrey. It would also have been a deadly loss of prestige for him, such as he could not afford to risk. There had to be guarantees.

But was it not enough that the King and the princes by common consent offered him Melisende's hand? The ambassadors could assure him that this was the case. Unanimous decisions were, however, not necessarily considered irrevocable, as we can see from a later example. In 1175 a marriage contract very similar to the one made with Fulk was arranged with the marquis William Longsword of Montferrat.[20] Within forty days after his arrival in the Holy Land he was to be married to the king's older sister Sibyl and was to receive the county of Jaffa-Ascalon. The succession to the throne was involved, because the leper king Baldwin IV could not marry. The point which was the cause of the discussion was no longer female succession as such, but rather whether Sibyl or the king's younger half sister Isabel had the better claim. The invitation had been sent with the unanimous consent of the clergy and the barons, and the latter had taken a personal oath to observe the contract. Yet there was an opposition. William of Tyre complained in bitter words that there were some who had been consulted on the matter but, after the marquis' arrival in 1176, argued that they had not given the matter sufficient thought at the time and were now opposed to it. Nothing came of this op-

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much opposed to letting John go that Innocent III had to write to him on 23 April 1209 (PL, 216, col. 36 f., No. 37) admonishing him that he should allow John to go. The choice was, therefore, certainly made in the East and not by the King of France.

[14] *Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. L. Halphen (Paris, 1903), 8 (*Annales de Saint-Aubin*), 120 (*Annales de Saint-Florent*). He took the cross a few days after having attended on 25 April 1120 the consecration of the church of Saint-Julien at Le Mans (*Gesta episcop. Cenomannensium*, in Bouquet's *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, new edition by L. Delisle, 12 [Paris, 1877], 551), but any attempt to date his return is hopeless. J. Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151* (Paris, 1928), 15 note 2, and 267, No. 52, pointed to a charter for Saint-Nicolas d'Angers, dated on Sunday, 29 January 1121, in Fulk's presence. This is evidence that he had returned. She observed that Sunday fell on 29 January in 1122, not in 1121, and placed the charter in 1122. While this is correct, she failed to observe that Pope Calixtus II (elected 2 February 1119) was also present, and a visit to Anjou cannot be reconciled with the Pope's itinerary for 1121 or 1122, but can have taken place only in 1119 (before his election) or 1120. The year of his visit to Anjou is given as 1119 in the *Annales de Saint-Aubin* and as 1120 in the *Annales de Saint-Florent* (*Recueil d'annales angevines*, 7, 120). In 1120 he can be shown to have been in Fontevrault on 31 August and in Angers from 7 to 9 September (JL. 6738).

[15] William of Tyre, XIV.2, p. 608. See *infra*, note 35.

[16] Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 (Oxford, 1978), 310; cf. F. Lundgreen, "Zur Geschichte des Templerordens," *MittIÖG*, 35 (1914), 679.

[17] William of Tyre, XIII.14, XIV.2, pp. 593 f., 608.

[18] *Ibid.*, XIII.14, p. 593f. The arrival is dated *anno sequenti circa veris medium*, which refers to the year following the election of archbishop William I of Tyre which took place in the spring of 1128 (*infra*, note 22).

[19] *Ibid.*: *Adstitit . . . comes . . . domino regi tota vita sua fideliter in negotiis regni ingrediens et egrediens, filii devote implens officium.* R. Hiestand, "Zwei unbekannte Diplome der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem aus Lucca," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 50 (1971), 30, even thinks that Fulk may have been adopted by Baldwin II.

[20] William of Tyre, XXI.13, p. 1025 f.

position because the marquis died in 1177. But certainly Fulk had to take into account the possibility of subsequent adverse arguments.

The negotiations in Anjou were apparently not easy and they took a long time. The embassy arrived in Anjou in the spring of 1128, and Fulk took the cross on 31 May 1128. But this did not mean that a settlement had been reached. It was only a visible sign that Fulk was in principle prepared to go to the East, provided that a suitable arrangement were reached. In order to become king of Jerusalem Fulk did not have to take the cross at all. He only had to marry Melisende. If no satisfactory settlement were reached, Fulk would come simply as a seasonal crusader as he had done in 1120. The ambassadors must have understood that by taking the cross Fulk did not yet commit himself to become king of Jerusalem, and that more was needed to persuade him. It still took almost a whole year to settle the business, since Fulk did not leave until the spring (around March, as he arrived in the East in May) of 1129. In offering Acre and Tyre the King had put out a bait which was as big as he could possibly afford. But it was not equal to what Fulk would have to give up in France.

Material matters, however, were not at the center of the discussions, because in the end Fulk was content to accept Acre and Tyre. The obstacles lay in legal and political considerations. First of all, it was the first female succession in the kingdom, and as Fulk well knew such a thing was a touchy issue. We shall revert to this point. Fulk had to make sure that the principle of a female succession would be firmly established in Jerusalem before he could consider going there. He also needed assurances that no other daughter of the King than Melisende should be allowed to enter a claim for the succession. As has been seen (*supra*, p. 140), the legality of her succession was contested considerably later, when it was convenient.

Moreover, Fulk had especially to take into consideration that the accession of Baldwin II in 1118 had, itself, not been uncontested, and had met with considerable opposition because Eustace III of Boulogne, who had been outwitted by Baldwin II, had had the better claim. Any shadow on Baldwin's kingship, such as recorded by William of Tyre (*supra*, p. 139), might cast doubts on Melisende's claim on which, in turn, Fulk's expectancies rested. True, the events of 1118 had now been history for an entire decade. But Fulk must have learned about them when he was in Jerusalem in 1120 and they were still very recent. Also, Fulk had been one of the main supporters of William Clito in Normandy. As the son of Robert Curthose of Normandy, this nephew of Henry I of England retained a stubborn claim to the duchy of Normandy, where Henry I, after his conquest of the duchy, could never feel safe as long as Clito was alive. Thus, Fulk knew how long old claims and counterclaims could survive.

It seems that the author of the chronicle of the counts of Anjou was aware of this problem. Having told of the marriage of Fulk to Melisende, he gave an account of the rulers of Jerusalem from Godfrey of Bouillon to Baldwin II, focusing on the successions.[21] Nothing was said of the deeds of these kings. The author only related the way in which the crown passed from one to the next. In so doing he omitted the grave difficulties which had arisen in the accessions of both Baldwin I and Baldwin II. He stressed that the (seemingly uncontested) election of Baldwin II had been made *inito salubri consilio*, as if there had been no rival claim on behalf of Eustace III. In the author's story the succession of the kings of Jerusalem had always been orderly and legitimate. Consequently, the same applied to Fulk. The truth, however, had been different. And Fulk knew it.

But so did Baldwin II of Jerusalem. He must have foreseen difficulties on this point. He tried to assuage any hesitations which might arise on Fulk's side over this issue. He caused his ambassadors to seek, first, the approval of Louis VI of France before they traveled on to Anjou. And he went further than this. He laid the matter before the Pope. In May 1128 the archbishop William I of Tyre (not to be confused with the chronicler) and the bishop Roger of Ramla were at the Roman Curia. Their main preoccupation was a thorny ecclesiastical affair, namely, whether the archbishopric of Tyre was to belong to the patriarchate of Antioch or to that of Jerusalem. The first archbishop of Tyre had been elected in 1122, but had died before the city was conquered in 1124. No successor was appointed until William I was elected and consecrated by Patriarch Warmund of Jerusalem in the spring of 1128.[22]

In Rome the two bishops not only transacted ec-

[21] *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, 70 (*Gesta consulum Andegavorum*).

[22] William of Tyre, XIII.23, p. 591, dates this *vere demum proximo subsecuto, quarto anno* after the conquest of Tyre, which was taken on 7 July 1124. William's chronology is sometimes vague. But since he himself was archbishop of Tyre, we must credit him with precise knowledge of his predecessor's election.

clesiastical business but also conferred with the Pope on very worldly matters. On 29 May 1128 Pope Honorius II wrote a letter to King Baldwin II which has given rise to much unfounded speculation.[23] It is clearly said in the letter that the two bishops had also come to Rome on the King's business, as *nobilitatis tue legati*. The Pope elaborated on the King being a just and religious ruler and on how he had kept with royal wisdom the peace in the territory conquered by his predecessors Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, and how he had added many victories to theirs. He also alluded to the King's captivity in Muslim hands. Then Honorius confirmed to Baldwin II the kingdom of Jerusalem *cum dignitate*, i.e., with the royal title, as it had been confirmed to Baldwin I and to the Church of Jerusalem by Paschal II.[24] He ordered him to preserve the state of the kingdom and the Church of Jerusalem in its full integrity and recommended to this effect (*ad hec*) Count Fulk of Anjou to the King. Fulk, so the Pope wrote, had decided to leave behind him his large possessions in order to serve God and the King.

In reality, on 29 May 1128 Fulk had decided nothing yet. He did not even take the cross until two days after the papal letter had been written, and even this act was not a firm commitment. He was still negotiating. Although the letter was solicited by the King's bishops and was addressed to Baldwin II, to whom it was no doubt sent, the real recipient was Fulk of Anjou. The bishops knew and must have informed the Pope that an embassy had been sent to Anjou and for what purpose. They must have made certain that a copy of the letter would reach the ambassadors in Anjou. It was a useful letter for them to have because it expressly recognized the legitimacy of Baldwin II's kingship and gave papal endorsement to Fulk's candidacy for the throne of Jerusalem.

But, while the letter might help to assuage any fears Fulk might have entertained in this respect, the real decision concerning the succession of Baldwin II lay not with the Pope but with the nobility of Jerusalem. Fulk could not be entirely sure that the old doubts would not be revived until he had received a number of guarantees: 1. that Baldwin II's kingship was officially recognized to be legal; 2. that Melisende was officially declared to be the heiress of the kingdom; 3. that Fulk was given a firm promise that upon his arrival he would be married to her and be financially provided for; 4. that he would succeed Baldwin II as king by virtue of his marriage to Melisende; 5. that all this was enacted by the nobility of Jerusalem.

Questions 3 and 4 were of course solved by the marriage proposals brought from the East by the King's ambassadors. We have no knowledge that any assurances were ever given by Jerusalem on the legitimacy of Baldwin's kingship, and it is most unlikely that this should have happened. Jerusalem could not very well go beyond what it had already done in soliciting from the Pope as a universal power a recognition of Baldwin's kingship. A formal recognition of its legitimacy by the nobles in 1128 would have been preposterous after the King had ruled for fully ten years. It would, in fact, not have served anyone's interests, for it would only have cast doubts on the legitimacy of his rule during these ten years.

Furthermore, it was not necessary, since an offi-

[23] JL. 7314 = E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, série 1, vol. 5 (Paris, 1849), 17, No. 15. J. Hansen, *Das Problem eines Kirchenstaates in Jerusalem* (Luxemburg, 1928), 119 f., correctly interpreted this letter as a confirmation of Baldwin's kingship by the Pope, but went too far in asserting that the Pope could also have withheld the confirmation and would thereby have made Baldwin's continued rule impossible. He felt, moreover, that the letter paved the way for claims by Patriarch Stephen of Jerusalem to an ecclesiastical overlordship over the kingdom of Jerusalem. M. W. Baldwin, "The Papacy and the Levant during the Twelfth Century," *Bulletin of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America*, 3 (1945), 282, says that the Pope "conceded" the kingdom of Jerusalem to Baldwin II and sees the letter as having more nearly the appearance of a claim to papal suzerainty than any other document. H. S. Fink, "The Foundation of the Latin States, 1099–1118," *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 1 (Philadelphia, 1955), 379, referring to Baldwin, believes that the letter claimed Jerusalem as a papal fief. J. G. Rowe, "The Papacy and the Ecclesiastical Province of Tyre," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 43 (1960–61), 175, supports Baldwin as to the "concession" of the kingdom by the Pope but denies that the letter was a papal claim for suzerainty over Jerusalem. He links it with the problem of the archbishopric of Tyre. The letter coincides in time with papal rulings on this subject (JL. Nos. 7315–17) but has nothing whatsoever to do with them in substance. H. E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart, 1965), 272 note 31 = *idem*, *The Crusades* (London, 1972), 294 note 31, rejected the idea that the letter claimed feudal subordination of Jerusalem to the Church and interpreted it as a confirmation of Baldwin's kingship, but mistakenly saw in this act a veiled papal rejection of the claims of the new patriarch Stephen of Jerusalem to the possession of Jaffa (cf. William of Tyre, XIII.25, p. 595). Since we now know that Stephen was elected between 27 July and 19 October 1128 (Hiestand, "Chronologisches," 229), this is impossible, as Hiestand correctly observed (*ibid.*, 228 note 54). The letter had already rightly been interpreted as a papal endorsement of Fulk of Anjou (without being linked to the matter of the legitimacy of Baldwin's kingship) by W. Hotzelt, *Kirchengeschichte Palästinas im Zeitalter der Kreuzzüge 1099–1291* (Cologne, 1940), 96, by Chartrou, *Anjou*, 227 note 1 (where it is erroneously dated 1129), and by S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 2 (Cambridge, 1952), 178.

[24] No such confirmation by Paschal II is extant, and it is certainly not permissible to see in this an allusion to JL. No. 6297 of 1111, as Rowe, "Province of Tyre," 175, does.

cial appointment of Melisende as heiress of the kingdom would imply that her father had ruled legitimately. At the same time this would rule out all possibilities for any of her sisters entering a claim. And this appointment was indeed made.[25] In March of 1129, shortly before Fulk's arrival in the Holy Land, a charter of Baldwin II was attested by *Milissenda filia regis* as first witness, even before the ecclesiastical dignitaries.[26] Another charter of the King, which is undated but must be placed in early 1129, was even more explicit.[27] It was attested by *Milissenda filia regis et regni Ierosolimitani heres*, and again she headed the witness list, which, however, did not include any churchmen.

After his arrival and his wedding Fulk attested, after the King and as count of Anjou, a charter issued in 1129 by the archbishop of Tyre.[28] Again as count of Anjou and together with Melisende he attested a charter of the King which is undated but must be placed between September 1130 and 21 August 1131.[29] And finally, later on, Fulk himself claimed in a charter from the early part of his reign (*ca.* 1131–34) that Baldwin II had appointed him also *heres regni*.[30] This is supported by Orderic Vitalis, who refers twice to Fulk as *heres* of Baldwin II, at a time when the latter was still alive.[31]

In any case there can be no doubt that Melisende had formally been declared *heres regni*. Both Hiestand and I assumed that this had been done before the embassy left for Europe in the fall of 1127 to invite Fulk.[32] We both took it for granted that this elevation was effected in order to make the bride more attractive to Fulk and to safeguard the interests of dynastic succession. In doing so we overlooked Fulk's interest and English precedent. Fulk had clear objectives. The opinion among the nobility of Jerusalem was divided, at least in the beginning, because William of Tyre says that the embassy was sent to Anjou *post multam deliberationem*.[33] But Fulk had a much more vital interest in the elevation of Melisende to the position of a *heres regni* than Jerusalem had. Also given the length of the negotiations, which took a full year, from the spring of 1128 to the spring of 1129, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the initiative for Melisende's promotion came from Fulk after he had been presented with the proposed marriage contract and had taken the cross as a sign that basically he was willing to go if a satisfactory arrangement could be worked out. We would then have to assume further that the negotiations took so long because his demands had to be relayed to Jerusalem and an answer had to be brought back.

The length of the negotiations suggests that this was, indeed, the case. Also, it has gone unnoticed that William of Tyre reports two ambassadors (William of Galilee and Guy of Brisebarre) as having left for Europe, but mentions only William of Galilee as having returned with Fulk in 1129.[34] From this alone one could certainly not draw the conclusion that Guy of Brisebarre went back to Jerusalem to obtain a decision on Fulk's demands. But he is conspicuously absent from the two Angevin charters of April and May 1128 discussed below (p. 147). Both mention the presence of Hugh of Payens, the Master of the Knights Templars. The *notitia* about the events of May 1128 is also attested by William of Galilee, but not by Guy of Brisebarre. The other charter of April 1128 was confirmed in early 1129 by Fulk's son Geoffrey on the eve of Fulk's departure: *cum secunda vice Ierosolimam ire me disposuissem*,

[25] R. Hiestand, "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," 27. H. E. Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 99.

[26] R. Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolimitani*, 1 vol. and *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1893–1904; henceforth abbreviated as *RRH*), No. 121. For the date, see Hiestand, "Chronologisches," 223 note 15, 229 note 60.

[27] *RRH*, No. 137a. For the date, see Hiestand, "Chronologisches," 224 note 27; *idem*, "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," 27 note 86; Mayer, "Queen Melisende," 99 note 15.

[28] *RRH*, No. 127. William of Tyre, XIV.2, p. 608, stresses that Fulk, after his arrival and in spite of his large possessions of Acre and Tyre, continued to call himself count (of Anjou), which was certainly the only title he was given by the chancery of Baldwin II. Du Cange, *Les familles d'Outremer*, ed. E. G. Rey, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1869), 16, claimed to have seen a charter by Fulk for the canons of Saint-Laud in Angers in which he styled himself king of Jerusalem and count of Anjou, but neither Rey nor Chartrou, *Anjou*, 227 note 4, nor A. Planchenault, the editor of the cartulary of Saint-Laud, has been able to trace it. If it ever existed, it would be an exceedingly interesting document but would have to be referred to Fulk's time as king of Jerusalem after 1131.

[29] *RRH*, No. 137. For the date, see Hiestand, "Chronologisches," 229 note 60.

[30] Hiestand, "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," 54.

[31] Orderic Vitalis, ed. Chibnall, 6, 136, 390.

[32] Hiestand, "Chronologisches," 223; *idem*, "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," 27; Mayer, "Queen Melisende," 99.

[33] William of Tyre, XIV.2, p. 608.

[34] *Ibid.*, XIV.2, XIII.24, pp. 608, 593. The author of the *Gesta episcoporum Cenomannensium* (Bouquet, *Recueil*, 12, p. 552) expressly says that Patriarch Stephen of Jerusalem subscribed to the offer of the crown to Fulk. Since the embassy left the East in the fall of 1127 and since Stephen was not elected until some time between 27 July and 19 October 1128 (*supra*, note 23), it follows that somebody must have gone back to Jerusalem to obtain his assent, unless the chronicler is guilty of a misnomer and was referring to Stephen's predecessor Warmund (died 27 July 1128).

so that it would stand after Fulk had permanently left. This confirmation was again attested by William of Buris, prince of Galilee, but not by Guy of Brisebarre. As the embassy was asked to attest these local charters in the first place and as Angevin nobles of much less standing than Guy attested on these occasions, we cannot but conclude that Guy was not in Anjou either in April 1128 or in early 1129 but had gone back to Jerusalem.[35]

To clinch the argument it must be pointed out that for a demand that Melisende be formally declared *heres regni* Fulk had an illustrious precedent, which he very well knew, since he was directly involved in it. So far historians of the Crusades have completely ignored this affair, whereas English historians, for whom it is a *cause célèbre*, have not noticed the impact of their own history on that of Jerusalem. When the White Ship foundered off Barfleur in November 1120 and William Aetheling drowned in the Channel, the succession to King Henry I of England became a completely open question. This was a blow not only to Henry I, but also to Fulk of Anjou who had married his own daughter Matilda to William in 1119. Matilda took the veil at Fontevrault. Henry never seems to have considered any of his illegitimate sons, of which he had a good number, to succeed him. Not until Emperor Henry V died in 1125 was there another way out of the crisis. The Empress Maud, Henry's daughter, was recalled by her father to England in September 1126. As long as the Emperor had been alive, she could not be considered as heiress to Henry I, as this would have entailed the danger of England becoming a part of the Empire. But after the Emperor's death Henry decided to settle his succession on her. She was, in fact, the only alternative to William Clito, who lived up to 1128.[36] On 1 January 1127 Henry solemnly recognized her as *heres Angliae*, reserving only the unlikely case that he should have a son from his second wife.[37] Bringing pressure on his barons he made them take a solemn oath to the same effect in which the archbishop of Canterbury and David, king of Scots, joined. This did not happen without a certain measure of grumbling among the barons, for Maud had left England at the age of eight and had been brought up in Germany. She was looked on almost as a foreigner. But what caused much more grum-

[35] I do not attach any significance to the story of William of Tyre, XIV.2, p. 608, that Fulk went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem after the death of his wife Aremburg (1126) but before he was invited by Baldwin II to come East. Such a pilgrimage would have to be placed after Fulk had taken the cross on 31 May 1128 and after the wedding of Fulk's son Geoffrey on 17 June 1128 (*infra*, p. 146), and Fulk would have been back in Anjou on 18 November 1128 (Chartrou, *Anjou*, 278, No. 88). This would have enabled him to present his demands in person. If he had maintained the 100 knights for a year in Palestine during this pilgrimage, as William of Tyre says he did, he would have had much more reason for such a lavish outlay than in 1120. It would also explain why Pope Honorius II in his letter of 29 May 1128 (*supra*, note 23) wrote that Fulk had already decided to come to the East. The references to two pilgrimages in the charter of April 1128 with the confirmation of early 1129 (*eo anno quo mihi Hyerosolimam ire contigit* and *cum secunda vice Ierosolimam ire me disposuissem*) would not have referred to the pilgrimages of 1120 and 1129, but to those of 1128 and 1129. Fulk would personally have concluded the marriage contract in Jerusalem in the summer of 1128 and would have returned briefly to Anjou for the winter of 1128/29 to wind up his affairs. Tempting as all this is, I discard it as the result of a confusion on William's part with the pilgrimage of 1120, since William himself says that after his return Fulk ruled Anjou for several years and since the Angevin chronicles do not know anything of a trip of Fulk to the East in 1128.

[36] That William Clito had supporters among the English feudatories has been well shown by C. W. Hollister, "The Anglo-Norman Succession Debate of 1126: Prelude to Stephen's Anarchy," *JMH*, 1 (1975), 19–31.

[37] Simeon of Durham, *Historia regum* in *Opera omnia*, ed. Th. Arnold, Rolls Series, 75,2 (London, 1885), 281: *iuraverunt, ut filiae suae imperatrici fide servata regnum Angliae haereditario iure post eum servarent*; William of Malmesbury, *Historia novella*, ed. K. R. Potter (Edinburgh, 1955), 3 f.: *omnes totius Angliae optimates . . . sacramento adegit et obstrinxit, ut . . . Matildam filiam suam quondam imperatricem incunctanter et sine ulla retractione dominam susciperent*; *Two of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. Ch. Plummer, on the basis of an edition by J. Earle, 1 (Oxford, 1892), 256; Florence of Worcester, *Chronicon ex chronicis*, ed. B. Thorpe, English Historical Society, 2 (London, 1849), 84 f.; Continuator of William of Jumièges, *Gesta Normannorum ducum*, ed. J. Marx, Société de l'histoire de Normandie (Rouen, 1914), 299; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, Rolls Series, 82,1 (London, 1884), 29 f.; Gervase of Canterbury, *Opera historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 73,1 (London, 1879), 93: *fecit principes et potentes Angliae adiurare eidem filiae suae et heredibus suis legitimis regnum Angliae* . . . Henry I *Normanniam petiit, ducens secum filiam suam eximperatricem, iam Angliae haeredem*. Cf. H. A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen 1135–54. Anarchy in England* (London, 1970), 28. The clause reserving the succession to possible future male offspring of Henry is found in Simeon of Durham, William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, and Gervase of Canterbury, whereas William of Newburgh and Gervase of Canterbury instruct us that the oath was taken not only to Maud but also to her as yet unborn children. The phrase *Angliae haeres* occurs in the chronicles only in Gervase of Canterbury (and, indirectly, in Florence of Worcester where it is said that Henry I *alium [filium] qui regni haeres legitime existeret necdum susceperat et ea re in filiam suam . . . regni iura transferebat*), although the sense of the others is clearly the same. See also the charter of Empress Maud for Milo of Gloucester of 1139 in H. A. Cronne and R. H. C. Davis, *Regesta regis Stephani ac Mathildis imperatricis ac Gaufridi et Henrici ducum Normannorum 1135–1154*, Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum, 3 (Oxford, 1968), No. 391: *venit ad me apud Bristolliam et recepit me ut dominam et sicut illam quam iustam heredem regni Anglie recognovit.*

bling was that the barons found it hard to accept that in the future they should live under a woman's rule.

As the Empress was only twenty-four years old, the question of her remarriage now took on quite different dimensions. The barons, therefore, gave their oath subject to the condition that she ought not to be married outside the English kingdom without their consent. At least, this was the excuse of those who in 1135 refused to accept her and rather chose Stephen of Blois as king.[38] This measure of precaution had no effect on Henry I. Not more than half a year after the oath of 1 January 1127, between 22 May (Pentecost) and the end of August 1127, Empress Maud was betrothed to Geoffrey, the son of Fulk V of Anjou. On 10 June 1128 young Geoffrey was dubbed a knight by Henry I at Rouen and on 17 June 1128, not even three weeks after Fulk had taken the cross, the wedding was publicly celebrated at Le Mans.[39] At this time the embassy from the East was already with Fulk, having arrived in the spring of 1128. Fulk had known about the betrothal for a year. For a year and a half he had known about the recognition of Maud as *heres Angliae*. Since the proclamation of Melisende as *heres regni* of Jerusalem was made after the death of her mother, Queen Morphia (26 October 1126 or 26 October 1127), which removed all hopes of a male succession there, Palestine cannot have furnished the model for the English succession. It must have been the other way around. And it is equally clear that it must have been Fulk of Anjou, the new father-in-law of the Empress, who during the year 1128 demanded that Melisende be given the same position in Jerusalem as Maud had in England. It is then easily explicable that in early 1129 the chancery of Jerusalem introduced her as witness to royal charters[40] and once stressed her official position as *heres regni*. It was a demonstration that Fulk's demands had been met. The sinking of the White Ship had caused ripples which went much further than has so far been noticed.

[38] William of Malmesbury, *op. cit.*, 4, describing the argument of Bishop Roger of Salisbury, who considered himself absolved from the oath because of this and who did not tire of repeating it. Only three men had known of the upcoming marriage, he said. William of Malmesbury points out that as early as 1127 everyone had predicted that the oath would eventually not be adhered to.

[39] The chronology of these events and, in particular, the year of the wedding has been established by K. Norgate, *England under the Angevin Kings*, I (London, 1887), 258–60, and by Chartrou, *Anjou*, 22 f. note 4, against Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros*, pp. cv, 207, who opted for both 1127 and 1129 (*infra*, p. 146).

[40] While it was certainly unusual and occurred here for the first time in the Latin East that a woman served as witness to a royal charter, it was not unique (so Hiestand, "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," 27). In 1138 a royal charter by Fulk was attested by Melisende's sister Hodierna of Tripoli and by Helvis of Ramla, who again attested a charter of Fulk in 1142 (*RRH*, Nos. 179, 210). Cf. H. E. Mayer, "Carving up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas," *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), 115.

APPENDIX

The Chronology of the Eastern Embassy to Anjou

The dating of the embassy has briefly been dealt with by Hiestand, "Chronologisches," p. 223, but more detailed remarks are in order here, since my argument in this paper hinges in part on the dating of the embassy. William of Tyre, XIII.24, p. 593, places the embassy much earlier than 1127/1128 (departure from the East and arrival in Anjou). He says that William of Buris, prince of Galilee and one of the ambassadors, was *statim a domino rege de hostium vinculis educto directus* to fetch Fulk. Baldwin II was released from captivity on 29 August 1124 (Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, III.38, ed. H. Hagenmeyer [Heidelberg, 1913], p. 749 f.). Such an early date for the legation is impossible. First, Fulk's wife Aremburg lived until 1126 (*Recueil d'annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. L. Halphen [Paris, 1903], p. 8 [*Annales de Saint-Aubin*], p. 121 [*Annales de Saint-Florent*]). On 15 January 1127 she was dead because on this date Fulk executed a donation she had made to Fontevrault when she lay dying (J. Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151* [Paris, 1928], p. 362, No. 35). Also William of Buris was still in Palestine on 2 May 1125, on 17 January 1126 (as *Willelmus Tiberiadis*), and in 1126, *ind. IV*, i.e., before September 1126 (*RRH*, Nos. 105, 112, 113, 115). He was back in 1129 (*RRH*, No. 131). Guy of Brisebarre, the second ambassador, was with him in Palestine on 17 January 1126. This precludes the early date for the embassy given by William of Tyre.

On the coming of the embassy to Anjou, see *Recueil d'annales angevines*, p. 8 (*Annales de Saint-Aubin*), and *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), p. 69 (*Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavorum*), p. 115 (*Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*), and *Gesta episcoporum Cenomannensium* in Bouquet's *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, new edition by L. Delisle, 12 (Paris, 1877), p. 552. A. Luchaire, *Louis VI le Gros. Annales de sa vie et de son règne* (Paris, 1890), p. 207, No. 444, proposed 1129 for their coming to France. This ignores not only the chronology of events in the East where Fulk arrived already in May 1129 (*supra*, note 18), but also charter evidence from Anjou, on the basis of which Luchaire's date was refuted by Halphen-Poupardin, *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, p. 69, note 4. Luchaire was led astray by dating the marriage of Fulk's son Geoffrey, which preceded Fulk's departure for the East, in 1129 (p. 207), although on p. cv, confusing it with the betrothal, he had placed it in 1127. The correct date is 1128 (*supra*, p. 146).

By the spring of 1128 the embassy had been joined in

Anjou by Hugh of Payens, the Master of the Knights Templars. He had been sent by the King and an assembly of the barons to Europe to fetch help for the conquest of Damascus (William of Tyre, XIII.26, p. 595, dating Hugh's return to the East *anno sequenti*, after the death of Patriarch Warmund of Jerusalem and the election of his successor Stephen, both of which occurred in 1128; cf. Hiestand, "Chronologisches," p. 229). Since Hugh of Payens participated on 13 January 1128 in the Council of Troyes which established the rule of the Templars, he is likely to have left the East in the fall of 1127; he had been dispatched by the same assembly which entrusted William of Buris and Guy of Brisebarre to invite Fulk of Anjou. The presence of Hugh of Payens in Anjou in the spring of 1128 is known from two Angevin charters. At an unspecified time in 1128 Fulk confirmed a donation he had made before his first pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1120 (Chartrou, *Anjou*, p. 367, No. 38 = Marquis d'Albon, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple (1119?–1150)* [Paris, 1913], p. 5, No. 8). It is dated in the year 1127, but since the year in Anjou began at Easter, it must be placed in 1128, not later than 22 April. Any date in 1127 must be ruled out because the itinerary of Hugh of Payens, who attested the charter, does not allow for this. M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314*, AbhGött, Philol.-hist.Kl., 3. Folge, 86 (Göttingen, 1974), p. 25, note 20, places it, in fact, in April 1128 and correctly so because of its connection in time with the following charter of May 1128 discussed here. On Ascension Day (31 May) 1128 Fulk of Anjou took the cross at Le Mans. Hugh of Amboise had been summoned there to answer before Fulk in litigation brought against him by the monks of Marmoutier. He first refused to give up his claims, but when he saw that Fulk would not support him he allowed Hugh of Payens to effect a settlement. Shortly thereafter Hugh of Amboise, having taken the cross himself *quia Ierusalem profecturus erat*, came to Marmoutier to repent once more. The monks composed a *notitia* on these events dated *a. inc. 1128, ind. VII* (Chartrou, *Anjou*, p. 369, No. 39 = d'Albon, *Cartulaire du Temple*, p. 8, No. 12). It must be dated after 1 September 1128 (because of *ind. VII*) but before 14 April 1129 (because of the Angevin Easter style). As it is mentioned that William of Buris attended the ceremony of Fulk's taking the cross on the previous Ascension Day, it follows conclusively that this event must have taken place on Ascension 1128 and that by that time the ambassadors had arrived in Anjou and had been joined there by Hugh of Payens.

Additional Note

At the time I read the galley proofs of this article I received John Gillingham's fine book *The Angevin Empire* (London, 1984). It is only fair to point out that on page 9 of his book Gillingham has already noted that the circumstances of Fulk V of Anjou's transfer to Jerusalem were strikingly similar to what happened between Anjou and England a little earlier. Thus, although Mr. Gillingham's subject was not Jerusalem, it led directly to the events preceding those I have discussed in this paper.

III

The Concordat of Nablus

On 23 January 1120, in the ancient town of Nablus in Samaria, Patriarch Warmund of Jerusalem and King Baldwin II of Jerusalem held a famous assembly of the highest dignitaries of the clergy and nobility. It has become known as the Council of Nablus, although it was not, strictly speaking, a church synod. Because of lay participation it was more of a *parlement*, or a *Reichsversammlung*,[1] a kind of

[1] J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kindgom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291*, Monographs of the Medieval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass. 1932, 9, 94; J. Richard, *Le Royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris 1953, 68 = idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Europe in the Middle Ages. Selected Studies, Amsterdam 1979, 68; J. Prawer, 'Les Premiers temps de la féodalité dans le royaume de Jérusalem', *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis*, xxii (1954), 419–21 = idem, *Crusader Institutions*, Oxford 1980, 15–17, which deals only with cc. 24, 25; H. E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Stuttgart 1965, 84 = idem, *The Crusades*, London 1972, 79. The Council of Nablus in general has not greatly attracted the attention of crusading historians. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, Cambridge 1952, i. 156, devotes five lines to it; B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The secular church*, London 1980, 64–5, gives it 17 lines; René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades*, I, Paris 1934; J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume de Jérusalem*, I, Paris 1969; and R. L. Nicholson, 'The growth of the Latin states, 1118–1144' in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, I, Philadelphia 1955, pass it over in complete silence. On the peculiar tithe system of the Latin East see J. Richard, *Chypre sous les Lusignans. Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles)*, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, lxxii, Paris 1962, 62; Mayer, *Kreuzzüge*, 159 = *Crusades*, 167–8; J. Prawer, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. European colonialism in the Middle Ages*, London 1972, 377. H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der M. G. H, xxvi, Stuttgart 1977, 182–3; Hamilton, *Latin Church*, 145. Hamilton argues that the free Frankish peasants holding their land in burgage tenure were generally required to pay the tithe. While this may be possible, it cannot be proven from Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (henceforth cited as RRH), Innsbruck 1893, no. 340, adduced in evidence. We are dealing here with the settlement of Frankish peasants established by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre at *Magna Mahumeria* (al-Bira) north of Jerusalem. Tenure was held there by the peasants *ad terraticum et decimam*. But the landlord was the cathedral church itself which would not, of course, tax its own income. Hence in this special case where there was no secular landlord as intermediary, the Frankish peasants were tithed directly. That there was a secular usurpation of tithes in the kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1120 was mentioned briefly by Richard, *Royaume latin*, 100 = *Latin Kingdom*, 107, but without reference to the Investiture Contest and to the tithe situation prevailing between 1101 and 1120. I should like to record here my sincere gratitude to Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C. where I was a Fellow during the academic year 1980/81, and had the time to write this study.

assembly common in all medieval kingdoms which would have been summoned to decide matters of general interest. William of Tyre gave it a whole chapter of his chronicle[2] and stated that its decisions were so widely known that it was superfluous to enumerate them. He correctly called the assembly a *conventus publicus et curia generalis*, and only in the rubric to the chapter was its synodal character referred to: *Apud Neapolim urbem Samariae concilium celebratur.*

Another author who noted its synodal character was the Venetian clerk, Cerbanus, who between 1125 and 1133 reported to Bishop Bonifazio Falier of Castello (d. 1133) concerning the translation of relics of St Isidorus from Chios to Venice. In his report he refers to *synodo celebrata* by the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Antioch as well as King Baldwin II.[3] It is said that it was decided at this synod to send the well-known embassy to Venice requesting naval help which led to the eastern campaign by a large Venetian fleet under the command of the doge of Venice himself. This fleet helped to capture Tyre in 1124. It is generally held that the synod referred to by Cerbanus was the Council of Nablus, although William of Tyre does not mention the patriarch of Antioch as a participant, while the patriach of Jerusalem was demonstrably absent from the conferences held at Antioch in 1119 between King Baldwin II and the patriarch of Antioch.[4] The most likely explanation is that Cerbanus telescoped the two synods. Stationed at the imperial court at Constantinople, he wanted to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem against the Emperor's wishes, but was refused permission. He fled twice, but never got further than Chios.[5] He had therefore never been in the Latin Kingdom and, as he wrote after 1125, the confusion is understandable. That the king did actually send an embassy with letters to Venice is, however, recorded in the 'Pactum Warmundi' of 1123,[6] in which Jerusalem and Venice agreed about the latter's share in the expected conquests. Cerbanus, from whom Marino Sanuto and Andrea Dandolo in the fourteenth century took their stories, also put on record that the embassy went to see Pope Calixtus II.

Cerbanus, although he realised that secular decisions had been taken, nevertheless considered the Nablus assembly to be a synod. William of Tyre called it a synod in the rubric and a general assembly in the text. The official decree embodied in the copy transcribed for the use of the church of Sidon[7] called it a council but noted that it had been called jointly by the patriarch and the king. The decisions of the council which were

[2] William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, xii. 13, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, historiens occidentaux*, Paris 1844, i. 351–2.

[3] Cerbanus Carbani, *Translatio mirifici martyris Isidori a Chio insula in civitatem Venetam*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, Paris 1895, v. 322.

[4] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* iii. 4, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, 625. The patriarch went with the army carrying the true cross as far as the Jordan River, but from there the cross was carried to Antioch by the archbishop of Caesarea.

[5] Cerbanus, *Translatio*, 324. [6] RRH no. 102.

[7] MS Vat. lat. 1345, printed by Giovanni Domenico Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, new edition, xxi, Paris 1767, 261–6.

recorded in the same manuscript dealt not only with the ecclesiastical tithe but also, at great length, with punishments for sexual offences and other crimes to be judged in court Christian. However, c. 22 was concerned with false accusations, obviously both in court Christian and court secular, while cc. 23–5 treated of theft. These last provisions were definitely secular in character.

It can be said, then, that the Council of Nablus was a *parlement*, because it dealt with secular jurisdiction and in all likelihood decided on the embassy to the pope and to Venice. But it must also definitely be classed as a synod, since 21 out of 25 canons dealt exclusively with ecclesiastical affairs. The preface to the decree set the assembly in an atmosphere of penitence befitting the regulation of such crimes as adultery, sodomy, etc., and this was underlined by William of Tyre in his account based on the preface. There had been signs, it said, that God was visiting his wrath on the Holy Land: the year before the army of Antioch had been massacred at the battle of the *Ager Sanguinis*; for four years locusts and mice had eaten up the crops; there had been earthquakes; it was time to repent. But, unfortunately for this line of reasoning, the last plague of locusts and mice as well as the last earthquake had been reported by Fulcher of Chartres, who religiously recorded such misfortunes, in 1117 and he did not link them to the libertinism of the Franks in the East but to one concrete event: the repudiation of Adelasia of Sicily by her bigamous husband King Baldwin I.[8]

Yet the atmosphere at Nablus was indeed one of penitence. This is apparent from the first three canons themselves. In c. 1 the king 'restored' to the patriarch the tithe of all his income in the dioceses of Jerusalem, Nablus (at this time united with Jerusalem) and Acre where no bishops had as yet been installed. It was also decided that if new bishoprics were created there the patriarch should settle the tithes on the bishops with the counsel of the king and the church. In c. 2 the king, with the approval of his barons, granted that the ecclesiastical tithes due from his barons and also 'restored' should be spent according to the needs of the parishes. In c. 3 the patriarch received these tithes which were owed to him and his bishops, whether present or absent, according to the needs of their respective parishes.

The importance of these provisions has long been noted. The tithe system as established in the Latin East had its peculiarities. The tithe there was owed to the bishops, not to the parish churches. However, the distinction between the tithes accruing to the patriarch for his whole diocese from the king in c. 1 and those accruing from the barons for the parishes in c. 2 was of no significance, because c. 3 reveals that the patriarch and the bishops present accepted the tithes for themselves to be spent according to the needs of their respective parishes. The meaning of this phrase must be

[8] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, ii. 60, 602–5.

sought in another direction. In 1120, early in the kingdom's history, there was no system of rural parish churches, and it is clear that in most cases bishopric and parish were identical. The tithes belonged to the bishop, and, therefore, as and when parish churches were created, the bishop was obliged to see that they had an income. There is no doubt that this is how the system functioned, because with one exception described elsewhere,[9] tithes that were not in episcopal hands had all been donated by bishops. The other principle established at Nablus was that it was landlords and not tenants who paid tithes, for king and barons alone are mentioned as owing them. Thus, a Frankish tenant's income (after secular taxation) escaped ecclesiastical taxation. But the Church, by taxing the landlord, could reach the mass of non-Latin Christians by collecting one-tenth of what they paid to their lord. Taxing only Latins would have yielded considerably less, because most of the rural population was Syro-Christian and Muslim. Taxing the landlord and not the tenant was not introduced in 1120 as a new principle. Eight years before in 1112 Patriarch Arnulf had given tithes accruing to certain landlords in certain villages, not all the tithes accruing there, for the rebuilding of the church of Josaphat outside Jerusalem[10] – a fundamental difference.

What has not so far been noted, however, is the tone of contrition in cc. 1–3 of the decree of Nablus. The king 'restored' the tithes to the Church (c. 1). He confessed that he and his barons had been guilty of *superbia* when they withheld the tithes, and asked to be forgiven (c. 2). The patriarch 'absolved' him and his barons (c. 3). But not only had Patriarch Arnulf been able to give tithes to Josaphat in 1112. It had also been he and not the king who had given the tithes of Jerusalem to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre when they were reformed in 1114 and the possessions of the church were divided between patriarch and chapter. Even though a royal charter and a separate one by the patriarch were issued on this occasion,[11] the tithes occur only in the patriarch's charter. Why did the king 'restore' to the Church in 1120 tithes of which it had previously been able to dispose? What had happened?

Here I must reiterate my conviction that medieval charters are primarily legal documents and must carefully be read as such. I mean by this that the clauses contained in them must have a legal meaning. What the king gave or confirmed to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in 1114 he gave of his own free will, having been petitioned (*rogatus*) by the patriarch and the canons to do so. The patriarch acted in a more restricted way. He gave the canons the tithes of Jerusalem and other income and possessions expressly with the counsel of the king (*consilio regis*) and was ordered by him (*rege . . . imperante*) to make this public. However, no royal inference is mentioned with regard to the patriarch's action in reforming the canons secular to become canons regular, since this was a purely ecclesiastical affair reserved to the Church. Only when it was a question

[9] Mayer, *Bistümer*, 183–92.

[10] RRH no. 67. Mayer, *Bistümer*, 267–70.

[11] RRH nos. 74, 75.

of ecclesiastical income had the patriarch to record the king's assent, just as he did in 1112 when he gave tithes for the rebuilding of Josaphat. When, as early as 1102/3 Patriarch Ebremar of Jerusalem had defined the rights of the canons secular at the Holy Sepulchre and, especially when he settled individual prebends on them, he not only obtained the consent of Baldwin I, but even had the royal seal affixed to the patriarchal charter.[12]

In Galilee Prince Tancred had used the entire property of the famous monastery of the Saviour on Mount Thabor for his own purposes. It was not until the spring of 1101 when he left permanently for Antioch that he partly returned it (*reddidit*) in what must be considered his good-bye present to the monastery.[13] The latter received Mount Thabor itself and two villages in the vicinity. It also had two villages east of the river Jordan and two in the mountains of Galilee. Agreement to leave eleven villages in Galilee and four more east of the Jordan to the monastery was easily reached because the former were totally in ruins and the latter were in Turkish hands. But another four villages which were recognised to belong in principle to the monastery were disposed of by Tancred as if he were a lay abbot of old: because of the scarcity of land and the needs of his knights (*propter terrarum angustias et indigentiam militum*) they had been given to his knights and would remain in their possession. Only the tithes were reserved for the monastery and the abbot received no more than a vague promise that the villages would eventually be returned to the monastery. This was done with the express approval of King Baldwin I and of Patriarch Daimbert of Jerusalem. Baldwin had no difficulty in agreeing to this uncanonical alienation of church property, and the patriarch could not but approve of a settlement (justified in theory by the old maxim of Roman and canon law: *quia necessitas non habet legem*) which at least partly remedied the previous even more uncanonical situation. Even the pope may have given his approval in 1103.[14] In 1106, when King Baldwin I confirmed Tancred's charter of 1101 the situation had not noticeably improved.[15] To be sure, only one village was then still owned by knights and the king ruled that this was to continue unchanged during their lifetime. But he himself had acquired a good deal of the abbey's property and was unwilling to promise more than that he would return it three years

[12] RRH no. 40. For the date see Mayer, *Bistümer*, 53 n. 36.

[13] RRH no. 36. It is dated 1101, *indictione viii*. This led F. Kühn, *Geschichte der ersten lateinischen Patriarchen von Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1886, 69, to assume *calculus Pisanus* which would date the charter 25 March to 31 August 1100. He overlooked that the charter talks of Baldwin I as already king (elevated in November 1100, crowned 25 December 1100) and mentions both Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I in the most deferential terms. This is incompatible with the political situation prevailing after the accession of Baldwin I when Tancred openly refused to pay homage to him for Galilee. He came to an agreement with Baldwin in March 1101 and then left for Antioch to accept the regency there. We must, therefore, conclude that the indiction should have been *viiii* and that the charter is to be roughly dated in March 1101, after the agreement but before Tancred left for Antioch.

[14] JL. no. 5948. Its authenticity was attacked by Carl Erdmann, but probably not with sufficient reason. Cf. Mayer, *Bistümer*, 91 n. 34.

[15] RHR no. 51.

hence, or earlier if God would make him prosperous: Baldwin remained impecunious for most of his life.

The long and bitter controversy between the bishop of Nazareth and the abbot of the Thabor monastery concerning the latter's relation to Nazareth was settled in 1111 by Patriarch Gibelin of Jerusalem in his capacity as papal legate.[16] The monastery had to make some concessions to the bishop, but the consecration of the main church and the ordination of the abbot and the monks was to be performed by the patriarch of Jerusalem. The tithes of the diocese of Tiberias, where no bishop had as yet been installed, were partitioned, two-thirds going to Nazareth and one-third to Thabor. Gibelin's decision had been taken at a church synod, but the assent of the king and his magnates was sought and obtained. Once more we see the secular arm participating in what should have been an exclusively ecclesiastical affair and, in particular, in a tithe problem.

The years between 1111 and 1120 witnessed the last phases of the Investiture Contest in Europe. For long it was my opinion that the Investiture Contest had never been carried over to the Latin East.[17] More recently, however, I have come to see that some, at least, of the abuses about which the contest was fought existed in the Latin East. There were, for instance, proprietary churches in the pre-Gregorian sense, i.e. churches belonging to laymen who controlled their revenues. I have cited elsewhere the Dome of the Rock given to the Norman Tancred; also St Lazarus at Bethany and some other less important churches; possibly also the main mosque of Ascalon.[18] I have also come to interpret the struggle between King Baldwin I and Patriarch Daimbert of Jerusalem of 1101 over the patriarch's obligation to furnish knights for the royal army as a part of the then world-wide investiture debate.[19] Daimbert had argued that those serving the altar should live on its income (*ut qui altari serviunt de altari vivant*). To this, Baldwin had coldly replied that political considerations demanded that Christian knights should be fed from the altar (*ut de altari potius christiani milites pascantur*) rather than that the Saracens should carry off from the Holy Sepulchre the gifts of the faithful by force. But Daimbert had raised the key issue of the Investiture Contest, i.e. the *libertas ecclesiae*, in the presence of the papal legate. He asked Baldwin whether he dared to make the Church tributary and a bondswoman (*An tributariam et ancillam facere sanctam praesumis ecclesiam?*) when Christ had changed her from a slave into a free woman (*liberam ex ancilla faciens*) and had committed her to the custody of the apostles. The king, he said, ought to be careful not to incur the papal anathema. The papal legate knew better than to approve this bold suggestion. He maintained a stony silence during the quarrel and later worked towards a compromise which came to nothing because

[16] RRH no. 69. Mayer, *Bistümer*, 91–2.

[17] Mayer, *Crusades*, 169.

[18] Mayer, *Bistümer*, 158, 209, 225, 359, 390.

[19] Ibid., 226–7. The following quotations from Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* vii. 60–3, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, Paris 1879, iv. 547–8.

Daimbert would not keep his promises. Baldwin I was an entirely pre-Gregorian king and not the kind of man who would deal leniently with any patriarch who opposed his wishes. He charged Daimbert with embezzling large sums of money. When the patriarch found it difficult to defend himself, and the papal legate could not be persuaded to depose him, the king banished him to Jaffa in the fall of 1101. In March 1102 with the acquiescence of the legate Daimbert retired to Antioch to live in exile.

But about this time Daimbert received moral support from none other than Anselm of Canterbury, an old friend of Baldwin's mother[20] and since 1100 the king of England's chief opponent in the English Investiture Contest. Anselm dispatched a letter to Baldwin through Renier, one of his mother's clerics.[21] Anselm congratulated Baldwin on his elevation to the kingship of Jerusalem, but added some rather outspoken comments. The king ought not to believe, as many bad kings did, that the Church was his to rule over. God loved nothing more in this world *quam libertatem ecclesiae suae... Liberam vult deus esse sponsam suam, non ancillam.* Those who ruled the Church as a subject, turned themselves from sons into aliens. This letter is clear proof that in Anselm's view Baldwin was violating the *libertas ecclesiae* and Baldwin must have understood this well enough, as he was perfectly familiar with the issues. He had left Europe in 1096 while the struggle was still raging, especially in the Empire of which his home, Lorraine, was part. He had also been brought up in the clergy as a canon of Rheims, Cambrai and Liège.[22]

It is time to ask how far the Investiture Contest really touched the kingdom of Jerusalem. We have seen that Baldwin's struggle with Patriarch Daimbert echoed its issues and that Anselm of Canterbury was clearly under the impression that the same situation which caused the struggle in Europe also prevailed in Jerusalem under Baldwin I. The Investiture Contest was over the *libertas ecclesiae* in general, and in particular several practical issues.

(1) Simony, i.e. the purchase of ecclesiastical offices. Of this we have no evidence in the Church of Jerusalem if taken in the strict sense of money

[20] Anselm wrote to her repeatedly. Cf. *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi opera omnia*, ed. Franciscus S. Schmitt, Edinburgh 1946–51, iii–v. epp. nos. 82, 114, 131, 167, 244, 247.

[21] Ibid. Edinburgh 1949, iv. 142, ep. no. 235. The carrier Renier is surely identical with Ida's cleric of the same name mentioned in ep. no. 167. This letter was first used in crusading research by Jonathan Riley-Smith in connection with the title of the first rulers of Jerusalem, in 'The title of Godfrey of Bouillon', in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, lii (1979), 84 n. 12. For the date of the letter see F. S. Schmitt, 'Die Chronologie der Briefe des hl. Anselm von Canterbury', *Revue Bénédictine*, lxiii (1953), 198. The sequence of Anselm's letters in the best manuscripts is roughly chronological and this one precedes those datable in 1102. It was certainly written after 25 December 1100 and before Anselm's second exile beginning on 27 April 1103. The king's expulsion of Daimbert from his see was a more likely cause of Anselm writing this letter than the quarrel over the ecclesiastical income, as banishing the patriarch was a drastic step likely to be widely noticed in Europe.

[22] William of Tyre, *Historia* x. 1, p. 401.

payments, although a man like Patriarch Arnulf would certainly not have been above such an activity.

(2) Free canonical elections of bishops, i.e. an effective safeguard against simony. In principle these were granted in all countries shaken by the Investiture Contest. But the Concordat of Worms of 1122 imposed an important condition that the elections had to take place in the presence of the king or his representative. The same seems to have been true in England under the much less well-known terms of the Concordat of London of 1107. In any event, English bishoprics practically remained in the king's gift. Roger of Hoveden, for example, cites with tedious monotony case after case of the king 'giving' a bishopric to somebody. There are isolated cases of lay investiture on record in England under the Empress Matilda and King John.[23] And the young King Henry, to discredit his father Henry II in Rome, sent the pope the following shocking writ which Henry II had sent to the monks of Winchester: 'I order you to hold a free election, but, nevertheless, I forbid you to elect anyone except Richard my clerk, the archdeacon of Poitiers.'[24] Nowhere, neither in Europe nor yet in Jerusalem, could the crown afford to let the control of ecclesiastical appointments go, and the influence of the crown in the episcopal elections in Jerusalem was indeed very powerful. Two examples may be cited. The election of Patriarch Amaury of Jerusalem in 1157 was done *contra iuris regulas per interventum domine Milissendis regine, cuius aliquando vivente marito fuerat capellanus familiaris, cum ea laborantibus et ministrantibus tam domina comitissa Tripolitana Odierna, domine Milissendis sorore, quam domina Flandrenssium comitissa Sibilla, domini regis itidem sorore.*[25] Again, as late as 1180, when two candidates for the patriarchate were presented to the crown by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, the successful one was appointed through the influence of the king's mother. In the early thirteenth century it was expressly stated that this was the normal procedure, at least in 1180,[26] and there was no change until Celestine III cut back the royal prerogative to approval (or rejection) of a free election.[27]

(3) Lay investiture, i.e. the investiture of a bishop by the king with ring and staff as the insignia of his ecclesiastical office. Of this we have no evidence in the Latin East and it can be assumed that this conspicuous way of demonstrating the king's overlordship over the Church was by 1099 too much criticised to be introduced into the Latin Kingdom. But lay investiture was by itself a meaningless ceremony. What was offensive was that it was a symbol of lay control of the Church, including church property and church income. In doing away with lay investiture the

[23] A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087–1216*, 2nd edn, Oxford 1955, 180. [24] Ibid. 220.

[25] William of Tyre, *Historia*, xviii. 20, printed only by R. B. C. Huygens, 'La Tradition manuscrite de Guillaume de Tyr', *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser, v (1964), 302.

[26] P. W. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, 'William of Tyre and the patriarchal election of 1180', *EHR*, xciii (1978), 5–7.

[27] R. Hiestand and H. E. Mayer, 'Die Nachfolge des Patriarchen Monachus von Jerusalem', *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, lxxiv (1974), 110.

III

settlements of the contest removed in principle the Germanic institution of the proprietary church owned by the person on whose land a church had been built and who therefore claimed control over its income and the appointment of its priest. This was an old problem. Lay abbots of the ninth and tenth centuries squandering the incomes of their abbeys are well-known figures. But this undesirable state of affairs had largely been done away with in monasteries by the reform movement. It was the long-standing application of this Germanic principle to the bishoprics which the Gregorian Church could no longer tolerate, and it is well known that the settlements of the contest were mainly concerned with the episcopal issue. The proprietary church at the lower level disappeared only gradually throughout the twelfth century.

The kings of Jerusalem never released their control of episcopal elections up to the 1190s, and until then they always reserved their right to choose between nominated candidates. But before Innocent III the Church everywhere tolerated formally or informally this much influence. It could not be denied to the Latin Church in the East, where it was desirable that crown and church should collaborate closely against the common enemy.

It can be seen from the evidence adduced above that King Baldwin I certainly claimed lay control of ecclesiastical income and never yielded on this point. If the king exercised such a control, there is no reason why his barons should not have done so too, and the case of Tancred of Galilee shows that they did. But the case of Baldwin II was different. William of Tyre described him as a man of great piety who prayed so much that he developed callus on his knees.[28] Also his succession had been hotly disputed among the nobility. Baldwin II had carried the election only after much manoeuvring, and mainly because he had happened to be present in Jerusalem when the corpse of his kinsman Baldwin I arrived for the funeral. The party who favoured the late king's brother, Eustace III of Boulogne, tried to bring him over, but, upon learning in Italy that Baldwin II had actually been made king, he turned back. To William of Tyre Baldwin's succession seemed to be somewhat irregular (*videtur tamen minus regularem habuisse introitum*).[29] He also tells us that Baldwin II's supporters were led by Prince Joscelin II of Galilee and Patriarch Arnulf and that Joscelin made a deal by which Baldwin II, in return for his support, made him count of Edessa. If Joscelin named his price, might not Arnulf also have done so?

It was clear that Baldwin II could not become king without the support of at least some of the vassals. But he also needed the patriarch because it was his prerogative to anoint and crown him. Only in his absence were the archbishops allowed to replace him. Such prerogatives were everywhere jealously guarded. The coronation of the young King Henry in 1170 by the archbishop of York was the final provocation which roused Becket's ire against Henry II. And earlier, in 1121, when Henry I of England's

[28] William of Tyre, *Historia*, xii. 4, p. 516.
[29] Ibid. xii. 3, p. 515.

second wife was to be crowned, there was an undignified scene. As the archbishop of Canterbury entered the church, he found the king already wearing a crown. Being afraid that perhaps another bishop had placed it on the king's head, he refused to proceed with the service until the king had first removed the crown to let the archbishop replace it.[30] Since Baldwin II's succession was in dispute and there was no time to waste if he wished to exclude Eustace III, it was the perfect occasion for an able but unscrupulous churchman like Arnulf to exact a high price from a pious man like Baldwin.

It is true, he was only anointed at Easter 1118 and as he was not crowned until Christmas 1119,[31] it would be tempting to attribute the delay to political reasons. But it was anointing and consecration which made a king, not coronation. Arnulf might have wished to defer the coronation until the problem of Eustace III was settled, but since he had performed the unction, deferring the coronation would have made little difference. It is, indeed, both tempting and plausible to assume that Patriarch Arnulf's price for making Baldwin II king of Jerusalem was that he should solemnly grant the Church complete control of its revenues or, at least, their largest part, i.e. the ecclesiastical tithes. Under Baldwin I Arnulf had almost always been the weaker of the two. He owed his appointment to Baldwin I and generally felt it advisable not to work against this very determined ruler who had ridden rough-shod over several patriarchs. Moreover, Arnulf had enough trouble merely to maintain himself in office up to the year 1116. There were many grounds for the attacks on him – such as alienating church property in favour of his niece, his conduct with women and the fact that he had been born out of wedlock – and he tried to efface this unfavourable record by proving himself an energetic church reformer. The royal control of ecclesiastical tithe, which undoubtedly existed, must have appeared distasteful to him and as something to be discontinued when the opportunity presented itself at the accession of Baldwin II. Arnulf was in a strong position, especially as Baldwin was a genuinely pious person who may well have seen that royal and baronial control of church income was no longer in keeping with the times.

Thus, it would have been a natural bargain to strike and one that I believe was indeed struck. However, Arnulf died on 28 April 1118, only two weeks after Baldwin's consecration and anointing. A new patriarch was not elected until the late summer of 1118. New negotiations may have ensued and, if so, they must have been over by May 1119, when the king went on a campaign to the Jordan. From there he was directly called to Antioch were he stayed until late in 1119 when he returned to Jerusalem shortly before Christmas and was duly crowned on Christmas Day in Bethlehem. In the following month he fulfilled what we may see as his side of the bargain, when he convoked the Council of Nablus jointly with the

[30] Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta*, 213.
[31] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, iii. 1, 7, pp. 616, 635.

patriarch. Here, after the patriarch had preached a sermon of penitence,[32] he solemnly and in a fine show of public contrition 'restored' the tithes. This he did by releasing them from secular control and confessing himself guilty of having exercised such control. On the point of episcopal elections he could not, and did not, yield, even if he had ever been asked to do so. But, so far as ecclesiastical income was concerned, the Investiture Contest in Jerusalem was over.

The barons followed the example of their king and released whatever control they had of ecclesiastical tithes. But they safeguarded one of their essential interests. In c. 1 the king had given up the tithes for Jerusalem, Nablus and Acre, returning them to the patriarch *sicut ratio dioecesis eius exigit*. This meant that the patriarch could not spend this income outside the area which he effectively controlled at the time as a bishop. Jerusalem, Nablus and Acre were the centres of the royal demesne in Judaea, Samaria and Galilee. The royal demesne corresponded roughly to the area which was, at that time, the patriarch's diocese. But in case bishops should be installed in Nablus or Acre, the patriarch was expressly obliged to let the new bishops have that part of the tithe on royal income which accrued in Nablus or Acre, i.e. in the royal demesne in Samaria or Galilee. The barons' case was different, partly because they had scattered holdings outside their baronies and partly because diocesan borders often did not correspond, even roughly, with those of the baronies. Hence the barons released the tithes *prout parochiarum suarum ratio exigit* and the patriarch received them with this express condition (cc. 2, 3). A hypothetical example from 1160 will demonstrate this. The count of Ascalon was tithed on his income there by the bishop of Bethlehem, but the bishop was not allowed to spend this revenue in Hebron which was also a part of the dicoese of Bethlehem, but was outside the county of Ascalon. It had to be spent on the cure of souls in the county of Ascalon, *ratione parochiae*. It would not have been necessary to make this precaution in Europe because lords and tenants would have paid their tithe to their local parish church. But as only the landlords were tithed in the East and as they paid their tithe to the bishop, they had to make sure that the bishop was obliged to spend the money roughly where it had been collected and not anywhere else in his diocese at his own discretion.

It is interesting to see how the chroniclers reacted to the Council of Nablus. Fulcher of Chartres must have had divided feelings about the event. As a member of the clergy he would have welcomed it, but as chaplain to King Baldwin I since 1097 it would have appeared to him as a royal defeat. He deemed it wise not to mention the council at all. William of Tyre, trained in canon law in the schools of Bologna, was a champion of ecclesiastical liberty. He therefore told the story of the council in great

[32] William of Tyre, *Historia*, xii. 13, p. 531.

detail: how the participants assembled, how the patriarch preached an admonitory sermon, how they felt they had to amend for their wrongdoings and how they established twenty-five canons of law. But he does not give us any indication as to the contents of these canons. He merely wrote that the reader might easily find them in the archives of many churchees. This was indeed true: every bishop needed them and it is clear from William's text that he himself had a copy. But as well as being a champion of the *libertas ecclesiae*, William was also a royal historian, and, like Fulcher, he may have thought it tactful to omit the text of the decree. We must also remember that he violently disapproved of the Patriarch Arnulf. And if the demand for the tithes to be released from secular control had originally come from Arnulf, it is easy to see why William spoke of the council in generalities without mentioning the central issue. That would have meant admitting that Arnulf had, for once, done the right thing.

Thus, the Investiture Contest did, indeed, touch the kingdom of Jerusalem, and its end in Europe was a matter of particular relief, since there was then hope that pope and emperor could henceforth collaborate on behalf of the Holy Land. The same Fulcher of Chartres, who had not written a word about the Council of Nablus, recorded his great joy at the reconciliation between the king of Germany and the pope.[33] And the famous 'Pactum Warmundi' of 1123, in which the regents of Jerusalem promised the Venetians their share in the future conquest of Tyre, even though it confused Henry IV of Germany with Henry V, also referred to the end of the contest.

Incidentally, this charter contains one of the earliest records of the contest being called the controversy over the ring and the staff. The charter, inserted in full in William's chronicle,[34] begins: 'When Pope Calixtus II and Henry IV, august Emperor of the Romans, were ruling, the one over the Church of Rome, the other over the Empire, in the same year when at a council held at Rome, peace was concluded, by the will of God, between church and state in the controversy over the ring and the staff, Domenigo Michiel, Doge of Venice...came victorious to the much needed defence of the Christians.' The reference was to its ratification at the First Lateran Council of 1123 rather than to the Concordat of Worms. But if we accept that King Baldwin II of Jerusalem's ambassadors to Venice were dispatched from the Council of Nablus of 1120 in which the Investiture Contest over ecclesiastical income in the kingdom of Jerusalem was settled, and if we recall that the same embassy also visited Pope Calixtus II, then the reference to the contest in the charter which describes the Venetian fleet coming in response to the appeal is an entirely natural one. The charter also clearly expressed the hope that as at last the

[33] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia*, iii. 13, p. 653–4.
[34] RRH no. 102. William of Tyre, *Historia*, xii. 25, pp. 550–3.

long conflict between church and state had been finally settled, a new era of common Christian aid to the Holy Land could begin. The struggle there had ended on 23 January 1120 at the Council of Nablus. It is surely appropriate that the decree of this council should therefore be entitled the Concordat of Nablus.

IV

Angevins *versus* Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem

Writing his *Ecclesiastical History* at St.-Evroul in Normandy, Orderic Vitalis (1085-1142) devoted much attention to the development of the crusader states. He was ill rewarded because his chronicle has been largely ignored by crusading historians, although they have done so at their own peril because Orderic at least partly fills the gap between the end of the *History of Jerusalem* by Fulcher of Chartres and the end of his own *History* in 1141. This period coincides more or less with the reign of Count Fulk V of Anjou as king of Jerusalem (1131-1143).

Three events stand out in the early part of Fulk's reign in Jerusalem: (1) Like his predecessor Baldwin II (1118-1131) whose daughter Melisende he had married, Fulk had to shoulder the regency of the principality of Antioch because Prince Boemund II had been killed in battle in 1130 leaving behind only an infant daughter; (2) Fulk had to face revolts by the nobility, most notably so the one by Count Hugh II of Jaffa and Romanus of Le Puy, a former lord of the Transjordan; (3) acting in breach of his marriage contract of 1129 as well as against the designation which King Baldwin II had made on his deathbed in 1131, Fulk attempted, without success, to rule alone by excluding his wife Melisende from her share in the joint rule which Baldwin II had established when he regulated his succession.

For all three events historians have relied on the chronicle of William of Tyre. He was at that time a boy in Jerusalem and did not start writing history until after his return from his studies in Europe in 1165. He links the revolt of Hugh, Romanus, and others in veiled words to Fulk's attempt to rule alone. In recent years considerable efforts have been made by Rudolf Hie-

stand, R. C. Smail, Bernard Hamilton and myself[1] to penetrate through William's report to the heart of the matter because William's principal explanation of events, i.e. that King Fulk suspected Queen Melisende of having an affair with Count Hugh and acted out of jealousy to bring down Hugh, is clearly unsatisfactory. It turns what must have been a political affair into a marital drama.

What we do know can be described as follows: Romanus of Le Puy had revolted a first time under Baldwin II between March 1129 and August 1131.[2] It may safely be surmised that he and his followers resented the first female succession in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem which had been settled on King Baldwin's eldest daughter Melisende just before the protracted negotiations with Count Fulk V of Anjou during the years 1128 and 1129 concerning his marriage to Melisende. Similar difficulties, although of much greater consequence, were to arise in England for the same reason when King Henry I, having lost his only legitimate son in the sinking of the White Ship, settled the succession in England on his daughter, the Empress Matilda.[3] As a result of his abortive revolt Romanus of Le Puy was dispossessed in the Transjordan and joined Count Hugh at Jaffa.[4]

Not before 1133 but much more likely in the second half of 1134 Count Hugh revolted, together with Romanus of Le Puy, against King Fulk. Having refused to appear for a judicial duel, Count Hugh saw his crown fief Jaffa confiscated for felony and in despair allied himself with the Fatimid Egyptians of Ascalon. This was such an outrage that even his own vassals left him and went over to the king. Count Hugh now had to submit and was exiled for three years with a promise that he would then recover his fief. Having barely survived an attempt on his life for which rumor held the king responsible, Hugh went into exile in Apulia and died there before he had a chance to return. However, King Fulk had learned his lesson and from now on allowed his wife the share in the kingdom and in government to which she was entitled under the will of Baldwin II. In this interpretation Count Hugh, who was very clearly not without support from a considerable section of the nobility, revolted against the king's attempt to brush aside Bald-

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[1] Rudolf Hiestand, "Zwei unbekannte Diplome der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem aus Lucca," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 50 (1971): 26-33. Idem, "Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem um 1130," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 26 (1970): 220-224. Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972): 98-113. Bernard Hamilton, "Women in the Crusader States: the Queens of Jerusalem," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford, 1978), pp. 148-152. R.C. Smail contributed to the problem in a Jerusalem lecture scheduled for publication; cf. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1988), p. 299, n. 43.

[2] This date will be argued in Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šōbak). Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (in press), chapter V, section (a).

[3] Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985): 139-147.

[4] Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (hereafter cited as *RRH*), 1 vol. and *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1893-1904), no. 147.

win II's will and he revolted in favor of the rights of Melisende, who was a second cousin of his, and in favor of the legitimate dynasty.

During the sixteen years for which I have been occupied by this problem I have always been puzzled by the fact that I could not detect an additional motive of class interest on part of the revolting nobility which might help to explain more fully these violent upheavals that deeply shook the kingdom. Count Hugh's treasonable activities as well as the popular support he enjoyed even after he had called on the Egyptian arch-enemy for help would be much easier to understand if it could be shown that not only Melisende was threatened by Fulk but that the king also threatened Hugh and that part of the nobility of which he was the head.

I, too, had ignored Orderic Vitalis at my peril because Orderic tells us just that, and not just in a word or two but in a passage which takes up fourteen lines in Marjorie Chibnall's edition and which follows in her translation:[5]

> To begin with he (i.e. Fulk) acted without the foresight and shrewdness he should have shown, and changed governors and other dignitaries (*praeposituras aliasque dignitates*) too quickly and thoughtlessly. As a new ruler he banished from his counsels (*a familiaritate removit*) the leading magnates (*primores*) who from the first had fought resolutely against the Turks and helped Godfrey and the two Baldwins to bring towns and fortresses under their rule, and replaced them by Angevin strangers (*Andegavensibus advenis*) and other raw newcomers to whom he gave his ear; turning out the veteran defenders, he gave the chief places in the counsels of the realm and the castellanships of castles to new flatterers. Consequently great disaffection spread, and the stubbornness of the magnates was damnably aroused against the man who changed officials so gauchely. For a long time, under the influence of the powers of evil, they turned their warlike skills, which they should have united to exercise against the heathen, to rend themselves. They even allied on both sides with the pagans against each other, with the result that they lost many thousands of men and a certain number of fortresses.

When Orderic wrote these sentences, these events were recent because he goes on to say that King Baldwin II of Jerusalem died on 15 August 1130 (error for 21 August 1131) and that King Fulk had now been king for six years. This brings us to 1136 or 1137 as the time when Orderic wrote this part of his chronicle.

It is evident that he refers to Count Hugh's revolt as properly identified by Chibnall in a footnote. In Orderic's story the reason for revolt was not the constitutional position of Melisende but rather a deliberate attempt by King Fulk to upset the previous distribution of power in the kingdom. Both according to Orderic and William of Tyre, Fulk had loyally helped Baldwin II in the burdens of government and warfare.[6] But now that he was king he

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[5] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. 6 (Oxford, 1978): 390-392. The same troubles are mentioned briefly by Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, trans. Roger Le Tourneau (Damascus, 1952), p. 197.

[6] Orderic Vitalis, ibid. William of Tyre, *Chronique* (hereafter abbreviated as *WT*), ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986), 13.24, p. 619.

cast aside this mask and replaced the old king's trusted followers by a new Angevin *clientèle*. To them he turned over the castellanies of royal castles. This must have been looked upon with great misgivings by the old-established nobility, but it was even worse that he removed the old families from his *familiaritas* and instead made the newcomers his councillors. We may assume that this did not only refer to their place and position in the king's council but also to the lucrative and influential crown offices, *praepositurae* in Orderic's parlance, as their holders were in particular the *familiares regis*. What Fulk tried to do was to replace the old baronial and knightly stratum by his own retinue and change the character of the kingdom from a non-Angevin to an Angevin one. If today the barons were banished from the court and its offices, if the nobles were forced to resign from the castellanies, then the king might touch their fiefs tomorrow and withdraw them under more or less flimsy pretexts, as Henry I had done in England, to give them to Angevins. In Orderic's story the nobles felt sufficiently threatened to be driven into revolt. If they championed Melisende's cause at the same time, they covered their own class interest by a veneer of legality. And should they be successful in restoring to the queen the share in the joint rule which was hers under her father's will, they could obviously rest assured that she would in the future thwart all similar designs which the king might entertain. Her fate and theirs were, indeed, inseparably linked and she must have been looked upon as the guarantor of an *ancien régime* which the nobles were determined to defend.

Orderic loved to tell a good story. We must therefore look for corroboration of his statements in the Eastern sources. In doing so we must not expect evidence of a *Terreur* wiping out the whole leading class. Any such attempt would have been suicidal because Fulk could never have replaced them, not even numerically. But is there evidence for his trying to form a new *clientèle* for himself, does a new group of vassals, retainers, crown officials, or castellans emerge from the sources? An obvious place to look are the witness lists of Fulk's royal charters. But, alas, there are only nine of them, which is less than one per year, and one of them is a forgery (*RRH* no. 163). Only three are from the early years of the king's reign, but two of these are charters issued at Antioch when Fulk was regent there (*RRH* nos. 149.157), and their witnesses are predominantly Antioch men. The last one is an undated fragment for the hospital at Nablus which must, however, be referred to the years 1131 to 1134 (before March/April).[7]

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[7] The fragment was printed by Hiestand, *Zwei unbekannte Diplome*, p. 54. It must be later than Fulk's coronation on 14 September 1131 and, as it names the viscount Anschetinus of Jerusalem, must precede his dismissal from office on which see below, p. 20. This happened not later than 1 September 1134. But the *terminus ante quem* must be brought forward to March/April 1134 because Bernard Vacher is also named as a witness and he must have left the East around this time on an embassy to Europe (below, p. 13). The fragment is therefore most likely from shortly before the revolt of Count Hugh and reflects the tension of that period which is important for this paper. Wherever dates of charters in this paper deviate from the traditional dating in *RRH*, the reader is referred to appendix I of my forthcoming book *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem* for my reasons for redating them.

Among the episcopate Fulk relied mainly on two recent appointees who were not part and parcel of the ecclesiastical establishment of the days of Baldwin II. The more important one was Patriarch William of Jerusalem (1130-1145). He had since 1128 been prior of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He has been described as a man with a general lack of interest in secular affairs,[8] but that is far from the mark. In 1132 he and Bishop Anselm of Bethlehem led the church of Jerusalem in the prevailing schism into the camp of Pope Innocent II (*RRH* no. 140). In the spring of 1134 he sent a joint embassy with the king to Europe (below, p. 13). During the revolt of Count Hugh it was William who worked out the compromise.[9] From now on Fulk made him one of his chief advisers. When the king in 1136 began his policy of surrounding Ascalon by a ring of countercastles and built the castle at Beth Gibelin and entrusted it to the Knights of St. John, the patriarch was present. When the king came under siege in 1137 at Montferrand, the patriarch raised troops and marched to his relief. When in 1140 the king besieged Banias, the patriarch was with him, as he was when the king in the early forties built, and disposed of, the castles of Ibelin and Blanchegarde.[10] Only once after Hugh's revolt did the king, in 1142, issue a charter to which the patriarch was no party (*RRH* no. 210). In a unique exception to chancery rules the patriarch affixed his seal, next to that of the king, to the foundation charter of the double monastery of Bethany, issued by the king in 1138 (*RRH* no. 174). In 1141 he went even further issuing a charter which approved of the sale of a royal rear-fief near Jerusalem to the Hospitallers (*RRH* no. 201). *Ratione rei* this was royal business and the patriarch explained that he was acting on royal authority. But by all previous and subsequent standards the king should have issued this charter in his own name. If the patriarch did, it was as if he were the king's prime minister. There can be no doubt that William was a very powerful man under Fulk and that Fulk wanted it to be this way. But William was not an Angevin. Rather he was a Fleming from Mesines in the Belgian province of East Flanders.[11]

The other important bishop under Fulk was Anselm of Bethlehem (1129-1145) whose origins we do not know.[12] Like William he was a recent appointment from the end of Baldwin II's reign and, together with William, he was responsible for Jerusalem's position in the papal schism. He is not as omnipresent in Fulk's charters as William but we find him, together with William, already in the fragment for Nablus, and in 1135 he even went to Antioch with the king to support him in his regency there (*RRH* no. 157). At the end of his life Fulk sent him on a delicate mission to persuade the

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[8] Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 69.

[9] *WT* 14.17, pp. 653-654.

[10] *WT* 14.22; 15.11; 15.24-25, pp. 659-661, 688-691, 706-709. On 1137 see Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:496-503.

[11] *WT* 13.26, p. 622.

[12] Anselm was in correspondence with Reims, Savona, and Cluny (*RRH* nos. 168.188.200) but this is no clue to his origins.

Byzantine emperor to desist from coming to Jerusalem on an armed "pilgrimage."[13] Another recent episcopal appointee was Gaudentius of Caesarea (1129-1143). He is a witness to the early fragment for Nablus and to *RRH* nos. 164. 174 but is otherwise not as conspicuous as William and Anselm. Whatever the origins of Anselm and Gaudentius, it is clear that, within the episcopate, Fulk relied mostly on new men, although they may not necessarily have been newcomers to the Holy Land. But as they were appointed after his arrival, he probably already had a say in their choice.

Among his own appointments, the most important one was that of archbishop Fulcher of Tyre (1137-1146). He certainly was a newcomer from Angoulême who had left France as a consequence of the papal schism of 1130.[14] He was not a very wise choice, given the inflexibility of his character, but for the moment his past guaranteed that he would help keep the Holy Land firmly in the Innocentian camp. During the last months of the king's life the first bishop of Tiberias was appointed, and for this position the king chose none other than his chancellor Elias.[15]

In a very important position a man was placed who had had close relations with Count Fulk in Anjou. In 1137 Robert de Craon is mentioned for the first time as the second master of the Knights Templars (*RRH* no. 173). In the sources he is generally known as *Robertus Burgundio* because his grandfather, also known as Robert the Burgundian, originated from there; the elder Robert's brother was Count William of Nevers in Burgundy. William of Tyre refers to the Templar master even as *Robertus cognomine Burgundio, natione Aquitanicus*.[16] And as Robert was at some time in the service of the count of Angoulême and at the court of Duke William X of Aquitaine, William of Tyre was not guilty of a misnomer.[17]

Craon (Dépt. Mayenne, arrond. Château-Gontier) is on the border of Anjou and Brittany but the family also controlled Sablé (Dépt. Sarthe, arrond. La Flèche) and thus had, from both possessions, considerable dealings with the counts of Anjou. At an unknown date before the last quarter of 1127 the younger Robert went to the Holy Land but there is no compelling reason to identify him with the Templar Robert who witnessed a charter of the bishop of Nazareth in October 1125.[18] After the end of September 1127 he was back in Anjou and at Saumur witnessed a charter of Count Fulk V as

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[13] *WT* 15.21, p. 703.

[14] *WT* 14.11, p. 643.

[15] On this see my forthcoming *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*.

[16] *WT* 15.6, p. 682.

[17] On Robert's career see Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, NF. 86 (Göttingen 1974), pp. 30-40. On the Aquitanian interlude which Bulst-Thiele places after 1126, see *Gallia christiana*, ed. nova 2 (Paris, 1720): instr., col. 353. Alfred Richard, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou* 1 (Paris, 1903): 492; 2 (Paris, 1903): 2. Gilles Ménage, *Histoire de Sablé* 1 (Paris, 1683): 132. Comte Arthur Bertrand de Broussillon, *La maison de Craon 1050-1480* 1 (Paris, 1893) is insufficient.

[18] *RRH* no. 106. The identification in Friedrich Lundgreen, *Wilhelm von Tyrus und der Templerorden*, Historische Studien 97 (Berlin, 1911), p. 81.

Robertus Burgundio miles sancti Stephani Ierusalem. He therefore seems to have given his military service in the East to the well known pilgrimage church of St. Stephen outside Jerusalem or to its owner, the abbey of St. Mary *Latina*. In another charter which must be placed between the birth of Geoffrey Plantagenet in 1113 and Fulk's departure for the Holy Land in 1129, *Robertus Burgundus* acted, on Fulk's orders and in his presence, as judge in a case involving the monks of Saint-Nicolas d'Angers,[19] and as he does not carry any title linking him to St. Stephen of Jerusalem, this was probably before 1127. He may have joined the Templars in 1128 when the first master was at the court of the count of Anjou,[20] and may have crossed the sea with a large company of crusaders and together with Count Fulk who now went to the Holy Land for the second time in his life.[21]

Fulk V of Anjou had been one of the earliest and most important benefactors of the Knights Templars, outdone only by Count Hugh of Champagne. When Fulk went to the Holy Land for the first time in 1120 he affiliated himself on a temporary basis to the Templars and after his return he not only made them a gift of an annuity of thirty pounds of Anjou but also encouraged others to make similar benefactions.[22] As king he cannot have been insensitive to who would become master of the Templars. We can rest assured that in these early days of the Order the kings still had a hand in the election of the masters since in 1170 they still claimed a role in the resignation of a master of the Hospitallers.[23] But even if the election should have come about without Fulk's intervention, he now had to do with a Templar master who had been a member of his entourage in Anjou only a decade earlier. Robert had a brother called Henry who may have gone to the East in 1129 with Fulk, as he is mentioned in Jerusalem in a charter issued between March and August 1129 as *Hanricus Burgundio*.[24]

The monastic establishment was politically less important than the bishops and the masters of the knightly orders but in Anjou Fulk had been a great friend of monastic life, in particular of the double monastery of Fontevrault which he showered with gifts. In February 1138 he and Queen

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[19] Josèphe Chartrou, *L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151* (Paris, s. a. [1928]), pp. 364 no. 37, 375 no. 44. On St. Stephen see Hugues Vincent and F.M. Abel, *Jérusalem. Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire* 2.4 (Paris, 1926): 756-758.

[20] Marquis d'Albon, ed., *Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre du Temple* (Paris, 1913), pp. 5 no. 8, 8 no. 12. On the date of these charters see Mayer, *Succession*, p. 147.

[21] Robert of Torigni, *Chronique*, ed. Léopold Delisle, Société de l'histoire de Normandie 3, vol. 1 (Rouen, 1872): 176 (after Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum* , ed. Thomas Arnold, Rolls Series 74 [London, 1879], p. 250 where instead of Fulk his son Geoffrey is erroneously named).

[22] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:310.

[23] *RRH* nos. 480.492a. Best edition by Rudolf Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius II. Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter, Neue Folge*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge 135 (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 222 no. 19, 227 no. 20.

[24] *RRH* no. 130. He is called Aimery in 1093 (Charles Métais, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme* 2 [Paris, 1894]: 88 no. 348/II) but Henry about the year 1100 (ibidem 2:144 no. 394) and in the foundation charter of the abbey of Roe of 1096 (*Gallia christiana*, ed. nova 14 [Paris, 1856]: instr., col. 151 no. 10).

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Melisende began the foundation of a double monastery at Bethany outside Jerusalem which they lavishly endowed and where after some time the queen's youngest sister became abbess.[25] While this is well known, Fulk also attracted other monastic figures, and we find the same pattern as with the bishops. Newcomers had a chance, even if their personalities were such that their appointments were a risk. From Provence (*Gallia Narbonensis*) came a bizarre teacher of grammar by the name of Elias who had a knack for fasting and flagellation. He arrived under Fulk and first lived near Jerusalem as an hermit, then joined the Benedictines at Josaphat outside Jerusalem. He then was elected to be abbot of the small monastery of Palmarea in the Jordan valley where he quarreled with his monks and ruined the monastery's finances to such an extent that they were still in disorder in the early seventies. He gave much trouble to his ecclesiastical superiors, particularly when he left his abbey at the instigation of Queen Melisende. It took his archbishop several years to make him return to Palmarea where he died in 1140.[26]

Of quite a different caliber and well experienced in secular affairs but every inch as restless as Elias was Ermengarde of Brittany. She was a daughter of Count Fulk IV of Anjou from his first wife and thus a half sister of King Fulk of Jerusalem. She had a very stormy life. Born in about 1067, her first marriage collapsed and in 1092 she married the duke of Brittany. She had to administer the duchy during his protracted absence in the Holy Land and when he joined the monastery in which he died in 1119. She herself had at various times attempted to join the nuns at Fontevrault but as she was married she had been refused and her attempts to have her marriage dissolved met with no success. In 1128/1129 when Fulk's second trip to the Holy Land was discussed, she and her son Conan of Brittany were at Fulk's court in Anjou. After his departure she prevailed for quite some time on Saint Bernard until he gave her the veil in 1130 near Dijon. In 1132 she was still in the Priory of Larrey near Dijon, because her son Conan visited her there. This must have been in 1132 when he came to Burgundy to make the pilgrimage to Vézelay, making *en route* a donation to the abbey of Sainte-Trinité de Tiron in Anjou. At this time, when Fulk had hardly become king of Jerusalem, he bade her to come to the Holy Land. She accepted his invitation and first lived near Nablus where she built a church of the Savior over Jacob's Well. Then she joined the nuns at St. Anne's in Jerusalem, a nunnery which had particularly close relations with the royal house. But after King Fulk's attempt to rule alone collapsed in Count Hugh's revolt, she grew tired of Jerusalem because in June 1135 she was back in Brittany where she founded, together with Conan, the Cistercian abbey of Buzay (com-

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[25] *RRH* no. 174. *WT* 15.26, pp. 709-710. Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 372-402.

[26] Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Gerard of Nazareth, a Neglected Twelfth Century Writer in the Latin East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 75.

mune Rouans, Dépt. Loire Atlantique, arrond. Nantes, cant. Le Pellerin).[27] Fulk's new *régime* seems to have been basically attractive to the monastically inclined but one cannot say that it always attracted the right kind of people or that he was very discerning in the choice of those he invited to come.

The witness lists of Fulk's charters do not give us much to go on. Since most of them are from after the breakdown of his attempt to rule alone, we cannot expect that the old nobility had been sensibly diminished. Fulk had been obliged to make his peace with them. But nevertheless we must look for Orderic's new men from Anjou or from elsewhere. There are many names—some of these witness lists are very long—one list naming 90 persons, if the canons of the Holy Sepulchre be included (*RRH* no. 174). Aubry of *Barbeia* who, however, appears only in 1142 (*RRH* no. 210), was certainly an Angevin. In a charter of 1128 he witnessed the fact that Fulk and his son Geoffrey as counts of Anjou had confirmed a donation to the abbey of Tiron.[28] Anselm of *Bria* (*RRH* nos. 174.179.181) may have been from Braye-sur-Maulne (Dépt. Indre-et-Loire, arrond. Tours, cant. Château-la-Vallière) which is named as *Breia* in a charter of the late eleventh century.[29] He arrived in the Holy Land shortly before Fulk and is mentioned for the first time in the service of Baldwin II in March 1129 (*RRH* no. 121). He married the daughter of the castellan Baldwin of Hebron[30] but even if he were an Angevin, this would not have helped his father-in-law, as we shall see. Geoffrey of *Guircha* (*RRH* no. 157) could conceivably have been from La Guerche-de-Bretagne (Dépt. Ille-et-Vilaine, arrond. Rennes) on the fringes of Anjou. Another Geoffrey of *Guirchia* appears in the second half of the twelfth century in a charter of the abbot of Saint-Aubin d'Angers.[31] But it should be remembered that this La Guerche is not the only one in France and that Geoffrey signs an Antioch charter of Fulk in which there is no Jerusalem nobility apparent. Indeed in 1140 he is listed in the entourage of the prince of Antioch (*RRH* no. 195). If he was from Anjou, he had not taken service in Jerusalem. Saint-Aubin had a priory at Gouis (commune Durtal, Dépt. Maine-et-Loire, arrond. Angers). Between 1060 and 1087 we find

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[27] Most of the relevant information is contained in the foundation charter of Buzay (Hyacinth Morice, *Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'Histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne* 1 [Paris, 1742]: col. 573). Conan's donation to Tiron in Lucien Merlet, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron* 1 (Chartres, 1883): 185 no. 161. Further details in *Chronica de gestis consulum Andegavenisum*, ed. L. Halphen and René Poupardin, *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseigement d'histoire (Paris, 1913), p. 65. Ermengarde's presence in Anjou in 1128/1129 is attested in d'Albon, *Cart. du Temple*, p. 8 no. 12. On Ermengarde see J. de Petigny, "Lettre inédite de Robert d'Arbrissel à la comtesse Ermengarde," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 15 (1854): 209-235 and Célestin Port, ed. *Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique de Maine-et-Loire* 2 (Paris and Angers, 1876): 116f.

[28] Merlet, *Cart. de Tiron* 1:112 no. 90.

[29] Ch. Urseau, ed., *Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale d'Angers* (Paris and Angers, 1908), p. 133 no. 67.

[30] J. Delaville Le Roulx, "Chartes de Terre Sainte," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 11 (1905-1908): 185 no. 3.

[31] Arthur Bertrand de Broussillon, ed., *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers* 2 (Angers, 1903): 413 no. 935.

there a Walter *de Goilz* and between 1127 and 1154 a Walter *de Guileio*.[32] The Walter *de Goi* who appears in 1136 in one of Fulk's charters (*RRH* no. 164) could be identical with one of them. A canon of the cathedral of Angers by the name of Ralph of *Bus* (also spelled *Burs* or *Buz*) is once between 1125 and 1138 found as *Radulphus de Bursi*.[33] The locality has not been identified but he was obviously from Anjou, and one wonders whether this could apply also to Geoffrey *de Bursi* (*RRH* no. 174).

In the charter last mentioned we find also among the witnesses pilgrims who were only temporarily in the Holy Land. As we are in February 1138 they had obviously stayed for the winter and were asked to witness the foundation of the abbey of Bethany. Among them there are ringing names from the nobility of northern France: Ives II of Nesle in Picardy who in 1140 rose to be count of Soissons, Arnulf the *avoué* of the bishopric of Thérouanne in the Pas-de-Calais, and Enguerran II de Boves, lord of Coucy (Dépt. Aisne, arrond. Laon). With him we hit harder rock. Before he went to the Holy Land he had married after 1132 the daughter of the lord of Beaugency (Dépt. Loiret, arrond. Orléans, halfway between Blois and Orléans). This marriage brought the Picard Enguerran into the Angevin orbit because Fulk's father had taken the daughter of Lancelin de Beaugency as his first wife.[34] It is evident why Fulk accorded him the honor of witnessing his diploma.

On the whole, then, the witness lists of Fulk's charters do not yield many results. Only for Aubrey of *Barbeia* and Enguerran II de Boves can a sure Angevin connection be demonstrated. Others may have come from Anjou, but it is not certain. However, the witness list from Fulk's earliest charter, the fragment for Nablus, has a considerable interest. It shows us on whom Fulk relied in the critical time. We have already named the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishop of Caesarea and the bishop of Bethlehem. We find there also Geoffrey *de Parentea*. He and his brother (*RRH* no. 115) Anselm came from Anjou rather than from Languedoc.[35] Anselm was in the Holy Land by 1108 in the service of King Baldwin I (*RRH* no. 52) and is mentioned until 1126 (*RRH* no. 115). Geoffrey appears at this time and therefore seems to have come under Baldwin II (*RRH* nos. 111.112.113.115.130.133.134.147). He was closely attached to Count Hugh II of Jaffa in 1126 (*RRH* nos 112.113) but he

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[32] Ibid. 1 (Angers, 1903): 332 no. 288; 371 no. 897.

[33] Urseau, *Cart. noir d'Angers*, p. 273 no. 180.

[34] Dominique Barthélemy, *Les deux âges de la seigneurie banale. Pouvoir et société dans la terre des sires de Coucy* (Paris, 1984), pp. 85, 99.

[35] Geoffrey *Parented de Castro Segred*, an ancestor of the two brothers, fought in 1098 at Antioch (Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 5 [1975]: 90). *Castrum Segred* has been identified by Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Innsbruck, 1901), p. 129, followed by Chibnall in her edition of Orderic, as Castelsagrat, Dépt. Tarn-et-Garonne, arrond. Castelsarrasin, cant. Valence, not far from Agen. But as Geoffrey's name and actions are only recorded by Orderic, it seems more appropriate to look for Geoffrey's origins closer to Orderic's Normandy. Hence I believe that Geoffrey rather came from Segré, Dépt. Maine-et-Loire in Anjou (*Castrum Secreti* or *Segredus* in Chartrou, *Anjou*, pp. 339 no. 15, 375 no. 44), especially as he married the daughter of an Angevin (below, p. 17).

also must have had fiefs from the king as we find him in the king's service from 1126 to 1130 (*RRH* nos. 115.130.134; cf. also *RRH* no. 133). In the last charter which shows Count Hugh of Jaffa in the undisputed possession of his county in 1133 he confirmed a large donation of land which Geoffrey had made to the Hospitallers (*RRH* no. 147) so that the Jaffa connection persisted. At the same time, as we learn from the fragment of Nablus, Geoffrey had passed from the service of Baldwin II to that of Fulk. As the fragment is from shortly before Hugh's revolt Geoffrey seems to have dissociated himself from Hugh early enough, perhaps because he saw the storm coming.

Geoffrey was a wealthy landowner but not a great baron. The same is true of *Roardus*, another man named as witness to the fragment. As Rohard the Elder of Jerusalem he was like Geoffrey *de Parentea* in the service of both the count of Jaffa and King Baldwin II (*RRH* nos. 91.112.113.115.121.133.134), in fact up to this point we owe our knowledge of the careers of both men largely to the same charters. Wherever Rohard came from, he was certainly not an Angevin. In all the cartularies of Anjou and Maine I have not been able to come up with one single person named Rohard. He may have left the sinking ship even earlier than Geoffrey. In any case he is no longer a witness to the count's charter of 1133. But unlike Geoffrey he had a future under King Fulk. By 1135 he was viscount of Jerusalem (*RRH* no. 160) and remained viscount also in the early years of Fulk's successor Baldwin III. William of Tyre names him as the one who was principally responsible for inducing Fulk to attempt to push Queen Melisende out of government. She is said to have persecuted him after the conflict as best she could. In 1142 he was sent by the king, together with the bishop of Bethlehem and the abbot of the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem (the latter because he spoke Greek), on the mission to the Byzantine Emperor which we already mentioned. When the wind turned, he had switched sides in time. He was now called of Nablus and was one of the principal supporters of Queen Melisende before and during the civil war of 1152 with her son King Baldwin III.[36] But even this was not his political end and he continued in the royal service under the kings Baldwin III and Amaury until 1164 (*RRH* nos. 276.344.366.400).

Geoffrey *de Parentea*, however, although he had gone over to the king's camp early enough to appear in the fragment for Nablus, did not politically survive Count Hugh's revolt. He disappears from sight with this fragment. As he was not mentioned earlier than 1126, he seems to have lost the royal favor after the storm was over rather than died. He had, in fact, married the wrong woman. We shall meet him again. Martin of Nazareth, another name in the fragment's witness list, had probably been royal viscount in 1115 and had, after his removal from this post, been in the service either of the bishop of Nazareth or of the prince of Galilee.[37] The revolts of the nobility in the

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[36] *WT* 14.18; 15.21; 17.14, pp. 656, 703, 779.

[37] Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 85 and, more fully, idem, *Montréal* (above, n. 2), chapter IV, section (e).

late years of King Baldwin II seem to have paved the way for his return into the royal service where we meet him in 1130/1131 (*RRH* no. 137). He was an obvious choice to rely on but later he no longer appears in Fulk's charters.

Only one true aristocrat is named in the fragment, Guy Brisebarre, the lord of Beirut. It is easy to see why he was among Fulk's party. Together with William of Buris, the prince of Galilee, he had been King Baldwin II's ambassador to Anjou to negotiate the marriage between Fulk and Melisende. He had therefore been instrumental in bringing about Fulk's accession and was rewarded by the new king's confidence. He seems to have been an influential man during Fulk's reign.[38]

Guy's fellow ambassador had been William I of Buris, prince of Galilee, whom we shall meet again.[39] He appears four times as a witness to Fulk's charters, once in a forgery, but three times genuinely and all three times as the first of the secular witnesses (*RRH* nos. 163.164.174.181). In 1137 he was a member of the king's entourage when the latter was besieged in Montferrand,[40] and it was an illustrious group comprising William, Guy Brisebarre, Renier Brus, lord of Banias, Baldwin lord of Ramla, and Humphrey III of Toron. Among them Baldwin, who had been in the Holy Land since 1106, had before Count Hugh's revolt formally been one of his vassals, although in reality he had already acted as quasi-seigneur of Ramla. In the wake of Hugh's downfall he had risen to the formal status of lord of Ramla.[41] He had therefore at an early date cast his lot with the king. Renier Brus had arrived only recently and is first found in 1125 in the service of Baldwin II (*RRH* no. 105). It is very doubtful whether he came from the family of Bruce of Annandale in Scotland which had immigrated there from England in 1124 and later on furnished Scotland with Robert Bruce, the hero of Bannockburn.[42] When Banias which controlled the very fertile Upper Galilee became Frankish in 1129, Baldwin II gave it to Renier as a lordship. Since Fulk was with the king before Banias, it is clear that he must have had a heavy hand in this appointment.[43] Renier later consolidated his position by marrying the niece of William of Buris.[44] Up to 1140 we can follow him as a

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[38] M.E. Nickerson, "The Seigneury of Beirut in the Twelfth Century and the Brisebarre Family of Beirut-Blanchegarde," *Byzantion* 19 (1949): 158-159.

[39] *WT* 13.24; 14.2, pp. 618, 633. He appears twice in 1128/29 during his stay in Anjou (d'Albon, *Cart. du Temple*, pp. 5 no. 8, 8 no. 12).

[40] *WT* 14.26, p. 665.

[41] Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Origins of the Lordships of Ramla and Lydda in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Speculum* 60 (1985): 543-546.

[42] This was the opinion of Charles du Fresne, sieur Ducange, *Les familles d'Outremer*, ed. E.G. Rey, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France (Paris, 1869), p. 245. The early Bruce of Annandale were generally referred to as *de Brus*, not just *Brus*; see G.W.S. Barrow, *Regesta regum Scottorum* 1 (Edinburgh, 1960), index. There is only one exception (Barrow, no. 30) with just Robert *Brus*. Conversely, our Renier *Brus* is always listed thus in the charters and by William of Tyre with one exception (Renier de *Bruso* in *RRH* no. 105). Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades* (Edinburgh, 1985) does not mention any Bruce of Annandale as crusader before 1271.

[43] *WT* 14.19, p. 657. On Fulk's presence see Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, trans. Roger Le Tourneau (Damascus, 1952), p. 184.

[44] *WT*, ibid.

loyal supporter of King Fulk.[45] His case is a parallel one to that of some ecclesiastics who were recent arrivals and on whom the king relied.

But recent arrivals were not enough and the king was, of course, not averse to enlisting also trusted servants of Baldwin II if he felt that they were solidly on his side. Cases in point are not only great barons like Guy Brisebarre or William of Buris, but also Bernard *Vaccarius* (the cowherd). He was certainly one of Baldwin II's new men. He appears in this king's service for the first time in 1122 in a royal charter the importance of which has so far been overlooked (*RRH* no. 100a). It was obviously issued during one of the many sojourns of the king in Antioch where he was regent for seven years and reflects the whole extent of the opposition of the Jerusalem nobility against the king's Antioch policies[46] in that it reveals that they had stayed at home. Apart from his chancellor who had come along, the king had predominantly witnesses of secondary importance from Antioch, although the charter concerned an affair of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Quite obviously the charter was issued in the north and equally obviously the king had no important Jerusalem vassals whom he could ask. Three of the witnesses, Bernard Vacher, William of St.-Bertin, and *Baronus Sagittarius*, served him later on in the south. The last two did not survive the change of kings in the royal service. Baronus is not found there after 1127 (*RRH* no. 120). William was in the king's entourage in 1125 (*RRH* no. 109) but on 21 September 1131, only a week after Fulk's coronation, we find him in the service of the lord of Caesarea (*RRH* no. 139) who, like William, came from a Flemish family. Bernard remained in the service of Baldwin II to the king's death and then passed to Fulk's service and into that of Baldwin III during the latter's early years up to 1146 (*RRH* no. 240). But he was particularly influential under Fulk. As early as 1134 he had been sent on a joint embassy by Fulk and patriarch William of Jerusalem to Italy to move Pisa and Genoa to joint action. In a letter from Pisa, dated by all editors to 1134, the ambassadors reported to the Genoese their lack of success (*RRH* no. 153). When in 1139 Fulk was busy with a military campaign east of the Jordan river, Bernard represented the absent king in a small military force fighting off a surprise Muslim invasion.[47] He carried at this occasion the royal banner which was important because it is known from a good number of sources that the presence of the king's flag assured him of a share in the booty even if he himself was absent. Should there have been booty, Bernard would have collected the royal share. He is therefore justly qualified as *domini regis familiaris*. But he lacked affiliations with any of the old families and this made him particularly useful for Fulk, especially in the time of the crisis of Hugh's revolt in 1134. His origins are not certain but, like William of St.-Bertin, he may have come from Flanders, if one is willing to allow that

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[45] *RRH* nos. 164.174.181. *WT* 14.26; 15.11, pp. 665, 690.

[46] See so far Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudouin II," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1980, pp. 717-736.

[47] *WT* 15.6, pp. 681-683.

temporarily he returned to Europe.[48] He had served Baldwin II but had not made a big career. He must have had feudal estates in the royal domain but he had neither acquired a lordship nor had he struck an advantageous marriage. His only way to make a living was to serve faithfully whoever was king and because of this he became one of Fulk's new men just as he had been one of Baldwin II's.

Our perusal of Fulk's witness lists and other sources has shown that Fulk had new men and that there were Angevins among them, such as Aubry *de Barbeia* and, possibly, Anselm of *Bria*, Geoffrey of La Guerche and Walter *de Goi*. Enguerran II of Coucy whom Fulk may have hoped to induce to stay longer than one year had at least Angevin connections. But another group of new men of King Fulk came from the vassals of Count Hugh II if they had switched sides early enough and gone to the king's camp. They now rose in a way they would not have done, had Hugh continued to be count of Jaffa. From this group came Baldwin of Ramla and, incidentally, Hugh's former constable Barisan-le-Vieux who appeared in Fulk's charters from 1136 on (*RRH* nos. 164.174.181) but had to wait until the early forties until he received the castle of Ibelin from which he built a lordship and his family's great fortunes.[49] Other men in this group were Rohard the Elder of Jerusalem and Geoffrey of *Parentea*. Partly these were men who after Hugh's downfall had no choice but to serve the king. In spite of this not all of them made it; Geoffrey of *Parentea*, for example, did not. Others, too, had no choice like the dispossessed viscount of Jerusalem, Martin, who wanted to remain in the recently regained royal service and Bernard Vacher who was insufficiently connected among the Jerusalem nobility. Angevins were certainly welcome but equally welcome were those who for lack of power were dependent on King Fulk.

From among the magnates he seems to have been supported in particular by Guy Brisebarre of Beirut, Baldwin of Ramla, Renier Brus of Banias, and of these Renier was practically a new man. At least he had their support after Count Hugh's revolt. Before it only Guy Brisebarre's signature in the fragment for Nablus indicates that he was in the king's camp from the beginning—as was natural for the man who had helped get Fulk on the throne.

One wonders whether this was also true of his fellow ambassador of 1128/29, William I of Buris, prince of Galilee and greatest vassal of the king. His ancestry has not been sufficiently elucidated but he came certainly from Bures-sur-Yvette (Dépt. Essonne, arrond. Palaiseau, cant. Orsay), not far

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[48] A Bernard *Vacca* was a judge and a witness at the court of count Charles the Good of Flanders in 1122 and 1123 in Arras (Fernand Vercauteren, *Actes des comtes de Flandre 1071-1128*, Recueil des actes des princes belges [Brussels, 1938], pp. 247 no. 108, 257 no. 112). If he is identical with our Bernard Vacher he would have returned to Flanders shortly after *RRH* no. 100a. This would explain his long absence from the East where he is not found again until 1126 (*RRH* no. 115).

[49] *WT* 15.24, p. 706-707.

from Paris and near Orly airport.[50] He is considered to have been a member of the family of the lords of Bures, although the precise relationship has not been demonstrated.[51] This seigneurial family originated with Hodierna of Gometz who, at the end of the eleventh century, married Guy of Montlhéri. For the future kingdom of Jerusalem this was a marriage of enormous importance because Hodierna's offspring loomed large in the history of the Holy Land. One grandson was King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, another was Joscelin I of Courtenay who was at first prince of Galilee and then count of Edessa. A great-grandson of Hodierna was Count Hugh II of Jaffa, the rebel of 1134. Lair assumed that somehow William and his brother Geoffrey were involved in the enormous troubles which Hugh of Crécy, lord of Bures, created for Louis VI of France from 1108 on.[52] But William is mentioned as having already sojourned in Norman Italy between 1103 and 1105 in a letter by abbot Hugh of Josaphat which, however, is of doubtful authenticity.[53] He makes his first appearance in the Latin East in 1115 (*RRH* no. 79) and then rose quickly in the service of his two kings, King Baldwin II and Joscelin I of Galilee. It is not surprising that in 1119 he succeeded Joscelin as prince of Galilee, thus becoming the most powerful vassal of the king. When the post of constable, the kingdom's chief military officer, became vacant in 1123, William was appointed and seems to have filled the position up to his death shortly after 1141. With the constableship he received the regency for the king who had recently been taken prisoner.[54] It was also a natural choice for the king both because of William's political standing as well as their family relations, to send him as ambassador to Anjou to negotiate Fulk's marriage and the king's succession.

William was a man of Baldwin II if there ever was one. But he was also very influential in Fulk's reign. Not only did he appear, as we have seen, as a witness to four of his charters, not only was he with the king at Montferrand in 1137 but throughout Fulk's reign he seems to have been loyal to him. There are neither reports nor innuendos in the sources that he was involved in the treasonable activities of Count Hugh. As one of those who had negotiated the marriage contract of 1129 which King Fulk was about to break, William might have been particularly called upon to defend it. But it

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[50] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 12.31, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux 4 (Paris, 1879): 710.

[51] Jules Lair, *Histoire de la seigneurie et de la paroisse de Bures* (Paris, 1876), pp. 5-7.

[52] In the *Gesta episcoporum Cenomannensium* we are told that William had come to the Holy Land *causa poenitentiae* (Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* 12:552). While this implies that like so many of his class and age he had got into difficulties which he solved by emigration, it is not enough to link him to the feuds of Hugh of Crécy.

[53] Mayer, *Bistümer*, p. 298-299. But I still dated the letter in 1106 whereas in the latest edition by Rudolf Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius III. Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse 3. Folge 136 (Göttingen, 1985), p. 99 no. 6 it is convincingly dated 1103-1105.

[54] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 3.22, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 674-675. In 1137 he still held the office of constable; *WT* 14.26, p. 665.

was also in his particular interest to defend the choice of the king he had made in 1129. We have seen that his fellow ambassador Guy Brisebarre was on the king's side in the critical days preceding Count Hugh's revolt. Shortly after Fulk's accession William's relations with the king were good enough for the latter to confirm, in 1132, an important donation which William had made to the Holy Sepulchre (*RRH* no. 142). It is likely that William proved to be flexible from the beginning. He had no children. In 1126 he stated that his nephews Elias and William were his heirs in Galilee (*RRH* no. 115). In the fall of 1127 more likely than in the spring of 1128 he left Palestine to begin negotiating Fulk's marriage. In April and May 1128 he was with Fulk in Le Mans.[55]

He came back to the East together with Fulk who arrived there in May of 1129.[56] In the same year William issued a charter for the abbey of Josaphat near Jerusalem from which we learn that his nephew William had become a monk there (*RRH* no. 131). The first witness is a Ralph de *Ysiaco*, which is an ugly Paris suburb to which today he would not wish to return (Issy-les-Moulineaux, Dépt. Hautes-de-Seine, arrond. Boulogne-Billancourt), then partly owned by St.-Germain-des-Prés, partly by St.-Magloire de Paris.[57] From another charter by William of 1132 we learn that Ralph of Issy and a certain Simon were also nephews of William (*RRH* no. 142), and since they gave their consent to this donation they were now the heirs of Galilee, as William and Elias are no longer mentioned.[58] Since this applies already to the charter of 1129, William had changed his heirs very suddenly immediately after his return from France. The easiest assumption would be that Ralph of Issy and Simon had then come in his retinue and that he had made a deal with Fulk in Anjou that as king he would not oppose their succession. If William took such a drastic step which implied chasing one of his former heirs out of the country and the other one into a monastery, we can rest assured that he secured the approval of the heir apparent when he had him over a barrel. In 1134 William may therefore have had a personal interest to support King Fulk or to remain at least neutral, even though he was certainly not one of the new men.

Not all Angevins curried favor with King Fulk. One of those who did not was Ralph of *Fontanellis* who was a native of Tours.[59] After he had been a

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[55] D'Albon, *Cart. du Temple*, p. 5 no. 8, 8 no. 12.

[56] *WT* 13.24, p. 619.

[57] Gustave Leclerc, "Un fief de l'abbaye de Saint Magloire de Paris: la seigneurie de Vaudétard à Issy (1117-1790)," *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 9 (1882, publ. 1883): 287-309. On the possessions of St.-Germain see *Polyptique de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, ed. Auguste Longnon 1 (Paris, 1895): 226 no. 37 of about 1176.

[58] In *RRH* no. 417, a confirmation of *RRH* no. 142, they are expressly called his heirs. One nephew, perhaps Elias, had to go into exile (*Les Lignages d'Outremer*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Lois 2 [Paris, 1843]: 453).

[59] Ralph of Caen, *Gesta Tancredi*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux 3 (Paris, 1884): 662. Baudri of Bourgueil, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ibid. 4 (Paris, 1866): 65, n. 4. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095-1100," *English Historical Review* 98 (1983): 729.

vassal of Baldwin I and Baldwin II (*RRH* nos. 52.59.80.90.90a.91.105) we find him in exile at Latakia in 1134 and 1135 in the entourage of the dowager princess Alice of Antioch, a sworn enemy of Fulk (*RRH* nos. 148.150.151a). Why he had been forced to go into exile we do not know but he seems to have been involved with Count Hugh's revolt. He was a member of his circle in 1127 and in July 1134 he had been joined at Latakia by Count Hugh (*RRH* nos. 120. 151a). He may already have been involved in the earlier revolt by Romanus of Le Puy as he seems to have gone to Latakia before Count Hugh did. Fulk had no use at all for him and he was obliged to enter the service of the counts of Tripoli where we find him in 1142 and 1145 (*RRH* nos. 212. 236). From an undated charter of his we learn that his daughter had married Geoffrey of *Parentea* (*RRH* no. 111), a vassal of Count Hugh II whom we have seen going over early to the king as he is a witness to the fragment for Nablus but who then vanishes from Fulk's service. Fulk accepted his support when he needed every man. When peace had been restored, however, he seems to have dropped Geoffrey. He would have forgiven his previous Jaffa connections as he forgave them to others but he had to consider Geoffrey's hostile father-in-law, and both were too much.

Among the vassals in general Fulk created for himself a party consisting frequently of recent arrivals. Angevins were among them but they did not dominate. Orderic especially singled out the royal castellans who were, of course, easier to remove from their castles than vassals from their fiefs and the king had a vital interest to have loyal men in command of his castles. One of the strongest royal castles commanding the southwest was Hebron, as one can still see today. It can be shown that here Fulk changed the castellan and gave the castle to an Angevin, although this happened after Hugh's revolt. From 1115 to 1136 a certain Baldwin was castellan there all through the reign of Baldwin II and into that of Fulk.[60] But when he witnessed a royal charter of 1136 (*RRH* no. 164) he had already been relieved by a new castellan named Hugh who so far has not been identified.[61] Hugh held office as late as 1144 (*RRH* no. 228a). By 1148 he had been replaced by Humphrey II of Toron.[62] This coincides rather neatly with the presence in the East of a Hugh from one of the great Angevin families. When Count

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[60] *RRH* nos. 80.90.91.115.120.121.134.164.

[61] On the castellans of Hebron see so far Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101 (1985): 68-71. Hugh's appointment was clearly a very recent event because Fulk used the change in castellans to cut back the size of the castellany, transferring from it, with Hugh's consent, nine villages between Hebron and Beth Gibelin to the Hospitallers to which the king added four more exposed ones between Beth Gibelin and Ascalon from his own domain.

[62] *RRH* no. 255. We have an undated charter by his predecessor Hugh (*RRH* no. 169). Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *Cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 15 (Paris, 1984), p. 232 no. 112 dated it to July 1149-1152. This is inadmissible and is based on a false understanding of the business in question. *RRH* no. 169 is not *later* than *RRH* no. 255 but clearly *earlier*, as *RRH* no. 255 is a confirmation of *RRH* no. 169 by Hugh's successor in the Hebron castellany; cf. Mayer, *Hebron*, pp. 70-71. *RRH* no. 169 can therefore be dated only by Hugh's term of office: 1136-1144.

Fulk of Anjou went to the Holy Land in 1129, Hugh I lord of Amboise (Dépt. Indre-et-Loire, arrond. Tours) went with him. He fought with Fulk in 1129 before Damascus, fell ill after his return, and died in Jerusalem where he was buried on the Mount of Olives.[63] Before he had left he had transferred his lordship to his son Sulpice bypassing his other son Hugh II. This, of course, meant trouble, particularly since Sulpice made war no less than three times on Geoffrey Plantagenet, the new count of Anjou.[64] The first occurred in 1135 when Sulpice refused to restore to his mother the dowry which he was illegally withholding. Hugh II revolted against Sulpice and, at the instigation of his mother, went to war against him together with Geoffrey. After much violence peace was concluded between Sulpice and Count Geoffrey at Christmas 1135 and Sulpice handed over the dowry. Hugh II no longer entertained any hopes that he might be able to recover Amboise and took the cross and went to join Fulk in Jerusalem, *aliquantis annis mansit*.[65] At a later date which is not precisely known Hugh II returned to Anjou and immediately the second campaign began. Chartrou dated this roughly in 1142 relying on some innuendos in the sources that there was a revolt in Anjou that year. Certainly his return happened before the third campaign began. This cannot have taken place before early 1144 but it was more likely in 1146 or 1147.[66] It is therefore also possible that Hugh II returned from the Holy Land upon the death of King Fulk in November 1143. He had been in the East from the spring of 1136 to at least 1142 or until some time in 1144 or 1145, whereas the castellan Hugh of Hebron can be shown to have been in office from a time not later than 1 September 1136 (*RRH* no. 164) up to 1144, having been replaced by 1148. As we do not find this Hugh of Hebron in the East before 1136 and after 1144, we are certainly on safe grounds in identifying him with Hugh II of Amboise who tried his luck with Fulk after Geoffrey had been unable to do anything for him. After his arrival Fulk gave him the castellany of Hebron, supplanting there a royal functionary who had served the kings loyally for 21 years and was now forced to witness the triumph of Hugh of Amboise. Hugh held Hebron during Fulk's lifetime but had to resign it upon the king's death. He now went back to Anjou to resume his quarrels with his brother Sulpice. This reconstruction is buttressed by the fact that in a charter issued by the castellan Hugh of Hebron we find the classic Angevin formula for announcing the witnesses: *Omnes isti testes suprascripti audierunt et viderunt* (*RRH* no. 169).

Among Fulk's targets Orderic Vitalis lists also the crown offices. We have no indication that Fulk brought new men into the senechalsy and the constableship, the two most important crown offices which were in particular a

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[63] *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin, *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, p. 116.

[64] Chartrou, *Anjou*, pp. 28, 33-35.

[65] *Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum*, p. 120.

[66] Chartrou, *Anjou*, pp. 33 n. 5, 34 n. 4.

domain of the nobility. In the case of William of Buris there may not have been any reason to dismiss him and this would have been very difficult in any case and practically impossible after Hugh's downfall had cemented the basic position of the old families. For his marshal Fulk continued to rely on a certain Sado who had held office under his predecessor and continued into the early days of his successor.[67] He did change the chamberlain. Since 1119 this office had been in the hands of a certain John (*RRH* nos. 87.91.121.137a), but towards the end of his reign Baldwin II appointed a certain Ralph (*RRH* nos. 130. 137). At this time Fulk was already in the Holy Land and the king's choice does not seem to have met with his approval because after his accession he quickly reappointed John or a namesake of his. We find him in the fragment for Nablus and in three royal charters by Fulk until the end of 1138.[68] The butler of King Baldwin II had been a certain Payen (*RRH* nos. 91. 121). In 1136 he is still named as butler under King Fulk (*RRH* no. 164), but he had by then moved from an undistinguished position in the witness lists to the second place among the barons because in the meantime he had become lord of the important fortress of Montréal in the Transjordan. William of Tyre assures us that when he was lord of Montréal he had formerly been (*prius fuerat*) the king's butler and that *Pincerna* had become his family name.[69] It seems therefore that Payen was only the butler of Baldwin II. We do not know whether Fulk appointed another one because it is not until 1145/46 that we meet with the next royal butler (*RRH* nos 236. 240), and by that time Fulk was dead.

On a day-to-day level the king's chief administrators were the chancellor and the viscounts. And here we find massive confirmation of Orderic's complaints against Fulk. In Antioch where Fulk was regent until 1136 the viscount seems to have been no more than an assistant of the *dux*. Such *duces* are found at Antioch, at Latakia and at Jabala where they were the chief civil administrators and, in fact, did in the principality what the viscounts did in the kingdom.[70] Before Fulk's accession we find a *dux* of Antioch called Osmund. By 1134 Fulk had appointed a Greek by the name of Leon Maiopoulos (*RRH* nos. 119.149.157). This created such a stir that even the Muslims noted it in their records. We learn from them that Fulk had difficulties with the *dux* of Antioch and changed him. This change had occurred either in early 1133 or 1134 but it is more likely the earlier date.[71]

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[67] On these three officials see the lists in John L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291*, Monographs of the Mediaeval Academy of America 4 (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 252-254.

[68] *RRH* nos. 164.179.181. There is a problem because in *RRH* no. 179 there occurs also another chamberlain by the name of Joscelin. The third one, Milo, listed for the same year by La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, p. 255 was not a royal chamberlain but that of the patriarch (*RRH* nos. 174.190.204).

[69] *WT* 15.21; 22.29(28), pp. 703, 1056.

[70] Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 456-460.

[71] Claude Cahen, ed., "La chronique abrégé d'al-ᶜAzīmī," *Journal asiatique* 230 (1938): 407-408. I shall discuss the date of this event when discussing the date of *RRH* no. 149 in my forthcoming *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, appendix I. It hinges on the date of the battle of Qinnasrīn on which Muslim sources are not united.

In Jerusalem King Fulk was faced with a viscount named Anschetinus who had held office since 1120. On 25 June 1132 he was still in office (*RRH* nos. 91.141). Between this date and 1 September 1134, however, he had been relieved of his office. In this year, before 1 September, a charter was issued in Jerusalem making reference to a piece of business which had been transacted *coram Anschetino quondam vicecomite Ierusalem.*[72] *Quondam*, not *bonae memoriae*: Anschetinus had not died, he had been dismissed. In 1135 we find his successor Rohard the Elder, whom we have already met (*RRH* no. 160).

Fulk also changed the chancellor. Baldwin II's last diploma was still given by his chancellor Hemelin. Fulk's first charters, however, name a chancellor Franco (*RRH* nos. 137.149.157.163). We have no indication that Hemelin had died. He does not seem to have been old enough for that. Since his disappearance coincides with the old king's demise, it seems rather clear that he had been dismissed as had the viscount Anschetinus. In any case, Franco was only the nominal head of the chancery. In my forthcoming history of the chancery of the kings of Jerusalem, I shall show that while Fulk had two successive chancellors he had only one notary who actually composed his charters—including those signed by chancellor Franco. In 1136 this notary himself rose to be chancellor (*RRH* no. 164). His name was Elias and his *dictamina* show without any doubt that he came from Anjou. My arguments are too long to be reproduced here but will be accessible in print before long.

When Fulk became King of Jerusalem there was a group of winners. It was made up partly, but not exclusively of Angevins, and partly, as Orderic Vitalis assures us, of other new men of various nature and background. Where there are winners, there must also be losers. The cases of the chancellors and the viscounts tell us who they were—the Normans. It has so far not been noticed that they had quite a considerable role in the kingdom under Baldwin II. There had at first been a great animosity between the Lorrainer Baldwin I and the Norman Tancred who was pushed out of the kingdom by Baldwin I and went to Antioch. But Baldwin himself had lived in Normandy before the First Crusade. And the dominating figure in Jerusalem church life, Arnuf of Chocques, had been chaplain and notary of the duke of Normandy, although he had been born in Flanders.[73] This probably accounted for the Norman institution of the viscount being transplanted to Jerusalem. Originally these viscounts in Jerusalem were not Norman, but this changed when in 1113 Baldwin I married Adalasia of Sicily, the widow of Roger I of Sicily. She remained in the East until she was repudiated in 1117. It must have been in her wake that Normans infiltrated, not the Jerusalem nobility, but the Jerusalem administration.

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[72] *RRH* no. 158. It combines the year 1135 with the twelfth indiction. In the work just cited, appendix V, I shall propose that we are dealing here with a case of *calculus Pisanus* and that the charter belongs to 1134.

[73] Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres N. S. 5 (Paris, 1984), pp. 40-42. On Arnulf as notary see "De libertate Beccensis monasterii", ed. Jean Mabillon, *Annales ordinis s. Benedicti* 5 (Lucca, 1740): 603 and *Vita venerabilis Willelmi Beccensis tertii abbatis*, in Migne, *PL* 150: col. 718.

In the north the *dux* Osmund of Antioch who was fired by Fulk and replaced by a Greek was clearly a Norman as was to be expected in this Norman principality. Osmund, derived from Germanic Asmundr, is one of the classic Norman names of Scandinavian origin, both in Normandy and in southern Italy.[74] So there can be no reasonable doubt about Osmund's Norman extraction. But Viscount Anschetinus of Jerusalem was also a Norman from Italy. His name was found even more frequently among the Norman names than Osmund. The original Scandinavian form was Asketill. It reached Normandy in this form. In the index to Marie Fauroux's *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie* (Caen , 1961) we find a multitude of persons before 1066 with this name and they are all called either Aschitillus or Anschitillus. In the south of Italy the two l's were dropped in favor of an n: Acetinus, Anscretinus, Aschetinus, Aschittinus, Ascletinus, Asclettinus, Asketinus.[75] In the kingdom of Jerusalem we also meet with a good number of Anschetini, one of them significantly being called *Ansquetinus Nortmannus*.[76] We find here predominantly the forms Anschetinus or Anschitinus but also Anscatinus, Ansquetinus, Ansquitinus, Aschetinus and Asquitinus. The French-Norman form of Aschetillus, Ansquitillus or Ausquitillus is found only for a bishop of Bethlehem, not permanently, but at least not infrequently.[77] Only for this bishop one might contemplate an origin in Normandy; the others came from South Italy.

Just as it can be shown that Fulk's chancellor Elias was an Angevin, I shall show in my forthcoming history of the Jerusalem chancery that his predecessor Hemelin was an Italian Norman and that this applied already to his predecessor, the first Jerusalem chancellor Payens appointed in 1115 who was one of the most influential men in Jerusalem politics under King Baldwin II. Normans had dominated the Jerusalem chancery and the viscounty

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[74] Jean Adigard de Gautries, *Les noms de personnes scandinaves en Normandie de 911 à 1066* (Lund, 1954), pp. 86-88. Léon-Robert Ménager, "Pesanteur et étiologie de la colonisation normande de l'Italie," in Ménager, *Hommes et institutions de l'Italie normande*, Variorum Reprints. Collected Studies Series 136 (London, 1980), p. 196.

[75] Léon-Robert Ménager, ed., *Recueil des actes des ducs normands d'Italie (1046-1127)*, vol. 1: *Les premiers ducs*, Società di storia patria per la Puglia, Documenti e monografie 45 (Bari, 1980): 20 no. 1, 35 no. 9, 47 no. 12, 85 no. 22 from between 1053 and 1074. Idem, ed., *Les actes latins de S. Maria di Messina (1103-1250)*, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neo-ellenici, Testi 9 (Palermo, 1963), p. 63 no. 4 (1122/1123). Carlrichard Brühl, *Rogerii II regis diplomata Latina*, Codex diplomaticus regni Siciliae, 1.2.1 (Cologne, 1987), pp. 209 no. 73, 267 no. 4 (1147 and 1143). The Norman vicechancellor in South Italy whom William of Tyre (*WT* 18.7, p. 819) calls *Ansquetinus*, signed his name in his own hand as *Aschitinus* (Karl Andreas Kehr, *Die Urkunden der normannisch-sicilischen Könige* [Innsbruck, 1902], pp. 79-80). The only French form I have been able to find in Italy is *Anschetilus de Musel* in a charter of Roger I of Sicily (Léon-Robert Ménager, L'abbaye bénédictine de la Trinité de Mileto en Calabre à l'époque normande," *Bullettino dell'Archivio paleografico italiano*, N. S. 4-5 [1958-1959]: 41 no. 13). On the name see Adigard de Gautries, *Noms de personnes*, pp. 81-84, 287-294, 382-383 and Ménager, *Colonisation normande*, pp. 196, 267-271.

[76] *RRH* no. 274, furthermore *RRH* nos. 59.83.87.89.91.101.102.105.110.115.120.130.137.141. 158.183.205.333.360.483.

[77] *RRH* no. 83 = Jaffé-Löwenfeld no. 6528 where the papal chancery did not make a writing mistake (so Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten* 3: 125, n. d) but used the French form. *RRH* no. 89 = Cod. Vat. lat. 1345, fol. 1r. *WT* 12.13, p. 563 with the variant readings.

of Jerusalem since 1115 and 1120, respectively. When Fulk of Anjou became king in 1131, they soon had to make room for an Angevin notary and chancellor, for an opportunistic supporter of the king like Rohard the Elder in Jerusalem, and for a Greek in Antioch.

When Fulk came to the East in 1129, he had many years of anti-Norman politics with much warfare in France behind him. When he inherited the county of Maine in 1110, he also inherited the old animosity between its counts and Normandy. He refused to do homage for Maine to Henry I of England, seeking instead the support of Louis VI of France. In 1113 he switched from the Capetian alliance to the Anglo-Norman one. From now on to 1128 he performed various *volte-face*. A coalition of France, Flanders, and Anjou espousing the cause of William Clito, the son of the last duke of Normandy, nearly unseated Henry I of England in the duchy in 1118. But when in the following year Fulk could marry his daughter Matilda to Henry's heir William Aetheling, the striking prospects of this marriage naturally broke Fulk away from the anti-Norman coalition. When in 1120 William Aetheling died prematurely, Fulk had no longer anything to expect from Henry. He again took up the cause of the Clito, whom he now considered even the legitimate heir of England, and arranged for a marriage between the Clito and his daughter Sibyl. In 1124, with great difficulty, Henry succeeded in having the pope condemn the marriage on grounds of consanguinity although the couple was no more closely related than Matilda and William Aetheling had been. When Charles the Good of Flanders was murdered in 1127, Louis VI obtained the county of Flanders for the Clito who died there one year later, robbing Louis and Fulk of any legitimate excuse for their designs on Normandy. As Henry's only daughter Matilda had become a widow in 1125 he was able to settle the English succession on her in 1127 and in the same year he succeeded in making the final alliance with Anjou when he betrothed Matilda to Fulk's son Geoffrey Plantagenet; the wedding was performed in 1128. Parallel to these events Fulk, who had become a widower in 1126, conducted his negotiations with Jerusalem on his remarriage to Melisende, the daughter of King Baldwin II. In 1128 he took the cross and one year later he left for the East leaving Anjou and a prospect of rule in Normandy and England to his son.

The deep distrust which had prevailed between Anjou and Normandy under Fulk continued unabated under his son Geoffrey Plantagenet and, indeed, Henry I was anything but a trustworthy man. As far as we can see Fulk lashed out at South Italian Normans rather than at French Normans. They must have been more numerous than their French cousins and Fulk simply extended his anti-Norman feelings to the South Italian branch. In fact he had reason to fear them. Roger II of Sicily had not abandoned his designs on Antioch when he was crowned king of Sicily in 1130. He still claimed that it belonged to him and King Fulk, who certainly did not want to have him as a neighbor, was the driving force in offering the hand of the heiress Constance to Raymond of Poitiers, the son of the duke of Aquitaine, who had to travel through Roger's domains in disguise in order to avoid

being apprehended.[78] His arrival marked the end of the Norman Hauteville dynasty in Antioch and Fulk had been instrumental in bringing about this change.

Fulk was not above enlisting individual Normans in his service such as Gunfredus de Freisnel (*RRH* no. 179) who belonged, as his name betrays, to a family from Normandy.[79] But he no longer had use for them in significant positions. He dismissed the Norman *dux* of Antioch, the Norman viscount Anschetinus of Jerusalem, and the Norman chancellor Hemelin, replacing the latter with an Angevin.

Worst hit of all was Count Hugh II of Jaffa. He was a second cousin of Fulk's queen Melisende whom the king tried to push out of government. He was neither an Angevin nor a newcomer. He had been a *protégé* of King Baldwin II who had been a first cousin of his father. If the nobility were dissatisfied, he was bound to be one of their natural leaders being the greatest crown vassal after the prince of Galilee. But there was another reason why Hugh was in danger under Fulk. He was not a Norman but a Chartrain. His father, his uncle, his grandfather, his granduncle, his great-grandfather, and his great-great-grandfather had all been viscounts of Chartres. But Hugh had very heavy Norman connections. Among his vassals there seem to have been Normans. His constable at Jaffa was Barisan-le-Vieux, the founder of the house of Ibelin. Later on a fanciful genealogy was made up for the Ibelins, tracing their origin to the family of the counts of Chartres—a connection which can in no way be substantiated. Jean Richard has surmised that Barisan may have been a Pisan. But he already pointed out that the name occurs also in Apulia.[80] Even so, there were others in Hugh's entourage who were very likely Normans. In 1126 and 1133 we find there a Gerard (Gerulf) *de Asneriis* (so the original; *Arneriis* in the edition) whose name points to Arnières-sur-Iton, Dépt. Eure, arrond. Evreux, cant. Evreux-Ouest (Latin *Asneriae*) where the counts of Evreux maintained a knightly fief.[81] Another one is Payens *de Osca (Osche)* who seems to have come from Ouche.[82]

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[78] *WT* 14.9.20, pp. 640-641, 657-658

[79] La Ferté-Frênel, Dépt. Orne, arrond. Argentan. See Ménager, *Colonisation normande*, p. 361 for the family in Normandy and South Italy, *RRH* nos. 86.194.195.347 for the family in Antioch. Gunfredus need not have come from Antioch like Bernard Vacher. He may have come directly from Normandy. Richard of Frênel who died ca. 1119 had eight sons of whom William was the eldest. In 1138 we hear of actions by William of Frênel and his six brothers (Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:218, 512). The one who is missing in 1138 may have gone to the East.

[80] *Lignages d'Outremer* 8, p. 448. John L. La Monte, "The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades," *Speculum* 17 (1942): 113-118. Jean Richard, "Un évêque d'Orient latin au XIVe siècle. Guy d'Ibelin, O. P., évêque de Limassol, et l'inventaire de ses biens," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 74 (1950): 99, n. 3.

[81] *RRH* nos. 113.147. Marie Fauroux, ed., *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066* (Caen, 1961), p. 396 no. 208.

[82] *RRH* no. 102a.104.114.147. The viscount of Jerusalem *Paganus de Uch* in *RRH* no. 291 is a well known but different person as his misprinted name must be read as *de Uoh*. Ouche is the ancient name of what is today St.-Evroult-Notre-Dame-du-Bois, Dépt. Orne, arrond. Argentan, cant. La Ferté-Frênel. The old name has persisted as that of a region in this area.

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It had not been forgotten, as William of Tyre writes, that Hugh II of Jaffa was a relative of the Norman Boemund I of Antioch. His mother was a daughter of the count Eble II of Roucy whose wife was a half-sister of Boemund I from a different marriage of the common ancestor Robert Guiscard.[83] Boemund I was therefore a great-uncle of Hugh. His father Hugh II of Le Puiset (= Hugh I of Jaffa), viscount of Chartres, enlisted in the crusade which Boemund organized in France in 1106. The two must have met at Chartres where Boemund married Constance of France that same year.[84] William of Tyre says that this Hugh II of Le Puiset went to Apulia with his pregnant wife who there gave birth to Hugh, the rebel of 1134.[85] As he was too tender to make the journey he was left in the care of Boemund I. William of Tyre makes the elder Hugh travel on directly to Jerusalem but Orderic Vitalis informs us that first he went with Boemund on his crusade against Durazzo which began in October 1107.[86]

Orderic speaks of the Norman Robert of Montfort-sur-Risle (Dépt. Eure, arrond. Bernay) and that in 1107 he was brought to trial for felony by Henry I of England and avoided the verdict in the usual way by surrendering his lands to the king and going to Jerusalem. He also took the route through Apulia where he was glad to find "fellow countrymen," and Orderic names Hugh II of Le Puiset who was not a Norman, the others, however, were: Simon of Anet (Dépt. Eure-et-Loir, arrond. Dreux) on the borders between

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[83] *WT* 14.15, p. 651. Ferdinand Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* 1 (Paris, 1907): p. 283. P. Moret de la Fayolle, *Histoire généalogique de la maison de Roucy et de Roye* (Paris, 1675), p. 23. *WT* 14.15, p. 651 makes her a daughter of Count Hugh Cholet (Latin *Caulis* or *Caulicus* = small cabbage) but this is manifestly impossible as Hugh Cholet is shown to have been active in France between 1126 and 1160 and died in 1161 (Moret de la Fayolle, *Histoire*, p. 26-28). In fact, as early as 1120 he was the hitherto unidentified constable of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (*Hugo Caulis constabularius* in *RRH* no. 91). His daughter cannot, therefore, have married Hugh II of Le Puiset before 1106. Hugh Cholet must have been a brother of the wife of Hugh II and therefore another child of Eble II of Roucy (Moret de la Fayolle, *Histoire*, pp. 23-24). Neither in the Bibliothèque Nationale, nor in the library of the Sorbonne or the Ecole des Chartes, nor even in the *Bibliographie annuelle de l'histoire de France* have I been able to locate J. A. Perrière, *Essais généalogiques et historiques sur le comté de Roucy* (Montmirail, 1957).

[84] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:70.

[85] *WT* 14.15, p. 651.

[86] In *Bistümer*, p. 299 I still believed that the *Hugo de Puteolis* who joined a confraternity in South Italy for the support of the abbey of Josaphat about 1106 was Hugo II of Le Puiset. But the document in question is not later than 1105 (Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten* 3:99 no. 6) and this rules him out. Ménager, *Colonisation normande* pp. 340-341 shows that a *Hugo de Puteolis* signed charters in Sicily from 1087 to 1111 and was a member of the court of Roger I, while before him there had been an *Arisgotus de Puteolis* in the entourage of Roger I who, together with Roger's nephew Serlo, received in 1071 no less than one half of Sicily. As these Sicilians should clearly not be tied to Pozzuoli near Naples, Ménager traced their origins to Normandy (Pucheuil, a place now waste in the Dépt. Seine Maritime, arrond. Dieppe, cant. Envermeu). It is attested around the year 1000 in a judgment by Richard II of Normandy (Fauroux, *Recueil*, p. 81 no. 10) concerning the estate of Douvrend in the same *canton*. But from the same charter we learn that the lords of the area did not take their name from *Puteolis* but from Envermeu (cf. also Hugh of Envermeu in Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 5 [1975]: 210). It is therefore doubtful whether there were knights from Pucheuil who emigrated to Sicily. Perhaps one should rather think of a hitherto unknown early member of the very prolific Le Puiset family.

Normandy and the Chartrain. He came from a family of vassals of the counts of Meulan in the Vexin.[87] The others were Ralph of Pont-Echanfré (today Notre-Dame-du-Hamel, Dépt. Eure, arrond. Bernay, cant. Broglie) and his brother Wascelin.[88] After the disaster of the crusade the comrades-in-arms visited Constantinople.[89] Ralph then went back to Normandy. Hugh II of Le Puiset continued to Jerusalem where he arrived between 1108 and 1110. There he was given the fief of Jaffa, thus becoming Hugh I of Jaffa, where he died before 1112. After an interlude of rule in Jaffa by Albert of Namur, Hugh II of Jaffa came to the Holy Land between 1118 and early 1120, successfully claiming his Jaffa inheritance.[90] He had spent all his formative years among the Normans in Apulia and had never known Chartres or his Chartrain father. When he fell in 1134 he did not return to Chartres but rather to Apulia where he became count of Gargano for his few remaining years.[91] For all practical purposes Hugh could pass for a pure-blooded Norman and Fulk treated him like one.

When Count Hugh II of Jaffa revolted against King Fulk he championed the cause of Queen Melisende and, at the price of his own downfall, prevented her losing her share in the kingdom. But he also revolted in the interest of the old-established noble families who were threatened, if not in their fiefs, then at least in their hold on crown offices and royal castellanies. They saw both go to Angevin and other newcomers. Although a Chartrain by extraction, Count Hugh was by upbringing a South Italian Norman and thus the natural leader of the Normans in the kingdom who were affected more than any other group of Baldwin II's old servants by the new king Fulk of Anjou. It is obvious that it was not a coincidence that the complaints against Fulk's early policies in the East surfaced in Normandy at St.-Evroul through the pen of Orderic Vitalis.

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[87] Charles Porée, *Histoire de l'abbaye du Bec* 1 (Evreux, 1901): 375.

[88] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 6:70, 100.

[89] Ibid. 6:104.

[90] Hans E. Mayer, "The Origins of the County of Jaffa," *Israel Exploration Journal* 35 (1985): 40-45.

[91] *WT* 14.18, p. 655.

V

GUILLAUME DE TYR À L'ÉCOLE

Je suis particulièrement heureux d'avoir l'occasion de faire présenter une communication devant l'Académie de Dijon, au moment même où M. le Doyen Jean Richard fête son soixante-cinquième anniversaire. Depuis de nombreuses années, nous partageons un intérêt commun pour l'histoire de la Terre Sainte et de la Bourgogne. Pour ma part, je n'ai travaillé que sur la Bourgogne transjurane, à l'époque postcarolingienne, et il y a de cela de nombreuses années. M. Jean Richard, quant à lui, est resté fidèle à ces deux domaines de recherche et est devenu, à juste titre, membre de votre Académie et Président de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. Mais il faut ajouter qu'il est aussi le plus éminent spécialiste de l'histoire de l'île de Chypre, au temps de la maison de Lusignan et des missions chrétiennes en Asie du XIIIe au XVe siècle. Je suis heureux de pouvoir rendre ce modeste hommage à ce savant illustre, en signe de mon amitié et de ma sympathie collégiale.

A la lecture de la célèbre chronique des États croisés écrite par l'archevêque Guillaume de Tyr, on est frappé par l'intérêt porté et la bienveillance avec laquelle il traite le cardinal Jean de SS. Silvestro e Martino, bien que ce dernier ait été une figure hautement controversée. Guillaume parle de lui par deux fois[1]. Dans le premier passage, il ne fait que montrer une connaissance approfondie de la carrière de Jean. Le patriarche Guillaume de Jérusalem mourut en 1145. L'archevêque Foucher de Tyr fut élu au début de 1146, pour être son successeur (1146-1157). Il s'en suivit une élection contestée à l'église de Tyr, maintenant devenue vacante. L'un des partis voulait, avec l'appui de la famille royale, voir le chancelier royal Raoul accéder à l'archevêché de

1. GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, XVI, 17 et XVIII, 8, dans *Recueil des Historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, I, Paris, 1844 (Édition critique par HUYGENS (R.B.C.) dans *Corpus Christianorum*, sous presse), p. 733 *sq.*, 830. — Je me permets de remercier vivement Madame Évelyne Condou pour la traduction de cette étude en langue française.

cette ville. Mais dans un document de 1150, il porte encore le titre d'archevêque élu (et donc pas encore consacré), ce qui démontre qu'il n'a pas pu s'imposer[2]. L'autre parti était fermement opposé à cette élection. Il avait à sa tête, d'après Guillaume de Tyr, « Jean le Pisan, archidiacre de cette église, futur cardinal de L'Église romaine, du titre de SS. Silvestro e Martino » *(Iohannes Pisanus eiusdem ecclesiae archidiaconus, qui postea fuit cardinalis Romanae ecclesiae, Sanctorum Sylvestri et Martini)*. Jean, en tant qu'archidiacre de Tyr, et Foucher, le patriarche élu, sont attestés le 20 février 1146 dans une charte du roi Baudouin III de Jérusalem[3]. Outre Jean, nous trouvons comme opposants à l'élection de Raoul, le patriarche Foucher et, parmi les évêques suffragants de Tyr, celui de Sidon et celui de Beyrouth, mais non pas celui d'Acre. Ils firent appel à la Curie et Eugène III cassa finalement l'élection. Le successeur de Foucher à la charge d'archevêque de Tyr fut Pierre de Barcelone, précédemment prieur du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre. Pour ce qui est de l'élection de Raoul, Guillaume de Tyr partage l'opinion de Jean quant à son incapacité à être archevêque de Tyr, car il écrit à ce propos que Raoul était certes très cultivé mais bien trop séculier.

L'appel à la Curie, même contre la volonté déclarée de la famille royale, laquelle tranchait habituellement lors d'élection d'évêques, prouve que l'archidiacre Jean était un homme fidèle à ses principes, ce qui se confirmera par la suite, sa carrière future ne témoignant d'aucun manque d'esprit de décision. Guillaume de Tyr décrit aussi Foucher sous les traits d'une personne inébranlable. A l'origine, il avait été abbé de Saint-Pierre de Cellefouin, la plus ancienne maison des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin en Angoumois. Il s'était brouillé avec son évêque Gérard d'Angoulême, lors du schisme de 1130, car tous deux se trouvaient dans des partis profondément opposés. Mais Foucher préféra aller à Jérusalem en tant que simple chanoine du Saint-Sépulcre, plutôt que de se ranger tant soit peu du côté du pape Pierleoni[4]. On peut supposer que plus tard, après son élection à l'archevêché de Tyr, il se mit à la recherche d'un archidiacre de la même trempe, en la personne de Jean. Il est fort possible que l'appel énergique ayant succédé à l'élection contestée de Tyr, ait attiré l'attention du pape sur Jean. Quoi qu'il en soit, c'est Eugène III qui fit Jean cardinal-prêtre de SS. Silvestro e Martino. Les informations concernant son cardinalat sont peu nombreuses mais instructives et sont rapportées presque dans leur ensemble par Brixius et

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2. Röhricht (Reinhold), *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani,* Innsbruck, 1893, n° 258 ; Marsy (Comte de), « Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint-Lazare, en Terre Sainte », dans *Archives de l'Orient latin,* II[b], 1884, p. 128, n° 7.

3. Röhricht, *Regesta* [2], n° 240 ; Delaborde (Henri-François), *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat,* Paris, 1880, p. 60, n° 26 (« Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome », XIX).

4. Guillaume de Tyr, *Historia,* XIV, 10, p. 621 *sq. : constans et amator disciplinae*. Voir aussi *Dictionnaire de biographie française, s. vv.* Foucher, patriarche de Jérusalem et Girard d'Angoulême ainsi que l'article plus étendu *s. v.* Foucher, abbé de Cellefrouin, dans *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*.

Zenker[5]. L'état actuel des publications sur ce sujet montre que Jean a apposé sa souscription, en tant que cardinal, aux chartes papales du 27 mai 1152 au 9 juin 1161[6], bien qu'il vécu au minimum jusqu'en avril 1164.

Le deuxième passage dans lequel Guillaume de Tyr parle de Jean, traite de la visite du patriarche Foucher de Jérusalem, alors d'un grand âge, à la Curie, à Ferentino en 1155. Le patriarche avait pris sur lui les fatigues du voyage afin de porter plainte contre l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean, à la suite d'ennuis répétés. Dans le récit de Guillaume, il apparaît que l'Ordre de Saint-Jean s'était attiré la bienveillance du collège des cardinaux grâce à des dons en argent, ce qui eut pour résultat de faire échouer la mission du patriarche. Seuls deux cardinaux auraient soutenu Foucher, pieusement et en imitation de Jésus-Christ *(Christum sequentes)*, « à savoir M. Octavien et M. Jean de San Martino qui avait été archidiacre de M. le Patriarche susnommé quand ce dernier était archevêque de Tyr » *(dominus videlicet Octavianus, dominus Iohannes de Sancto Martino, qui eiusdem domini patriarchae, dum esset Tyrensis archiepiscopus, archidiaconus fuerat)*. Mais Guillaume de Tyr n'était pas un fervent partisan de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean. Même si Jean n'avait pas bénéficié de la haute considération de Guillaume, le célèbre chroniqueur se serait sûrement mis, sur ce point, du côté du patriarche, ainsi que son compte rendu le fait apparaître. Mais l'intérêt ici n'est pas dans l'affaire elle-même, mais dans le fait que Guillaume cite le nom des deux cardinaux alliés au patriarche. Lorsqu'après 1165 il écrivit sa chronique, qu'il poursuivit jusqu'en 1184, Octavien et Jean étaient décédés et violemment discrédités. On s'exposait fortement, d'un point de vue politico-ecclésiastique, après la fin du schisme d'Alexandre III en 1176-77, en approuvant les actions de ces deux cardinaux. En effet, en septembre 1159 Octavien avait été fait antipape, sous le nom de Victor IV, contre Alexandre III, et son « faiseur de pape » s'appelait précisément Jean de SS. Silvestro e Martino.

Le *Liber pontificalis,* la série officieuse des biographies papales, reposant visiblement ici sur la lettre *Aeterna et incommutabilis* qu'Alexandre envoya à des destinataires différents immédiatement après son élection, indique que notre Jean ainsi que Gui de Crema étaient les appuis principaux de Victor IV lors de son élection[7]. Le parti de Victor, auquel s'était entre-

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5. Brixius (Johannes-Matthias), *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130-1181,* Berlin, 1912, p. 55, 110 (Thèse, Strasbourg), Zenker (Barbara), *Die Mitglieder des Kardinalkollegiums von 1130 bis 1159*, Wurtzbourg, 1964, p. 92 *sq.* (Thèse, Wurtzbourg).

6. Jaffé-Löwenfeld, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum,* 2e édition, II, Leipzig, 1888, nos 9584, 14450 (cité ultérieurement : JL.)

7. JL., nos 10584-10592, 10601-2. Texte de 10584 : *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori,* éd. Belgrano (Luigi-Tommaso), *Fonti per la storia d'Italia,* I, Gênes, 1890, p. 55 *sq.* Texte de 10587 : *Die Admonter Briefsammlung,* éd. Hödl (Günther) et Classen (Peter), dans *Monumenta Germaniae Historica : Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit,* VI, Munich, 1983, p. 79, n° 41. *Liber pontificalis,* éd. Duchesne (L.), II, Paris, 1892, p. 399. *Cf.* Watterich (I. M.), *Pontificum Romanorum vitae,* II, Leipzig, 1862, p. 486 : lettre des partisans de Victor IV du concile de Pavie en 1160.

temps rallié le cardinal-évêque Imar de Tusculum, prit sa revanche sur la lettre d'Alexandre par une encyclique dont Imar, Jean et Gui furent les principaux des six expéditeurs[8]. Ils y donnaient leur propre version de l'élection du pape ainsi que de leurs querelles antérieures avec le pape Hadrien IV et les autres cardinaux. Celles-ci avaient pour objet la politique de réconciliation menée par Hadrien avec la Sicile, dont le point culminant avait été la signature du traité de Bénévent en 1156. Cette politique avait été l'un des points litigieux principaux entre les électeurs de 1159. Octavien et Jean avaient donc déjà, sous Hadrien IV, travaillé ensemble dans le domaine de la politique ecclésiastique lors de la question sicilienne et du problème relatif à l'Ordre de Saint-Jean. Le 13 décembre 1159, Jean et Gui de Crema étaient déjà exclus par Alexandre du collège des cardinaux[9] et Jean ne signa à partir de ce moment-là que des chartes de Victor IV. Ce dernier l'envoya en France en 1160 en qualité de légat au synode de Beauvais où son influence fut nulle[10].

L'une des premières actions d'Alexandre III fut d'accorder un privilège de protection daté du 15 octobre 1159 en faveur du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem et qui naturellement avait été auparavant demandé à Hadrien[11]. Cependant Alexandre ne pouvait qu'avec difficulté prendre pied en Orient. Peu de temps après son élection, il envoya, en 1160, le cardinal Jean de SS. Giovanni e Paolo en qualité de légat en Terre Sainte. Mais l'entrée du royaume fut tout d'abord interdite à la frontière au voyageur venu de l'Ouest. Les partisans de Victor IV, qui ne voulaient pas laisser entrer le légat d'Alexandre, argumentèrent que Victor avait toujours été un ami et un protecteur du royaume *(semper regno amicum et tutorem fuisse)* et nous pouvons soupçonner que Jean de SS. Silvestro e Martino y avait lui aussi apporté une contribution importante. Le roi conseilla de suivre une ligne soigneusement neutre, car on ignorait encore qui, des deux papes, s'imposerait. Il

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8. *Admonter Briefsammlung* [7], p. 84, n° 42. Sur la position de Jean sur la politique sicilienne d'Hadrien IV voir Sigebert de Gembloux, *Chronica, Continuatio Aquicinctina,* dans *Monumenta Germaniae Historica : Scriptores,* VI, p. 409.

9. Dans JL., n° 10601, ils sont désignés sous le terme de *quondam cardinales*.

10. Lettre de l'abbé Fastradus de Clairvaux, dans *Admonter Briefsammlung* [7], p. 125, n° 70. *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux,* éd. Barlow (Frank), *Camden Society,* 3e série, Londres, 1939, p. 45 ; Guillaume de Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglorum,* dans *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I,* éd. Howlett (R.), *Rolls Series,* I, Londres, 1884, p. 120 ; Tillmann (Helene), *Die päpstlichen Legaten in England bis zur Beendigung der Legation Gualas,* Bonn, 1926, p. 53 (Thèse Bonn) ; Janssen (Wilhelm), « Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Schisma Anaklets II. bis zum Tode Coelestins III. (1130-1198) », dans *Kölner Historische Abhandlungen,* VI, 1961, p. 67 *sq.*, 123. Le synode de Beauvais de juillet 1160 fut autrefois faussement connu sous le nom de synode de Toulouse d'octobre 1160. En ce qui concerne cette erreur voir Cheney (Mary G.), « The recognition of Pope Alexander III : some neglected evidence », dans *English Historical Review,* LXXXIV, 1969, p. 474-497 et Classen (Peter), « Das Konzil von Toulouse 1160 : eine Fikion », dans *Deutsches Archiv,* XXIX, 1973, p. 220-223.

11. JL., n° 10593 ; Röhricht, *Regesta* [2], n° 337 ; Bresc-Bautier (Geneviève), *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem,* Paris, 1984, p. 70, n° 18 (« Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades », XV).

valait mieux laisser entrer le légat, mais à titre privé et seulement jusqu'à l'été suivant. Cependant le parti d'Alexandre l'emporta, et c'est à titre officiel que le légat poursuivit son voyage. Jérusalem reconnaissait officiellement Alexandre III. Mais Guillaume de Tyr ne se donne même pas la peine de dissimuler qu'il penchait plutôt pour le camp de Victor IV. En effet il dit que ceux qui s'étaient prononcés pour l'entrée du légat et de ce fait en faveur d'Alexandre III, l'avaient par la suite vivement regretté. Le légat leur avait en effet infligé de lourdes charges, vraisemblablement financières[12]. Le parti toujours en faveur auprès de Guillaume de Tyr et bien après les événements, était celui de Victor et de Jean, même si Guillaume se mit, après la fin du schisme (1176-77), au service d'Alexandre III, pour qui il rédigea en 1179 les décrets du troisième concile de Latran[13]. Alexandre était même prêt à employer l'antipape Calixte III après la soumission de celui-ci. En arrivant à cette évaluation de la position de Guillaume au sein du schisme, il nous faut tenir compte du fait que Victor et Jean étaient les représentants des intérêts impériaux au sein de l'Église universelle et que Guillaume avait étudié la jurisprudence à Bologne chez les légistes favorables à l'empereur jusqu'en 1167, Bulgarus, Martinus, Jacobus et Hugo[14].

Lorsque Victor mourut à Lucques en 1164, Imar de Tusculum était déjà mort. Même à ce moment-là, Jean et Gui refusèrent de reconnaître Alexandre. Lors de l'élection suivante en 1164, Gui fut élevé à la charge d'antipape, sous le nom de Pascal III. Le *Liber pontificalis* désigne de nouveau Jean comme en étant l'une des forces motrices, ce qui à la fin du XIIe siècle sera confirmé par l'Anglais Guillaume de Newburgh. A une époque non datable après précision, mais qui devrait se situer peu de temps après l'élection, du fait de l'absence de la souscription de Jean dans les chartes de Pascal III, Jean fit une chute de cheval mortelle à la sortie de Viterbe[15]. La vie d'un homme opiniâtre et que le *Liber pontificalis* qualifiait d'être « sans regret » *(impenitens)* venait de s'éteindre.

Les savants ont remarqué depuis longtemps déjà que Jean avait été archidiacre de Tyr avant de devenir cardinal. Cela suffit-il à expliquer l'atten-

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12. GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Historia,* XVIII, 29, p. 870 *sq.* L'Église de Jérusalem, à laquelle Guillaume, à l'époque, n'appartenait pas car il faisait alors ses études en Europe, prit une position officielle très favorable à Alexandre, après la venue du légat ; voir *Admonter Briefsammlung* [7], p. 122, n° 67.

13. GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Historia,* XXI, 26, p. 1051.

14. GUILLAUME DE TYR, *Historia,* XIX, 12, éd. seulement HUYGENS (R.B.C.) « Guillaume de Tyr étudiant : Un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son *Histoire* retrouvé », dans *Latomus*, XXI, 1962, p. 823 ; FRIED (Johannes), « Die Entstehung des Juristenstandes im 12. Jahrhundert », dans *Forschungen zur neueren Privatrechtsgeschichte,* XXI, 1974, p. 52-56, particulièrement p. 56 et 135 à propos de la position très favorable à l'Empereur des professeurs de droit de Bologne.

15. *Liber pontificalis,* p. 410, 419. GUILLAUME DE NEWBURGH, *Historia rerum Anglicarum,* p. 143. Il n'est pas exact de dire que Jean fut élevé par Pascal III à la charge de cardinal-évêque d'Albano (voir JL., n° 10584). Il s'agit d'une confusion avec l'abbé Jean de Strumi (à côté d'Arezzo), élevé à la charge d'évêque d'Albano par Victor IV et élu antipape, en 1168, sous le nom de Calixte III.

tion que Guillaume de Tyr lui accorde ? Guillaume était lui-même archidiacre de cette ville depuis 1167 et par la suite devint, en 1175, archevêque de Tyr. Mais il fait à peine mention des autres archidiacres[16], si bien que nous devons nous étonner de ces deux mentions relatives à Jean, qui plus est, l'un des plus grands perdants du schisme d'Alexandre III. Il était au sein de l'Église *persona non grata* mais malgré cela, Guillaume le soutint toujours.

Nous croyons effectivement que la bienveillance de Guillaume prodiguée à l'égard de Jean n'avait aucun rapport avec l'archidiaconat de Tyr, mais trouvait ailleurs sa raison d'être. Nous nous rapprocherons de la solution en observant que Jean n'est pas seulement désigné dans les sources sous le nom de *Sancto Marino* mais aussi dans le *Liber pontificalis* sous celui de *Iohannes de Morrone* c'est-à-dire de Morrona près de Lucques. Ce Toscan avait peut-être vécu à Pise avant d'aller en Terre Sainte, car Romuald de Salerne (†1181) l'appelle *Iohannes Pisanus cardinalis Sancti Martini*[17] et Guillaume de Tyr en personne, le nomme une fois « Jean le Pisan ».

Les savants n'ont pas remarqué que le futur cardinal est déjà connu, bien avant son archidiaconat à Tyr, sous ce nom de « Jean le Pisan ». Il était chanoine au chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre à Jérusalem où servait aussi son protecteur Foucher, avant qu'il ne devienne archevêque de Tyr[18]. Jean écrivit occasionnellement des chartes pour le chapitre. Nous pouvons le considérer identique au sous-diacre Jean qui, en mars 1135, rédigea si minutieusement une charte relative à la vente, à Jérusalem, d'une maison au Saint-Sépulcre qu'il indique même avoir effacé quelques lettres à la cinquième ligne de l'original[19]. Certes, il ne se donne pas le nom de Pisan, mais vingt mois plus tard, en novembre 1136, un Jean le Pisan écrit une charte pour Pierre Bernard, chanoine du Saint-Sépulcre, dans laquelle il autorise un couple à bâtir, à Jérusalem, une maison sur un terrain du Saint-Sépulcre[20]. Ce Jean le Pisan est identique assurément au futur archidiacre de Tyr et au cardinal romain. Et si en 1136, il est fait appel à lui en tant que scribe de chartes du Saint-

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16. Autant que je sache, il ne cite, en dehors de lui-même et de Jean, que les futurs évêques Guillaume d'Acre, son prédécesseur immédiat dans l'archidiaconat, et Eudes de Beyrouth, nommé par Guillaume de Tyr lui-même, en tant qu'archidiacres de Tyr. En ce qui concerne Jean voir *supra*, n. 1, les autres chez Guillaume de Tyr, *Historia,* XX, 1 et XXII, 7, p. 943, 1075. *Cf.* aussi Guillaume de Tyr, *Historia,* XIX, 12, dans Huygens, op. cit. [14], p. 824.

17. *Romoaldi Annales,* dans *Monumenta Germaniae Historica : Scriptores,* XIX, p. 430.

18. Foucher est attesté en 1134 en tant que chanoine du Saint-Sépulcre : Röhricht, *Regesta* [2], n° 152 ; Röhricht (Reinhold), « Syria sacra » dans *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins,* X, 1887, p. 45, n. 9, l'identifie faussement au Foucher dans Röhricht, *Regesta* [2], n° 101, de 1123, qui certes était un ecclésiastique mais pas chanoine du Saint-Sépulcre. D'autre part le futur archevêque de Tyr se trouvait à l'époque en France. C'est la raison pour laquelle Röhricht a séparé de nouveau les deux personnes dans l'index de ses *Regesta*, art. Fulcherius.

19. Röhricht, *Regesta* [2], n° 154 ; Bresc-Bautier, *op. cit.* [11], p. 167, n° 70.

20. Röhricht, *Regesta* [2], n° 166 ; Bresc-Bautier, *op. cit.* [11], p. 222, n° 103.

Sépulcre, il fut aussi celui qui exerça cette fonction en 1135. Il est intéressant de remarquer dans ce contexte qu'Arnoul de Lisieux affirme, dans une lettre adressée au collège des cardinaux de Rome, où on aurait pu le vérifier, que Jean de SS. Silvestro e Martino s'était justement brouillé avec Alexandre III parce qu'il avait voulu lui-même devenir chancelier de l'Église romaine en 1153 et qu'un autre lui avait été préféré en la personne de Roland Bandinelli, le futur Alexandre III (*Alius* [scil. Jean] *affectae cancellarie confusus obprobrio et aliene prelationis honore deiectus, conceptum de invidia personale odium in ecclesiam convertere temeraria malignitate presumpsit)*[21]. C'est après 1137 que Jean s'était transféré de Jérusalem à Tyr parce qu'il avait été nommé archidiacre par l'archevêque Foucher (1137-1146).

Mais la charte de 1136 dissimule une surprise : Jean, sous-diacre en 1135, ne cite pour lui, dans la nomination du scribe, aucun grade ecclésiastique, mais donne à la place une fonction qu'il exerçait au sein du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre : « Écrit de la main de Jean le Pisan qui enseignait alors aux petits clercs du Saint-Sépulcre » *(Scriptum per manum Iohannis Pisani qui eo tempore ad Sepulchrum clericulos docebat)*. Jean était donc devenu écolâtre du Saint-Sépulcre. Le prévôt Gerhoch de Reichersberg en Bavière, moraliste conservateur, tenait Jean pour un homme s'intéressant aux problèmes théologiques, en particulier à ceux de l'Orient. Il lui adressa vers 1158-59 un traité contre les Grecs, vraisemblablement celui traitant de la clause de *Filioque* dans le Credo[22]. Avec ce présent, Gerhoch, qui ne prit le parti d'Alexandre III qu'en 1162, voulait certainement gagner les faveurs du chef du parti impérial parmi les cardinaux. Mais il avait dû aussi estimer que Jean était un homme de culture.

Jean le Pisan satisfaisait donc beaucoup de conditions pour pouvoir exercer sa fonction, lorsqu'Eugène III l'éleva à la charge de cardinal. Il était cultivé et familiarisé avec les problèmes relatifs à l'Église latine et grecque en Orient ; il s'était occupé de la formation de la relève cléricale à Jérusalem et avait, de bonne heure, acquis une expérience au service des chartes, également en tant qu'archidiacre, en administrant un archidiocèse important. Il certifia au moins une fois, avec son protecteur Foucher, une charte royale, ce qui prouve que le service à la cour ne lui était pas entièrement étranger. Il avait eu une connaissance de la pratique des procès ecclésiastiques, grâce à son appel contre l'élection de Raoul à la charge d'archevêque de Tyr. Ce procès avait démontré que Jean était un homme s'intéressant à la politique

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21. *Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux* [10], p. 43, n° 29 (p. 45).

22. GERHOCH DE REICHERSBERG, *Contra Graecorum errorem negancium Spiritum Sanctum a Filio procedere,* éd. SCHEIBELBERGER (F.), *Gerhohi Reichersbergensis opera hactenus inedita,* I, Linz, 1875, p. 341-357 ; GERHOCH, *Epistolae*, dans MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina,* CXCIII, col. 489, n° 1. Dans sa lettre Gerhoch désigne Jean par le titre d'ancien archidiacre de Jérusalem, sûrement seulement par erreur (même s'il est tentant de penser que le patriarche Foucher, qui l'avait fait venir à Tyr, l'aurait fait aussi venir à Jérusalem) car Guillaume de Tyr n'était pas informé de cela : CLASSEN (Peter), *Gerhoch von Reichersberg : Eine Biographie,* Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 185, 371, n° 95, 424, n° 15.

ecclésiastique, ce qu'il demeurera par la suite, et même bien plus actif que Hadrien IV et Alexandre III ne l'auraient souhaité. N'oublions pas qu'il s'était appliqué à entretenir toutes les relations nécessaires à une carrière couronnée de succès. Foucher l'avait entraîné à sa suite du Saint-Sépulcre vers Tyr. Au sein du collège des cardinaux, il avait fondé son propre parti, même si par la suite, ses amis et lui se trouvèrent de plus en plus repoussés en minorité.

Il est généralement admis que Guillaume de Tyr naquit en 1130[23]. Cette naissance n'a pu se produire au-delà de cette date, car en 1165 il revint d'Europe après des études supérieures et universitaires ayant duré une vingtaine d'années, ce qui fait dater son départ de la Terre Sainte en 1145. Il fallait pour cela avoir atteint l'âge minimum de 15 ans qui était en même temps l'âge de la majorité. En 1136 Guillaume avait donc six ans. A cette date, Jean le Pisan était écolâtre de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre, et par conséquent Guillaume de Tyr dut être l'un de ces petits clercs bénéficiant de l'enseignement de Jean, qui lui apprit à lire, à écrire, puis lui enseigna le latin. Il est difficile d'indiquer si Jean et Guillaume se sont par la suite rencontrés de nouveau, soit en France, à l'occasion de la légation malchanceuse de Jean, soit à Bologne, où Guillaume étudia chez les légistes favorables à l'empereur, ou si Jean encouragea les études en Europe de son ancien élève de latin. De même ignorons-nous si Guillaume espérait un avancement dans sa carrière ecclésiastique grâce au cardinal et s'il ambitionnait une telle carrière en Europe. Jean mourut en 1164. Le décès de Victor IV la même année et le retour d'Alexandre III à Rome en 1165 avaient créé une situation telle que la victoire d'Alexandre III n'était plus qu'une question de temps. Mais le retour de Guillaume en Orient en 1165 ne peut pas être lié avec vraisemblance à ces

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23. Prutz (Hans), « Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus », dans *Neues Archiv*, VIII, 1882, p. 95 ; Krey (A. C.), « William of Tyre : The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages », dans *Speculum*, XVI, 1941, p. 150 ; *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre*, trad. Babcock (E. A.) et Krey (A. C.), I, New York, 1941, p. 6 (« Columbia University Records of Civilization », XXXV). Krey, *ibidem*, p. 9 *sq.* pensait que c'était Pierre de Barcelone, prieur du Saint-Sépulcre de 1130 à 1151, qui avait dirigé les premiers pas scolaires de Guillaume de Tyr. Ce dernier, *Historia*, XVI, 17, p. 734, écrit en effet que Pierre serait digne d'une biographie, en raison de son importance et de ses mérites, mais qu'il serait impossible, dans le cadre de sa chronique, de l'écrire. Il est évident que Guillaume connaissait Pierre, alors prieur quand Guillaume était élève à Jérusalem. Mais Krey ignore non seulement que Jean le Pisan était écolâtre au Saint-Sépulcre en 1136, mais aussi qu'on y avait établi une telle fonction en 1102 ou même plus tôt (Röhricht, *Regesta* [2], n° 40 ; Bresc-Bautier, *op. cit.* [11], p. 72, n° 19). Le prieur était l'administrateur du temporel du chapitre ; il n'enseignait pas à l'école de la cathédrale ; Huygens (R.B.C.), op. cit. [14], p. 817-819, aussi sur l'âge de Guillaume au temps de son départ pour l'Europe ; Davis (R. H. C.), « William of Tyre », dans *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, éd. Baker (Derek), Edimbourg, 1973, p. 64 ; Schwinges (Rainer Christoph), *Kreuzzugsideologie und Toleranz : Studien zu Wilhelm von Tyrus*, Stuttgart, 1977, p. 19 (« Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters », XV) ; Hiestand (Rudolf), « Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus », dans *Deutsches Archiv*, XXXIV, 1978, p. 347.

faits. Il est néanmoins évident que Guillaume de Tyr, l'élève le plus brillant de Jean, a toujours gardé un souvenir respectueux de son professeur de latin et qu'il a tenu à souligner les mérites du maître même à une époque au cours de laquelle, politiquement parlant, cela ne constituait pas une démarche opportune.

Note additionnelle : M. le Professeur Rudolf Hiestand a bien voulu me communiquer que la première souscription de Jean le Pisan en tant que cardinal est du 18 mars 1152 (*Codice diplomatico Barese,* I, p. 94, n° 49) et que *dominus Iohannes Pisanus cardinalis presbiter* est aussi mentionné en l'an 1154 ou 1155 : RAMACKERS (Johannes), *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge,* V, Göttingen, 1956, p. 176, n° 88 (« *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse* », N.F., XXXV).

VI

Fontevrault und Bethanien
Kirchliches Leben in Anjou und Jerusalem im 12. Jahrhundert

Für Theodor Schieffer
zum achtzigsten Geburtstag

Vor etwas mehr als zehn Jahren gelang mir der Nachweis, daß das Nonnenkloster St. Lazarus in Bethanien, das als im Jahre 1138 gegründet galt, in Wahrheit ein Doppelkloster für Nonnen und Mönche nach dem Muster von Fontevrault in Anjou war und 1143 von König Fulko von Jerusalem, zuvor Graf von Anjou, und seiner Gemahlin Melisendis gestiftet wurde.[1] Diese Meinung erfuhr jedoch kürzlich Widerspruch von Denys Pringle, der erneut in Bethanien ein benediktinisches Kloster nur für Nonnen sah, obwohl in Bethanien zwei Kirchen schon im 12. Jahrhundert vorhanden waren.[2] Von diesen beiden Kirchen erklärte Pringle die eine über dem Lazarusgrab zur Konventskirche der Nonnen, die andere zur Kirche Simons des Aussätzigen. Die Pilger hätten entweder in dieser gebetet oder aber in der unter der Konventskirche befindlichen Grotte mit dem Grab des hl. Lazarus, aber nie in der darüber befindlichen Westkirche der Nonnen. Damit ordnete Pringle die Gebäude in Bethanien ein in die Reihe der im Hl. Land erhaltenen Doppelkirchen, die freilich meist übereinander gelegen sind.

Ich bin weit davon entfernt, Pringles Auffassung auf die leichte Schulter zu nehmen, denn er hat in allen seinen Publikationen die schriftlichen Quellen mit großer Vollständigkeit benutzt und mit Verstand interpretiert. Dennoch kann seine Auffassung über Bethanien nicht unkorrigiert bleiben.

Ich fasse meine früheren Resultate nochmals kurz zusammen, ehe ich sie ausbaue. Am 5. Februar 1138 nahmen Fulko und Melisendis einen Besitztausch mit dem Kapitel des Hl. Grabes in Jerusalem vor. Sie gaben dem Stift den Ort Thecua in Judaea und erwarben dafür die befestigte (JL. 7318) Kirche des hl. Lazarus, eine seit dem 4. Jahrhundert als Kirche bezeugte

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[1] Hans Eberhard Mayer, Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem. Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 26, Stuttgart 1977, S. 372–402.

[2] Denys Pringle, The planning of some pilgrimage churches in Crusader Palestine, World Archaeology 18 (1987) 356f.

wichtige Kultstätte, in Bethanien vor Jerusalem, damit diese Kirche *religioso conventui monachorum seu sanctimonialium devotius quam antea deserviret.*[3] Das bedeutet nicht, daß man noch keine Vorstellung hatte, ob man hier Mönche oder Nonnen ansiedeln wollte, wie Pringle meinte, sondern wie so oft im Mittellatein bedeutet *seu* hier einfach *et:* Mönche *und* Nonnen sollten das neue Kloster bewohnen. Für deren Lebensunterhalt fügten die Chorherren vom Hl. Grab Einzelbesitz in und um Jerusalem dazu sowie vier genannte Dörfer, die – soweit bekannt – bei Bethanien lagen. Dabei war die Rede von *quicumque regulariter introducendi sunt sacre religionis cultores,* so daß klar ist, daß das Kloster erst noch zu gründen war. Im Gegenzug erhielt das Stift vom König das Dorf Thecua in Judaea, dessen Einwohnern gestattet wurde, Salz und Asphalt am Toten Meer zu sammeln, das bekanntlich das reinste Bitumen der Welt liefert. Die Urkunde des Königspaares war ein Vorgang von herausragender Wichtigkeit, denn keine Urkunde eines Königs von Jerusalem hat eine längere Zeugenliste. Zählt man den Patriarchen, den Prior und die zwanzig Stiftsherren im Context mit, so waren insgesamt einundneunzig Personen an der Beurkundung beteiligt, und der Zeugenliste ist anzumerken, daß man auf eine möglichst vollständige Repräsentation des Episkopats Wert legte. Wegen eines schwelenden Streites zwischen dem Patriarchen von Jerusalem und dem Erzbischof von Tyrus war der letztere abwesend und mit ihm die Mehrzahl seiner Suffragane, aber das macht das Prinzip der erstrebten Vollständigkeit nur umso deutlicher. In einer verlorenen weiteren Schenkung schenkte König Fulko (nach Februar 1138, aber vor seinem Tod am 10. November 1143) dem nun schon gegründeten Kloster den Ort Bethanien.[4]

Wir hören dann wieder von Bethanien am 10. Januar 1144, als Papst Celestin II. nicht nur den Tausch von 1138, sondern auch die Klostergründung bestätigte, genauer gesagt die Absicht des Königspaares hierzu (JL. 8481). Damals weilte eine Gesandtschaft des Chorherrenstifts vom Hl. Grab in Rom, die im Januar 1144 ausdrücklich erwähnt wird und damals mehrere Urkunden für das Stift erwirkte (JL. 8479. 8481. 8482), aber wegen der Schiffahrtspause im Winter schon im Herbst 1143 angekommen sein muß. In JL. 8481 hatte die Kurie denn auch noch keine Kenntnis vom Tod des Königs Fulko am 10. November 1143 (anders in JL. 8652 vom 14. September 1144: *egregie memorie Fulcone*). Die Gesandten hatten eine noch an Innocenz II. († 24. September 1143) gerichtete Supplik des Königspaares und des gesamten Episkopats des Reiches mitgebracht, in der sie den Papst ersuchten, das Projekt zu bestätigen, was er auch tat. Es war die Rede davon, daß die Stifter *monastice religionis viros aut mulieres in ecclesia sancti Lazari, que in Bethania sita est, stabiliri desiderant.* Der Papst bestimmte, *ut in eadem beati*

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[3] Reinhold Röhricht, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani, Innsbruck 1893, Additamentum ebd. 1904 (künftig: RRH), n° 174.

[4] RRH n° 562b, dazu Mayer, Bistümer, S. 382–387.

Lazari ecclesia iuxta ... regis et regine peticionem et ordinationem viri aut mulieres monastice professionis ... statuantur. Das sieht nach erst noch zu vollziehender Besiedelung aus, und nur das Wort *ordinatio* verrät, daß auch der Kurie bekannt war, daß in Bethanien klösterliches Leben bereits existierte. Dennoch wird man davon ausgehen müssen, daß dieses erst kurz vor Fulkos Tod eingerichtet worden war, so daß die Gründung seit Februar 1138 sich über fünf Jahre lang hinzog.

Da alles bereits vollzogen war und man nur eine päpstliche Bekräftigung einer schon bestehenden Korporation wollte, macht *viri aut mulieres,* disjunktiv gemeint, hier noch weniger Sinn als 1138 *monachi seu sanctimoniales.* Das *aut* bedeutet auch hier *et.* Kaum war die Gesandtschaft aus Rom zurück, da bestätigte der neue König Balduin III. zwischen dem 8. März und dem 31. August 1144 den Tausch von 1138 und sprach nun von den in Bethanien nach der Regel angesiedelten Nonnen. Wilhelm von Tyrus schreibt die Gründung Bethaniens fälschlich allein der Königin Melisendis zu, die von vornherein ein Nonnenkloster zur Versorgung ihrer Schwester Iveta geplant habe.[5]

Aber in Bethanien lebten nicht nur Nonnen, sondern auch Mönche; es war ein Doppelkloster, in dem unter der Leitung der Äbtissin auch Mönche lebten und den Nonnen dienten. Im Jahre 1180 wurde ein Gütertausch zwischen dem Abt von Josaphat und der Äbtissin von Bethanien erneuert und bezeugt von zehn Mönchen von Josaphat (*de monachis*), sechs Nonnen von Bethanien (*ex parte abbatissae*), darunter der *priorissa Odelina* und *de fratribus autem frater Petrus Sancti Lazari praeceptor, frater Palacius et frater Gilabertus* (RRH n° 591a). Noch klarer wird die Sache 1184 in RRH n° 640a, wenn man das Regest dieser Urkunde im Inventar von Manosque von 1531 (Departementalarchiv Marseille 56 H 58) fol. 86 hinzunimmt, wo die Äbtissin Melisendis von Bethanien handelte *assensu et voluntate totius capituli eiusdem ecclesie dominarum et fratrum,* was die übergeordnete Stellung der Nonnen wünschenswert klar zum Ausdruck bringt.

Das alles war Pringle nicht genug, obwohl allein RRH n° 640a hinreichend ist, denn die *fratres* müssen Mönche sein, da Laienbrüder in einem reinen Nonnenkloster ebenso wenig zu suchen hatten wie normalerweise Mönche; man hätte dort Laienschwestern gehabt. Aber ich trage dem bisherigen Beweismaterial jetzt noch RRH n° 327 von 1157 bei, wo die Äbtissin Iveta von Bethanien handelte *concilio dominarum nostrarum sanctimonialium et tocius capituli nostri.* Da die Nonnen bereits genannt sind, können sich unter dem Kapitel nur die auch zum Kloster gehörigen Mönche verbergen.

Auch die Patrozinien deuten in diese Richtung. Fontevrault, von Anfang an durch Jahrhunderte der aristokratischste Frauenkonvent in Frankreich und ein Ort, der sich dem Touristen von außen noch heute mehr als eine

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[5] RRH n° 226: *sanctimonialibus in prefata ecclesia regulariter statutis.* Wilhelm von Tyrus, Chronique XV.26, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 63. 63A, 2 Bände, Turnhout 1986 (künftig: WT), S. 709.

kleine Stadt denn als ein Kloster darbietet, barg innerhalb seiner Mauern mehrere Konvente: Das sogenannte Große Kloster der Nonnen, das der Jungfrau Maria geweiht war, den Männerkonvent des Evangelisten Johannes, ferner ein der Maria Magdalena geweihtes Haus für gestrauchelte büßende Frauen, aber auch für hochgestellte Damen, die sich ohne Gelübde nach Fontevrault zurückzogen, ferner eine Leproserie St. Lazarus, und schließlich ein Krankenhaus St. Benedikt. Mindestens die erstgenannten vier Konvente gab es schon im 12. Jahrhundert, denn der Nekrologeintrag von Fontevrault für Heinrich II. von England erwähnt ausdrücklich seine Bautätigkeit in St. Lazarus und St. Maria Magdalena.[6] Die Patrozinien waren für Fontevrault von großer Bedeutung, nicht nur weil hier angespielt wurde auf die Idee, die hinter der Institution der Doppelklöster mit der in der Öffentlichkeit schon bald angegriffenen Unterordnung der Mönche unter die Nonnen stand. Die biblische Rechtfertigung war die Einsetzung des Evangelisten Johannes in ein Sohnesverhältnis zur Jungfrau Maria durch Christus (Joh. 19,26 f.). Außerdem waren diese beiden Patrozinien, Maria für die Frauen und der Evangelist Johannes für die Männer, noch vom Gründer Fontevraults, dem großen Volksprediger Robert von Arbrissel, festgelegt worden.[7]

Der Ort Bethanien war durch den Bericht der Evangelien unweigerlich besetzt durch den hl. Lazarus und seine beiden Schwestern Maria und Martha, die dort mit Jesus verkehrt hatten und wo Lazarus von den Toten auferweckt worden war. Das Hauptpatrozinium der Nonnen mußte hier St. Lazarus sein, aber damit begegnet man bereits einem der Patrozinien von Fontevrault. Obwohl es klar ist, daß wir unter der von Jesus geheilten Maria aus Magdala am See von Tiberias (Marc. 15,40 u. ö.), dann der Büßerin, die Jesus die Füße salbte und sie mit ihrem Haar trocknete (Luc. 7,36–50), und Maria, der Schwester des Lazarus, die Jesus in Bethanien salbte (Marc. 14,3; Matth. 26,7; Joh. 12,3), wenigstens zwei, wenn nicht drei Personen zu verstehen haben, glaubte das ganze Mittelalter unerschütterlich an die Identität aller drei, und aus Maria von Magdala wurde Maria Magdalena, deren zentraler Kultort dann zwangsläufig Bethanien war. Die zweite Kirche Bethaniens scheint seit alter Zeit Simon dem Aussätzigen geweiht gewesen zu sein, so daß für ein Patrozinium Maria Magdalena, erst recht aber für ein Patrozinium Johannes Evangelista für den Männerkonvent in Bethanien kein Platz mehr war. Die Nonnen hatten aber auch ein Stadtkloster in Jerusalem, und dieses hatte mit Johannes Evangelista ein weiteres der Patrozinien von Fontevrault.[8]

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[6] Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Ms. lat. 5480, Bd. I, S. 3, gedruckt in (Anonymus), Extrait du Grand Nécrologe de Fontevraud, (Bulletin de la) Société des lettres, sciences et arts du Saumurois 4 n° 11 (1913) 51.

[7] Vita b. Roberti de Arbrisello auctore monacho Fontis Ebraldi Andrea, ut creditur, Migne PL 162, 1057 f.

[8] Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie, Société de l'histoire de France, Paris 1871, S. 206.

Die Rekrutierung von Nonnen für Bethanien scheint nicht einfach gewesen zu sein, denn die oberen Chargen kamen überwiegend von außen. Ist das für die erste Äbtissin selbstverständlich, so kam die zweite Äbtissin Iveta aus St. Anna in Jerusalem.[9] Der dritten Äbtissin Eva (RRH n° 569a. 591a) begegnen wir 1157 noch als Äbtissin Avis von S. Maria Grandis in Jerusalem (RRH n° 327). Hier finden wir auch eine Priorin Odolina von S. Maria Grandis, die 1178 und 1180 Priorin von Bethanien war (RRH n° 569a. 591a). Die vierte Äbtissin Melisendis (RRH n° 640a) stieg dagegen innerhalb des Klosters auf, denn sie war schon 1178 und 1180 als einfache Nonne in Bethanien (RRH n° 569a. 591a). Die Praecentrix Alamandina könnte gleichfalls innerhalb des Klosters aufgestiegen sein, wenn sie nicht 1157 noch zu S. Maria Grandis oder zu St. Anna gehört hatte (RRH n° 327. 569a. 591a), wohingegen die Nonne Ermengard aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach aus St. Anna übergetreten war (RRH n° 327. 569a). Dieser Fall wirft die Frage auf, warum man innerhalb einer Stadt von einem in ein anderes Kloster übertrat, ohne daß damit eine Beförderung verbunden war. Das war an sich ja nicht statthaft, aber diese Regel duldete die allgemeine Ausnahme, daß man stets zu einer strengeren Lebensform übertreten durfte. Waren S. Maria Grandis und St. Anna normale Benediktinerinnenklöster, so hatte der Orden von Fontevrault eine wesentlich strengere Regel, die nicht nur die permanente Abstinenz von Fleisch vorsah, sondern vor allem das ewige Schweigen.[10] Das mag zugleich erklären, warum man innerhalb Bethaniens nicht immer genügend geeigneten Nachwuchs hatte zur Besetzung der höheren Chargen, und warum Eva, Odolina und vielleicht Alamandina nur zum Übertritt bewogen werden konnten, wenn man ihnen in Bethanien eine gleichwertige leitende Funktion garantierte. Dann mag der größere Reichtum Bethaniens den Ausschlag gegeben haben, denn das Doppelkloster, das als das reichste Kloster im Lande galt, besaß im Gegensatz zu anderen Nonnenklöstern des Landes nicht nur eine Dependance in der Stadt Jerusalem selbst und auswärtige Priorate bei Nablus und in Tripolis, sondern vor allem die außerordentlich gewinnträchtige Oase Jericho.[11]

Iveta, die Schwester der Königin Melisendis und zweite Äbtissin von Bethanien, wurde 1119 oder 1120 geboren[12] und vollendete daher 1138, als die Gründung Bethaniens eingeleitet wurde, ihr 18. oder 19., 1143 ihr 23. oder 24. Lebensjahr. Als Äbtissin war das etwas jung. Etwas später verlangte

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[9] WT XV.26, S. 709.

[10] Migne, PL 162, 1079. Die Regel ist nur in einer späten Überarbeitung erhalten, aber schon Wilhelm von Malmesbury († 1142), Gesta regum Anglorum, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 90, II, London 1889, S. 512, wußte um das ewige Schweigen.

[11] Mayer, Bistümer, S. 357, 373, 384. WT XI.15, XV.26, S. 519, 710.

[12] Fulcher von Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana III.44, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg 1913, S. 770: *aetate quinquennem* im Sommer 1125.

man hierfür ein Mindestalter von 30 Jahren.[13] Es mußte also zuvor eine andere Äbtissin Bethanien regieren. Wilhelm von Tyrus, der 1130 geboren wurde, während der Gründungsjahre Bethaniens also noch ein Schulkind war und 1145–1165 in Europa weilte, berichtet, man habe in Bethanien zunächst *annosam quandam et in religione probatam venerabilem matronam* zur Äbtissin eingesetzt. Ihren Namen verrät er nicht. Nach ihrem Tode habe die Königin Melisendis dann ihre Schwester Iveta, bisher einfache Nonne in St. Anna, zur Äbtissin von Bethanien gemacht.[14] Dies war gewiß nach dem Tode des Königs Fulko, denn den Namen der ersten Äbtissin erfahren wir aus RRH nº 226 von 1144, als sie noch amtierte. Sie hieß Mathilde.

Wer war sie? Sie ist zuvor und danach im Hl. Land nicht nachzuweisen, aber man denkt natürlich sofort an König Fulkos Tochter Mathilde von Anjou, die zweite Äbtissin von Fontevrault. Das läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit beweisen. Wohl aber läßt sich zeigen, daß es möglich war und von einer inneren Logik gewesen wäre. Da Bethanien ein Doppelkloster nach dem Vorbild von Fontevrault war, ist klar, daß die treibende Kraft bei der Gründung Bethaniens zunächst der König Fulko war, und Melisendis, die Wilhelm von Tyrus als die alleinige Gründerin nennt, die maßgebliche Rolle erst nach Fulkos Tod 1143 übernahm und von da an die Versorgung Ivetas im Auge hatte, der sie etwas schuldig war (s. unten S. 36 f.). Aber das brauchten nicht notwendigerweise auch Fulkos Pläne zu sein.

Dieser ging gern mit geistlichem Gefolge ins Hl. Land. Als er 1120 erstmals aus Anjou dorthin reiste, nahm er den Bischof von Angers, Rainald von Martigné, mit.[15] Im Jahre 1129 zog Fulko erneut ins Hl. Land, diesmal für immer, um dort Melisendis zu heiraten und sich auf die Thronfolge vorzubereiten. Seine Grafschaft Anjou, wo er so lange erfolgreich gewirkt hatte, übergab er seinem Sohn Gottfried Plantagenet. Diesmal sollte der Abt Odo von Marmoutier bei Tours (1124–1137) mitziehen, der bereits einmal dort gewesen war und einen Bruder dort hatte, den er wiedersehen wollte. Odo war im Mai 1128 in Le Mans, als Fulko das Kreuz nahm.[16] Aber gegen diesen Plan erhob sich in einem durchweg zu 1129 datierten Brief der Abt Gottfried von Vendôme (1093–1132), einer der streitbarsten Kirchenmänner in Anjou. Odo möge nicht erneut nach Jerusalem ziehen, es einmal gesehen zu haben, müsse genügen. Es sei dies auch gegen die monastischen Gelübde (scil. der *stabilitas loci*). So wie den Laien die Reise nach Jerusalem aufgetragen sei, so sei sie den Mönchen vom Papst verboten worden. Er selbst habe von Papst Urban II. gehört, wie dieser den Laien den Kreuzzug geboten, den Mönchen

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[13] Liber Sextus, lib. I, tit. 6, c. 43, ed. E. Friedberg, Corpus iuris canonici ²II (Leipzig 1881) 968.

[14] WT XV.26, S. 709 f.

[15] Josèphe Chartrou, L'Anjou de 1109 à 1151, Paris o. J. (1928), S. 183.

[16] Chartrou S. 369 nº 39; zum Datum Hans Eberhard Mayer, The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 39 (1985) 147.

aber ausdrücklich untersagt habe. Auch durch die Liebe zu seinem Bruder, „der vielleicht schon tot ist oder sterben kann, bis Ihr dorthin kommt", solle sich sein Sinn nicht zu Verbotenem bewegen lassen.[17] In einem viel zitierten Brief an die Mönche von Vallombrosa vom Oktober 1096 untersagte Urban II. den Mönchen tatsächlich die Teilnahme am Kreuzzug.[18] Aber Gottfrieds Brief ist ein nicht unbeträchtlich früheres und bisher ignoriertes Zeugnis für dieses Verbot, denn mindestens spielte Gottfried an auf den Aufenthalt Urbans in seinem Kloster im Februar 1096 (JL. 1, 685), aber wahrscheinlich meinte er schon das Konzil von Clermont, auf dem Urban im November 1095 den Kreuzzug erstmals proklamierte. Gottfried war nämlich auf dem Konzil. Später explizierte er seinem Erzfeind, dem Bischof Ulger von Angers (1125–1148) eine Regelung, die der Papst dort getroffen hatte, und fuhr Ulger mit der ihm eigenen Unverblümtheit an: „Werter Herr, Ihr seid ja nicht dabei gewesen auf jenem Konzil. Ich aber war dort, der ich die Wahrheit in dieser Sache weiß."[19] Tatsächlich blieb 1129 Odo von Marmoutier zu Hause, denn 1130 ist er urkundlich in Frankreich bezeugt und 1131 nahm er am Konzil von Reims teil.[20]

Es ist aber bislang völlig unbeachtet geblieben, daß ein Eremit zusammen mit Fulko in den Osten ging, dem dort eine große Laufbahn beschieden war, nämlich der künftige Patriarch von Jerusalem Wilhelm (1130–1145). Ich habe erst kürzlich mich ohne Kenntnis dieses Umstandes mit ihm befaßt, als ich der neuen Mannschaft nachging, mit der sich König Fulko im Osten umgab,[21] und ich habe gezeigt, daß Patriarch Wilhelm unter Fulko entgegen der landläufigen Meinung ein außerordentlich einflußreicher Mann, ja geradezu quasi Fulkos Premierminister war.[22] Auch unterstellte ich, daß Fulko,

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[17] Gottfried von Vendôme, Epistola IV.21, Migne, PL 157, 162. Odos erster Aufenthalt im Hl. Land fällt vielleicht ins Jahr 1126, als in einer Urkunde für das Benediktinerkloster S. Maria im Tal Josaphat bei Jerusalem, wo der Benediktiner Odo wohl absteigen mochte, ein bisher unidentifizierter *Odo abbas* als Zeuge erscheint (RRH n° 115; vor 1. September). Zwar ist Odo 1126 ein einziges Mal in Frankreich bezeugt, und zwar wegen der Beteiligung Heinrichs I. von England vor Mitte September, aber ich kann ihn in diesem Jahr sonst in Frankreich nicht nachweisen, und eine Tätigkeit in der Nähe von Rouen, wo auch Heinrich sich im März befand, hätte Odo natürlich die Abreise mit dem Frühjahrspassagium noch erlaubt. Philibert Barret, Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Perche, Documents sur la province de Perche 3. Serie 2, Mortagne 1894, S. 37 n° 23 = Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 2, Oxford 1956, n° 1439. Zum Itinerar Heinrichs I. ebenda 2, S. XXX.

[18] Rudolf Hiestand, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius III. Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge 136, Göttingen 1985, S. 88 n° 2.

[19] Gottfried von Vendôme, Epistola III.12, Migne, PL 157, 118.

[20] A. de Tremault, Cartulaire de Marmoutier pour le Vendômois, Paris und Vendôme 1893, S. 333 n° 37. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio 21, Florenz 1776, 467.

[21] Hans Eberhard Mayer, Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Anjou, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 133 (1989), passim.

[22] Bernhard von Clairvaux, Brief 393, Sancti Bernardi opera, ed. Jean Leclercq und

der seit Mai 1129 im Hl. Land war, bei der Ernennung 1130 die Hand mit im Spiel hatte, auch wenn er erst 1131 König wurde, aber es blieb ungeklärt, warum sich Fulko gerade auf ihn stützte, da Wilhelm aus Mesen (französisch Messines) bei Ypern im belgischen Westflandern stammte,[23] während Fulkos neue Entourage sonst bevorzugt aus Anjou kam. Der Grund hierfür liegt allerdings offen zutage, und ich benutze die Gelegenheit, um meine frühere Studie zu ergänzen. Bisher liest man als Wilhelms cursus honorum: 1116 Kanoniker am Hl. Grab (JL. 6528), 1128–1130 Prior daselbst,[24] Patriarch 1130 (nach September 27) – 27. September 1145.[25] Nun ist die Identität mit dem Kanoniker von 1116 eine reine Vermutung, die man sofort streichen muß, wenn sich eine bessere Möglichkeit eröffnet. Für die Identität mit dem Prior spricht das gewichtige Zeugnis Wilhelms von Tyrus, der aber damals gerade erst zur Welt kam und selbst in ihm näherer Zeit nachweislich nicht einmal bei seinen eigenen Amtsvorgängern auf dem Erzstuhl von Tyrus die Personalverhältnisse am Hl. Grab richtig kannte.[26] Angesichts dieser Sachlage kann Wilhelm zwei Wilhelme leicht verwechselt haben.

Es gibt nämlich eine ganz andere Vorgeschichte des Patriarchen Wilhelm von Jerusalem in der Chronik des Zisterzienserklosters Fontaines-les-Blan-

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H. Rochais, VIII, Rom 1977, S. 364 = Migne, PL 182, 600 hielt ihn für ebenso beschäftigt wie sich selbst: *In multis occupatus scribo vobis in multis occupato,* und mahnte ihn dringend zur Mäßigung, denn nicht wie eine Magd dem Herrn sei ihm seine Kirche anvertraut, sondern wie die Mutter dem Sohn und Maria dem Johannes. Trotz des unverkennbaren Zitats des für die Doppelklöster wichtigsten Bibelworts (Joh. 19,26 f.), handelte sich Patriarch Wilhelm diese Reprimande wohl weniger Bethaniens wegen, sondern eher durch seinen Streit mit dem Erzbischof Fulcher von Tyrus um das Pallium und die Kirchenprovinz Tyrus ein, in dem eine gewaltsame Ader Wilhelms seinem Klerus gegenüber hervortritt: JL 7906. 7943. John Gordon Rowe, The Papacy and the Ecclesiastical Province of Tyre (1100–1187), Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 43 (1960) 180 f.

[23] WT XIII.26, S. 622 (vgl. den Apparat zu Zeile 88).

[24] JL 7318 von September 1128. RRH n° 126.127.128.129.133.134; RRH n° 121 gehört zu 1129, s. Rudolf Hiestand, Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem, Deutsches Archiv 26 (1970) 223, Anm. 15, 229, Anm. 60.

[25] WT XIII.26, XVI.17, S. 622, 738. Zu Wilhelms Laufbahn generell Reinhold Röhricht, Syria sacra, Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 10 (1887) 7, 42; Bernard Hamilton, The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church, London 1980, S. 68 f. und unten Anm. 27.

[26] WT XIII.26, S. 622. Ebd. XVI.17, S. 739 schreibt Wilhelm, nach dem Intrusus Radulf (1146–1151) sei Peter von Barcelona, der Prior der Grabeskirche, Erzbischof von Tyrus geworden. Die Urkunden ergeben ein anderes Bild. Sie zeigen 1130/1131–1148 sehr häufig einen Prior Petrus, der nie von Barcelona genannt wird und 1151 Erzbischof von Tyrus ist (RRH n° 137. JL 9260. RRH n° 266). Daneben finden wir ab 1119 einen Kanoniker Petrus von Barcelona am Hl. Grab, der ab 1130 erscheint als *Petrus Barchinonensis subprior* und teils mit der Bezeichnung Subprior, teils als Peter von Barcelona nachweisbar ist bis 1144 (RRH n° 90a.133.226, wo beide gemeinsam auftreten; der 1177 in RRH n° 543 auftretende Kanoniker Petrus von Barcelona ist natürlich ein anderer), aber nie Prior der Grabeskirche oder gar Erzbischof von Tyrus wurde. Wilhelm von Tyrus hat die beiden also durcheinandergeworfen.

ches.[27] Die Chronik ist verfaßt vom siebten Abt Peregrinus, der bald nach dem Ende der Chronik (1212) gestorben sein muß, also nur wenig jünger war als Wilhelm von Tyrus. Was für diesen nur eine marginale Angelegenheit war, nämlich die Laufbahn des Patriarchen Wilhelm von Jerusalem, war für Peregrinus von zentraler Wichtigkeit wegen der Reliquien seines Klosters. Seine Informationen über die Frühgeschichte von Fontaines hatte er mündlich von zwei dortigen Mönchen, die nach seinen Angaben um die Jahrhundertmitte gelebt haben müssen und die er in seinem Noviziat noch kennengelernt hatte. Um 1125 ließen sich in Fontaines an unwirtlichem, noch ungerodetem Orte einige Eremiten nieder, denen der Erzbischof von Tours im Jahre 1127 die Gründungsschenkung bestätigte.[28] Unter ihnen war ein gewisser *clericus Willelmus vir religiosus* und ein Lambertus *miles Flandrensis* mit Beinamen Magnus. Im Jahre 1134 wurde nicht ohne Schwierigkeiten die klösterliche Lebensform eingeführt und Fontaines eine Tochterabtei von Savigny, das sich seinerseits unter Abt Serlo in den vierziger Jahren, gefolgt von Fontaines, den Zisterziensern anschloß.

Damals war Wilhelm nicht mehr in Fontaines. Ihn hatte die Sehnsucht nach dem Hl. Land gepackt. Er erbat von seinen Oberen – die es dem Eremiten natürlich auch bezahlten mußten – die Erlaubnis und reiste ab. Bei der Feier der Ostervigil, die sich alljährlich mit dem pyrotechnischen und von Gregor IX. 1238 in harten Worten untersagten Unfug des Osterfeuers verband, das wahrscheinlich auf der kalkulierten Selbstentzündung bestimmter Ingredienzen beruhte, war es Wilhelms Licht, das vom himmlischen Feuer entzündet wurde. Er wurde nunmehr von den Großen befragt, wer er sei, und sagte *se esse de Gallia et huc advenisse a Turonia et quod esset de Fon-*

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[27] Historia prelatorum et possessionum ecclesiae b. Mariae de Fontanis, ed. Lucas d'Achéry, Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum, ed. Etienne de Baluze, II, Paris ^{2}17, S. 573–580; besser als Historia monasterii b. Mariae de Fontanis Albis bei André Salmon, Recueil de chroniques de Touraine, Collection de documents sur l'histoire de Touraine 1, Tours 1854, S. 257–291. Auf diesen Bericht wies in der älteren Literatur allein der Altmeister Reinhold Röhricht, Syria sacra, S. 7, Anm. 8 hin, dem so leicht nichts entging. Da er aber selbst sonst nirgends Gebrauch machte von dem Bericht, blieb er in der Literatur praktisch unbenutzt, und so ging es auch Guy Oury, Guillaume de Messines, l'ermite de Fontaines-les-Blanches devenu patriarche de Jérusalem, Bulletin trimestriel de la Société archéologique de Touraine 37 (1973) 225–243. So stand denn nichts davon zu lesen in der Biographie Nationale de Belgique 8, Brüssel 1884–1885, S. 436, und die in der Historia de Fontanis berichtete Reliquienschenkung Wilhelms an Messines fehlt auch bei A. Frolow, La relique de la Vraie Croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte, Archives de l'Orient chrétien 7, Paris 1961. G. Oury folgend hat allerdings soeben J. Pyke im Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique 22, Paris 1988, Spalte 958–960 den Bericht benutzt, allerdings hält er mit Oury zu Unrecht daran fest, daß Wilhelm 1120 in den Orient ging, weil beide nur die Identifizierung mit dem Kanoniker von 1116 preisgeben.

[28] Erzbischof Hildebert von Tours bestätigte 1127 die Schenkung des Ortes Fontaines an Fontaines-les-Blanches (Salmon, Recueil S. 281), was kurz nach der Gründung war. Wilhelm, der von Fontaines aus in den Osten ging, kann also nicht schon 1120 dorthin gereist sein.

tanis eremita. Und tatsächlich liegt Fontaines in der Gemeinde Autrèche, Dépt. Indre-et-Loire, arrond. Tours, cant. Château-Renault. Peregrinus erzählt weiter: Da kurz zuvor der Patriarch von Jerusalem verstorben war, wurde der Eremit Wilhelm zum Nachfolger erkoren. Zu späterem Zeitpunkt, noch vor 1134, reiste dann Lambertus Magnus in den Orient zu seinem einstigen Miteremiten. Auch er zeigte anfangs keinerlei Neigung zurückzukehren. Möglicherweise erhoffte er sich Protektion vom flämischen Landsmann, dem Patriarchen. Das scheint diesen, der vielleicht an seine eremitische Vergangenheit nicht mehr gerührt wissen wollte, alarmiert zu haben, denn als die Zeit der Schiffsabfahrten gekommen war, redete er Lambert ins Gewissen, gab ihm auch das Geld für die Heimreise und als Mitbringsel ein Stück vom Wahren Kreuz, ein weiteres vom Hl. Grab und andere Reliquien, daneben noch seinen eigenen Tragaltar. Lambert mußte heim, und mit ihm reisten die kostbaren Reliquien nach Fontaines.

Die Geschichte hat keine entscheidenden Schwachstellen. Patriarch Wilhelm war ein Mann, der Reliquien schätzte und einzusetzen wußte. Als am Ende seines Lebens Reliquien Johannes des Täufers in Sebaste gefunden wurden, teilte er dies in einer Enzyklika sofort der ganzen Christenheit mit und bewilligte 40 Tage Ablaß für die Pilger, die nach Sebaste kamen und zum Wiederaufbau der dortigen Kirche beitrugen (RRH n° 235). Bernhard von Clairvaux dankte Wilhelm für ein Stück des Wahren Kreuzes, ein weiteres schickte er der Abtei in seinem Geburtsort Messines, und wahrscheinlich war es Wilhelm, von dem der Abt Petrus Venerabilis von Cluny Reliquien des Hl. Grabes und der Jungfrau Maria erbat.[29] Natürlich ernannte man niemanden zum Patriarchen, nur weil er vom Osterfeuer ausgezeichnet worden war, aber wenn der Thronfolger Fulko just Wilhelm als neuen Patriarchen haben wollte, dann empfahl es sich, an ihm das Feuerwunder zu exerzieren. Wilhelm war ein Flame, aber er wanderte ins Hl. Land ein aus der Gegend von Tours, wo Fulko ebenso Graf gewesen war wie in Angers. Das ist angesichts der massiven Patronage, die Fulko im geistlichen wie im weltlichen Bereich seinen engeren Landsleuten angedeihen ließ, entscheidend.

Wann spielt der Bericht? Patriarch Stephan von Jerusalem starb am 12. Juni 1130. Patriarch Wilhelm ist erstmals faßbar beim Tod des Königs Balduin II. am 21. August 1131, aber so lange wartete man natürlich mit der Besetzung des Patriarchats nicht und Hiestand hat für Wilhelms Wahl einen Termin

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[29] RRH n° 235. Bernhard von Clairvaux, Brief 175, ed. Jean Leclercq und H. Rochais, Sancti Bernardi opera VII, Rom 1974, S. 393 = Migne, PL 182, 336 = Frolow, Relique S. 323 n° 324. J. Yernaux, Une relation du XIIIe siècle sur l'institution de la procession de Messines, Annales de la Société d'émulation de Bruges 60 (1910) 243–249. The Letters of Peter the Venerable, ed. Giles Constable, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1967, 220 n° 83. Dort heißt es zwar, der ungenannte Patriarch sei Cluniazenser, was Wilhelm nicht war, aber das gilt für alle Patriarchen von Jerusalem zur Zeit des Abtes Petrus (1122–1156).

nach dem 27. September 1130 ermittelt.[30] Das Feuerwunder an dem eingewanderten Eremiten muß sich also zu Ostern 1130 ereignet haben. Wegen des frühen Ostertermins jenes Jahres (30. März), zu dem die Schiffahrt überhaupt erst wieder aufgenommen wurde, muß der Eremit schon 1129 zugewandert sein, d. h. er kam im Mai 1129 gemeinsam mit Fulko, als auch der Fontaines benachbarte Seigneur Hugo von Amboise ins Hl. Land zog.[31] Fulko mag ihn schon aus der Touraine gekannt haben, denn gerade dort förderte er das Eremitenwesen,[32] mindestens aber kannte er ihn seit der gemeinsamen Überfahrt und war wohlberaten, als er ihn zum Patriarchen erheben ließ, denn Wilhelm schwankte bis zu Fulkos Tod nie in seiner Loyalität.[33] Es war klar, daß Fulko in Wilhelm für alle Pläne, die er für Bethanien hegte, einen wohlwollenden Partner hatte, dem das etwa 100 km von Fontaines entfernt liegende Fontevrault auch ein Begriff war.

Kaum war Fulko im September 1131 König von Jerusalem geworden, da zog er seine Halbschwester nach, die Gräfin Ermengard von der Bretagne, die auf seine ausdrückliche Einladung hin ins Hl. Land ging. Dort erwies sie sich freilich als ebenso sprunghaft wie in Europa. Nachdem ihre erste Ehe mit dem Grafen von Poitiers zerbrochen, vielleicht nicht einmal konsumiert worden war, heiratete sie 1092 den Grafen oder Herzog Alain Fergent von der Bretagne. Als dieser 1096–1101 im Hl. Land war, regierte sie für ihn das Herzogtum. Während der Jahre 1106 und 1107 zog sie sich erstmals nach Fontevrault zurück, ohne indessen den Schleier zu nehmen, da sie ja verheiratet war. Im 1108 war sie wieder in der Bretagne, betrieb aber jetzt die Scheidung von Alain mit der Begründung, er habe sie betrogen. Robert von Arbrissel, ihr geistlicher Betreuer in Fontevrault, schrieb ihr einen langen Brief – das einzige Zeugnis aus der Feder dieses berühmten Volkspredigers –, in dem er ihr in dürren Worten auseinandersetzte, es fehlten ihr die Beweise, vor dem Richter werde sie scheitern. Sie blieb bei ihrem Mann. Aber bald, vielleicht unter ihrem Einfluß, dankte er zugunsten seines Sohnes Conan III. ab und ging ins Kloster, wo er 1119 starb. Sie ging etwa gleichzeitig erneut nach Fontevrault, mindestens in der Absicht, dauernd dort zu bleiben, aber vielleicht doch mit Gelübden, denn sonst hätte ihre Rückkehr in die Welt nicht einen derartigen Skandal erregt. Jedenfalls hat man sie in Fontevrault als

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[30] WT XIII.28, S. 625 ohne Namensnennung; vgl. aber ebd. XIV.2, S. 634 vom 14. September 1131 und RRH n° 139 vom 21. September 1131. Hiestand, Chronologisches S. 229; derselbe, Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem im 12. Jahrhundert, Deutsches Archiv 35 (1979) 543 f.

[31] WT XIII.24, S. 618 f. Gesta Ambaziensium dominorum, ed. Louis Halphen und René Poupardin, Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement d'histoire, Paris 1913, S. 116.

[32] Chartrou S. 367 n° 38. Über das blühende Eremitentum dieser Gegend ebd. S. 163 f.

[33] Den schon 1128 amtierenden Prior Wilhelm der Grabeskirche muß man bei dieser Rekonstruktion allerdings trotz des entgegenstehenden Berichts des Wilhelm von Tyrus als späteren Patriarchen von Jerusalem streichen; s. oben S. 21.

eine der dortigen Nonnen betrachtet. Aber kaum war Robert von Arbrissel im Februar 1117 gestorben, da kehrte sie 1118 in die Bretagne zurück, wo sie nun ihrem Sohne bei der Regierung half. Auch sie enging nicht dem Zorn Gottfrieds von Vendôme, der sie wegen ihrer Rückkehr in die Welt heftig tadelte. Im Jahre 1128 war sie mit ihm in Le Mans bei der Kreuznahme Fulkos von Anjou.

Ehe Fulko 1129 in den Orient aufbrach, versammelte er in Fontevrault seine Frau und seine beiden Söhne und seine zwei Töchter um sich, aber auch Ermengard mit ihrem Sohn Conan war zugegen. Bald danach trat sie in das zisterziensische Priorat Larrey bei Dijon ein. Auf dem Wege nach Vézelay besuchte sie dort 1132 ihr Sohn Conan III. Dann aber folgte sie der Einladung Fulkos in den Osten, lebte erst bei Nablus, wo sie eine Kirche am Jakobsbrunnen baute, und hielt sich dann in dem Nonnenkloster St. Anna in Jerusalem auf. Im Juni 1135 war sie wieder in der Bretagne und gründete dort zusammen mit Conan ein Kloster. Sie lebte alsdann, immer in der Welt, bis nach 1146, wo sie letztmals nachweisbar ist. Gestorben ist sie am 1. Juni (1147). Unter diesem Tagesdatum nahm man sie in Fontevrault in das Nekrolog auf mit dem lapidaren Zusatz *Fontis-Ebraldensis monacha.*[34] Was Fulko mit ihr im Hl. Land vorhatte, ist nicht recht zu sehen, eine exemplarische Äbtissin hätte sie jedenfalls nicht abgegeben. Die wenigen Nachrichten, die wir haben, deuten auch eher darauf hin, daß ihr eine Funktion in St. Anna zugedacht war. Aber was immer Fulko im Sinn gehabt haben mag, ging unter in der politischen Unruhe seiner Anfangsjahre, die in Jerusalem wie in Antiochia, wo er Regent war, gleichermaßen stürmisch waren.[35] Als nach dem Scheitern der gefährlichen Revolte des Grafen Hugo von Jaffa 1134 Fulkos Versuch einer Alleinherrschaft vorbei war und die Königin Melisendis den ihr zustehenden Einfluß ausübte, scheint ein weiterer Aufenthalt Ermengards im Osten sinnlos gewesen zu sein, so daß sie zurückkehrte, allerdings so desillusioniert, daß sie selbst nicht mehr ins Kloster zurückging, weder zu den Zisterzienserinnen von Larrey, noch zu den Benediktinnerinnen von Fontevrault.

Die isolierte Betrachtung der Kreuzfahrerstaaten ohne Berücksichtigung der steten Rückkoppelung an Europa, wie sie auch für Bethanien geübt

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[34] Ermengards beste Biographie bei J. de Pétigny, Lettre inédite de Robert d'Arbrissel à la comtesse Ermengarde, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes 15 (1854) 209–235. Vgl. auch Mayer, Angevins versus Normans S. 8 f. Gottfried von Vendôme, Epistola V. 23, Migne, PL 157, 205. Urkunde von 1128 bei Chartrou S. 369 n° 39; vgl. S. 372 n° 40. Urkunde von 1129 bei Jean de La Mainferme, Clypeus nascentis Fontebraldensis ordinis contra priscos et novos eius calumniatores, II, Paris 1688, S. 237: Conan III. von der Bretagne macht in Fontevrault eine Schenkung an das Kloster. Unter den Zeugen *mater mea Ermengardis.* Nekrolog von Fontevrault ebd. II 238.

[35] Zu Jerusalem s. Mayer, Angevins versus Normans, passim sowie Mayer, Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 26 (1972) 102–111 und für Antiochia Claude Cahen, La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche, Paris 1940, S. 350–357.

worden ist, hat ihre Gefahren. Betrachtet man die Sache vom Westen her, so ist schwer zu sehen, wie Graf Fulko V. von Anjou, einmal zum König von Jerusalem aufgestiegen, überhaupt etwas anderes gründen konnte als ein Kloster nach der Art von Fontevrault. Dort hatte der bedeutende Volks- und Kreuzzugsprediger Robert von Arbrissel 1101 unter dem Schutz des Bischofs von Poitiers und bald auch unter dem der Päpste sein Doppelkloster Fontevrault ins Leben gerufen. Es war von der ersten Minute an ein Erfolg, besonders bei den Damen des Hochadels. Das lag nicht nur daran, daß die dortige Lebensform, in der die Nonnen den Ton für die in dienender Funktion in einem eigenen Konvent lebenden Mönche angaben, dieser Schicht von Frauen zusagen mochte, es lag auch an der Personalpolitik Roberts. Zu jungfräulich ins Kloster eingetretenen Frauen ohne Lebenserfahrung hatte er für leitende Funktionen kein Zutrauen. Er griff zweimal zu Witwen. Zur ersten Priorin ernannte er Hersendis, die Schwester des Grafen Hubert von der Champagne und Witwe des Wilhelm von Montsoreau (Dépt. Maine-et-Loire, arrond. Saumur), die übrigens auch mit dem Grafenhause von Anjou verwandt war. Aber als Gehilfin gab er ihr sogleich Petronilla von Chemillé bei, die nach dem Zeugnis des Balderich von Dôl (*in abbatissam promota es, quamvis thalamorum inquietudini prius deservisses*) gleichfalls als Witwe in Fontevrault eingetreten war. Sie war schon zu Lebzeiten der Hersendis deren ständige Begleiterin und übte vermutlich schon damals einen erheblichen Einfluß aus. Nach dem Tod der Hersendis 1109 machte Robert sie erst zur Priorin und 1115 zur ersten Äbtissin.[36]

Petronilla war eine außergewöhnlich bedeutende Frau, die ihr Kloster in ihrer langen, bis 1149 währenden Amtszeit auf einen atemberaubenden Expansionskurs steuerte und selbst 16 Priorate gründete.[37] Aus dem Kloster Fontevrault machte sie den gleichnamigen Orden. In den Gerichtssälen war sie ebenso zu Hause wie in der Klausur. Sie baute den päpstlichen Schutz und die Unabhängigkeit vom Diözesan aus, erwirkte eine Fülle päpstlicher Privilegien, regte den Adel und Hochadel zu Stiftungen an, baute ihr Kloster aus zu einem Ort der Zuflucht, an den hochgestellte Witwen sich zurückziehen konnten, ohne gleich die Gelübde ablegen zu müssen, verkehrte mit den Mächtigen dieser Welt bis hinauf zum König von Frankreich und zum Papst, stritt und verglich sich mit anderen Klöstern über Ländereien, kämpfte gegen die Diözesane auch zugunsten ihrer Priorate. Zutreffend nennt sie das Nekrolog von Fontevrault *incomparabilis et irrecuperabilis mater nostra*.[38]

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[36] Ernennung der beiden bei Balderich von Dôl, Vita b. Roberti de Arbrissello, Migne, PL 162, 1054. Beider Witwenstand ebd. Spalte 1043 und Chartrou S. 329 n° 7bis. Hersendis und Petronilla zusammen: Ebd. S. 321 n° 1, 336 n° 11, 341 n° 17, die letzten beiden von Chartrou viel zu spät datiert.

[37] Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique 17, Paris 1971, S. 963.

[38] Auszüge des 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Großen Nekrolog von Fontevrault, Departementalarchiv Angers 101 H 225bis, S. 242. Druck bei Baltazar Pavillon, La vie du bienheureux Robert d'Arbrissel, Patriarche des solitaires de la France et instituteur de l'ordre de Font-Evraud, Saumur 1667, S. 578.

Als Petronilla starb, schlug der Diözesan zurück. Der Bischof von Poitiers, der intellektuell bedeutende Gilbert de la Porrée, verweigerte die Weihe der neuen Äbtissin, es sei denn sie leiste ihm einen Obödienzeid, was sie verweigerte. Erst auf eine eindeutige päpstliche Intervention hin erfolgte die Weihe (JL. 9348 vom 7. September 1149). Die von Petronilla miterkämpfte Freiheit von der Diözesangewalt war erfolgreich verteidigt worden. Auch diese Frage nähert Bethanien an Fontevrault an. Dort brauchte der König Fulko ja die Einwilligung des Patriarchen als des Diözesans zur Gründung eines Klosters vor Jerusalem, und er brauchte das Kapitel des Patriarchen, um überhaupt erst einmal die Lazaruskirche für sein geplantes Kloster in die Hand zu bekommen. Der Patriarch sorgte im Februar 1138 gleich vor, denn sein Einverständnis war konditioniert: Die Neugründung müsse auf immer in Treue und Gehorsam der Grabeskirche und dem Patriarchen von Jerusalem unterstehen, der sich seinerseits verpflichtete, Bethanien dieselbe Rechtsstellung einzuräumen wie anderen Benediktinerklöstern seiner Diözese. Nicht schlechter als diese sollte Bethanien gestellt sein, aber auch nicht besser. Eine Neuauflage der Stellung Fontevraults wollte der Patriarch in Jerusalem vermeiden.

Petronilla pflegte insbesondere die Beziehungen zur gräflichen Familie von Anjou. Sowohl Graf Fulko V., der spätere Gründer Bethaniens, wie seine erste Frau Eremburg von Maine († 1126) überschütteten Fontevrault geradezu mit Schenkungen. Als Robert von Arbrissel 1117 starb, ritt Fulko zum Begräbnis nach Fontevrault.[39] Seine älteste Tochter Mathilde trat, wie wir sehen werden, in Fontevrault als Nonne ein. Dorthin hatte sich zweimal Fulkos Halbschwester Ermengard von der Bretagne zurückgezogen, um eine Existenz der Frömmigkeit zu führen. Noch bekannter war es der Zeit, daß Fulkos Mutter Bertrada von Montfort desgleichen tat, nachdem 1108 König Philipp I. von Frankreich gestorben war, dessen Liaison mit ihr so viel Skandal erregt hatte.[40] In Fulkos Urkunden als Graf von Anjou ist die Königin Bertrada eine vertraute Erscheinung, fast immer in Urkunden für Fontevrault.[41] Auch dies wurde in Bethanien imitiert. Fulko von Anjou hatte eine Tochter Sibylle. Er verheiratete sie zuerst mit dem unglücklichen Wilhelm Clito, Graf von Flandern, später mit dessen Nachfolger in Flandern, Dietrich vom Elsaß, der mit vier Aufenthalten im Hl. Land (1139 noch unter König Fulko, 1147–1148 beim zweiten Kreuzzug, 1157–1158 und 1164) ein besonders eifriger Pilger war.[42] Im Jahre 1157 brachte er seine Gemahlin

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[39] Chartrou S. 262 n° 34.

[40] Wilhelm von Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 90, II, London 1889, S. 480.

[41] Chartrou S. 325 n° 5, 327 n° 6bis, 332 n° 9, wo ein weiterer Aufenthalt Fulkos in Fontrevrault bezeugt ist, 334 n° 9bis, 335 n° 11, 339 n° 14. Nur zweimal finden wir sie bei Chartrou außerhalb tätig, einmal 1110 für Marmoutier und einmal 1113–1115 für Nioiseau (ebd. S. 323 n° 3, 339 n° 15).

[42] Reinhold Röhricht, Die Deutschen im Heiligen Lande, Innsbruck 1894, S. 23, 31 f.

Sibylle mit, die als Fulkos Tochter aus erster Ehe eine Halbschwester des damals regierenden Königs Balduin III. war. Wilhelm von Tyrus sagt uns nur, daß sie mit ihm ankam, und verschleiert geradezu die Tatsache, daß sie nicht mit nach Europa zurückging, indem er sie 1164 erneut mit ihrem Mann kommen läßt. Freilich tritt sie inzwischen handelnd in seiner Chronik auf, bei der Wahl des Patriarchen Amalrich von Jerusalem Ende 1157 / Anfang 1158, als ihr Mann aber noch im Hl. Land war. Aber allem Anschein nach war sie auch 1161 im Hl. Land, als ihre Nichte Sibylle geboren wurde, denn da diese nach ihr benannt wurde, dürfte die Gräfin von Flandern die Patin und also bei der Taufe anwesend gewesen sein.[43] Deutlich wurde Robert von Torigni: Gegen den Willen ihres Mannes sei Sibylle von Flandern (die Robert fälschlich Mabiria nennt) zurückgeblieben, und zwar bei der Äbtissin von St. Lazarus in Bethanien. Dort verbrachte sie ein rundes Jahrzehnt.[44]

Da Petronilla 34 Jahre lang Äbtissin war, zuvor Priorin und davor verheiratet gewesen war, muß sie ein beträchtliches, wenn nicht biblisches Alter erreicht haben. Es war verständlich, daß sie auch einmal müde wurde. Der Moment war 1136 gekommen, denn am 5. Januar 1137 schrieb ihr Papst Innocenz II. alarmiert aus Pisa, er habe vernommen, daß sie die Ruhe suche und sich zurückziehen wolle. Er untersagte es ihr rundheraus, aus welchem Grunde auch immer.[45] Petronilla blieb, noch fast 13 Jahre lang. Was sie 1136 genau vorhatte, wissen wir nicht. Aber es war die Zeit, in der Fulko im Osten ernsthaft seine Gründung Bethanien vorbereitet haben muß, die er am 5. Februar 1138 einleitete. Es kann damals unmöglich seine Absicht gewesen sein, noch fast sechs Jahre zuzuwarten, bis er das Kloster wirklich einrichtete. Wenn er es aber jetzt nach dem Vorbild von Fontevrault gründete, so brauchte er eine Äbtissin von außen. Ermengard von der Bretagne stand nicht mehr zur Verfügung, falls Fulko an sie für diesen Posten jemals ernsthaft gedacht haben sollte. Nach dem von Robert

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[43] WT XVIII.16.20, XIX.4.10, S. 833, 840, 869, 876.

[44] Robert de Torigni, Chronique, ed. Léopold Delisle, Société de l'histoire de Normandie, I, Rouen 1872, S. 325. Ernoul S. 21 f. Chronicon Hanoniense quod dicitur Balduini Avennensis, MG SS XXV 445. Iohannes Longus, Chronica s. Bertini, MG SS XXV 802. Im 13. Jh. berichtet Ernoul als einziger, daß Iveta abzudanken anbot, wenn Sibylle bereit sei, Äbtissin zu werden, was diese aber ablehnte. Das mag eine späte Ausschmückung sein. Wenn es aber stimmt, dann hätte sich Iveta das Gefühl dafür erhalten oder wäre vom Königshaus nachdrücklich daran erinnert worden, daß Bethanien eine angiovinische Gründung war, in der Sibylle eher am Platz war als die aus der Ardennendynastie stammende Iveta. Einen Rücktritt einer weiteren Äbtissin von Bethanien vermuten wir unten S. 35 auch für Mathilde von Anjou. Zur Sache vgl. ansonsten Nicolas Huyghebaert, Une comtesse de Flandre à Béthanie, Les Cahiers de St.-André 21 (1964) 3–12.

[45] JL 7809; zum Datum Johannes Ramackers, Papsturkunden in Frankreich, V, Neue Folge V, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse, Göttingen 1956, S. 36 Anm. 1.

von Arbrissel in Fontevrault etablierten Vorbild sollte es eine Witwe, mindestens eine Frau in reiferen Jahren sein. Petronilla wäre eine ideale Lösung gewesen. Ihr selbst hätte dieser Posten die erwünschte Ruhe gegeben, denn aus vielerlei Gründen war an eine Fontevrault vergleichbare Expansion für Bethanien überhaupt nicht zu denken. Sie hätte einen im Verhältnis zu ihrer bisherigen Existenz ruhigen Lebensabend an den heiligen Stätten der Christenheit verbringen können. Man kann das wirklich nur als Frage hinstellen. Aber immerhin: Wenn Petronilla ausfiel, so wäre es verständlich, daß die eigentliche Klostergründung sich noch so lange hinzog. Für ein Doppelkloster nach der Art seines Lieblingsklosters Fontevrault brauchte Fulko als Äbtissin von Bethanien möglichst eine sozial hochstehende Witwe, die bereit war, sich der strengen Regel von Fontevrault zu unterwerfen, die möglichst Verwaltungserfahrung hatte und bei der man Loyalität zum Hause Anjou voraussetzen konnte. Wie hätte Fulko hierbei seine eigene Tochter Mathilde übersehen können?

Sein Vater, Graf Fulko IV. von Anjou, hatte aus zwei Ehen zwei Söhne, Gottfried und eben Fulko V. Von diesen hatte Gottfried die legitimeren Ansprüche auf Anjou, wurde jedoch enterbt. Er verband sich darauf gegen den Vater mit dem Grafen Elias von Maine, der ihn mit seiner Tochter Eremburg verlobte. Die Ehe kam nicht zustande, weil Gottfried 1106 getötet wurde. Eremburg wurde daraufhin mit Fulko V. verheiratet, wohl spätestens 1107, denn die älteste Tochter Mathilde wurde 1120 im Alter von 12 Jahren Witwe, war also 1108 geboren.[46] Sie wurde 1113 verlobt mit Wilhelm Aetheling, dem einzigen ehelichen Sohne Heinrichs I. von England. Es war ihr eine glänzende Zukunft als Königin von England zugedacht. Die Hochzeit fand im Juni 1119 in Lisieux statt, aber bereits im November 1120 ertrank ihr Mann im Ärmelkanal bei der Tragödie des Weißen Schiffes. Sie blieb zunächst am englischen Hofe, zumal ihr Vater Fulko V. gerade im Hl. Land war, als das Unglück passierte. König Heinrich I. soll für sie nach einem anderen Mann gesucht haben, aber ohne Ergebnis. Es war ja in der Tat nicht leicht, jemanden zu finden, der Wilhelm Aetheling gleichwertig gewesen wäre. Als Fulko aus dem Hl. Land zurück war, hatte er in England nichts mehr zu erwarten, wo die Thronfolge jetzt völlig offen war. Er wandte sich daher von Heinrich ab und Ludwig VI. von Frankreich zu und verheiratete seine jüngere Tochter Sibylle 1123 mit Wilhelm Clito, der – von Sibylle bereits geschieden – nach der Ermordung Karls des Guten von Flandern 1127 zum Grafen von

[46] Ordericus Vitalis, Historia ecclesiastica, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, Oxford Medieval Texts, VI, Oxford 1978, 330. Ebd. S. 302 sagt Ordericus, sie sei 1120 so wie ihr Mann etwa 17 Jahre alt gewesen. Dann aber wäre sie 1102 geboren, als ihre Mutter jedoch noch verlobt war mit Fulkos Halbbruder Gottfried Martell. War sie aber 1108 geboren und somit 1120 zwölf Jahre alt, dann ist der Ansatz der Ehe ihres Vaters mit 1109 bei Chartrou S. 4 mit Anm. 4 zu spät. Fest steht jedenfalls, daß Fulko V. beim Tode seines Vaters Fulko IV. im April 1109 bereits verheiratet war. S. Louis Halphen, La comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle, Paris 1906, S. 190 und 337 n° 318.

Flandern aufstieg, im Moment aber Ansprüche auf die Normandie hatte und auf England erhob. Sibylles Ehe bedeutete den Bruch Fulkos mit England, und er war klug genug, zuvor 1121 seine Tochter Mathilde aus England zurückzubeordern.[47]

Auf Anraten des Bischofs Gaufrid von Chartres trat Mathilde als Nonne in Fontevrault ein.[48] Die ältere Literatur hat diesen Akt meist kurz nach dem Unglück von 1120 angesetzt, vielleicht begünstigt dadurch, daß man eine Urkunde, die Mathilde als Nonne auweist, verkehrt zu 1120 setzte, obwohl sie zu 1129 gehört. An dem verkehrten Ansatz mag so viel richtig sein, daß Mathilde möglicherweise bereits einige Zeit in Fontevrault lebte, ehe sie die Gelübde ablegte. In jedem Fall wurde auch ihr Leben erst endgültig geregelt, nachdem ihre Mutter Eremburg 1126 gestorben war und Fulko 1128 und 1129 über eine neue Ehe mit der Thronfolgerin von Jerusalem verhandelte und 1129 endgültig in den Osten ging. Er übergab seine Grafschaften Anjou, Maine und Touraine an seinen Sohn Gottfried Plantagenet, den er 1128 in einer neuerlichen Annäherung an England mit der neuen Thronfolgerin, der Kaiserin-Witwe Mathilde, verheiratete. Sibylle wurde erneut in Flandern versorgt, als Wilhelm Clito im Juli 1128 in St.-Omer starb und der neue Graf von Flandern, Dietrich vom Elsaß, Sibylle heiratete. Fulkos jüngerer Sohn Elias ging damals leer aus, erhob sich daher 1129 und 1145 gegen Gottfried, von dem er erfolglos die Grafschaft Maine verlangte, wurde schließlich 1145 von Gottfried eingekerkert und starb in der Gefangenschaft, nicht das einzige Opfer solch brüderlicher Zuneigung im Hause der Grafen von Anjou. Man darf annehmen, daß Fulko ihm auch etwas zugedacht hatte, ohne daß darüber Näheres bekannt wäre.

Während der Verhandlungen waren im Frühjahr 1128 sowohl die Äbtissin Petronilla wie der für Mathildes Klostereintritt verantwortliche Bischof Gaufrid von Chartres am Hofe von Anjou.[49] Ehe Fulko im Frühjahr 1129 in den Osten aufbrach, begab er sich nochmals nach Fontevrault und bestätigte der Abtei alle seine früheren Schenkungen. Mit anwesend waren seine zwei Söhne und seine beiden Töchter, *quarum una, id est Mathildis, paulo ante pro dei amore se velari fecerat.*[50] Anwesend waren aber auch Fulkos Halbschwester Ermengard von der Bretagne und ihr Sohn Conan III., wie sich aus einer

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[47] Simeon von Durham, Opera omnia, ed. Thomas Arnold (Rolls Series 75), II, London 1885, S. 263.

[48] Ordericus Vitalis VI 330: *post decem annos desponsationis suae*, also 1129. Zu der Urkunde dieses Jahres s. unten Anm. 50.

[49] Chartrou S. 367 n° 38; zum Datum Mayer, Succession to Baldwin II, S. 147.

[50] Chartrou S. 372 n° 40, datiert *ire volens Iherusalem, a. ab inc. domini 1120*, aber auch *Ildeberto Turonorum archiepiscopo* (1125–1133), *Ulgerio Andegavorum episcopo* (1126–1148), was die Urkunde nach 1126 einreiht, so daß sie zur zweiten Jerusalemfahrt Fulkos im Jahr 1129 gehört, was schon La Mainferme II 218 erkannte, der sie I[a] (1684) 60 noch zu 1120 angesetzt hatte nach dem Vorbild von Pavillon S. 619 n° 218.

in Fontevrault 1129 datierten Urkunde Conans ergibt, in der seine Mutter als Zeugin auftrat, und in der es heißt, die Schenkung erfolge unter anderem für *mea cognata Fulchonis comitis Andegavorum filia noviter ibi facta monacha.*[51]

Es ist also eindeutig, daß Mathilde erst den Schleier nahm, als Fulko sein Haus bestellte. Dabei muß man sich auch Gedanken gemacht haben um ihre Zukunft. Daß Petronilla noch zwanzig Jahre lang Fontevrault regieren werde, war sicher nicht vorauszusehen, andererseits war sie wahrhaftig auch noch nicht gebrechlich, so daß eine Karriere Mathildes in Fontevrault zwar denkbar schien, letztendlich auch eintrat, aber nicht gerade in naher Zukunft zu erwarten stand. Um so eher mußte Fulko daran denken, Mathilde in seinem neuen Reich zur Äbtissinnenwürde zu verhelfen – es sei denn, Petronilla hätte sich 1137 wirklich zurückgezogen und der dann neunundzwanzigjährigen Mathilde in Fontevrault den Weg freigemacht zum Posten der Äbtissin, den sie schließlich 1149 erhielt.

Seit dem 17. Jahrhundert wird Mathilde eine rasche Karriere in Fontevrault zugeschrieben. Wenige Jahre nach ihrem Eintritt sei sie dort Priorin geworden.[52] Doch kann davon keine Rede sein. Die Urkunden von Fontevrault sind bisher nie systematisch ediert worden, die Archivalien sind dezimiert. Aussagen über einzelne Klosterinsassinnen sind daher nur mit einer gewissen Vorsicht machbar. Aber die Historiographen des Klosters und des Ordens haben im 17. Jahrhundert doch eine Menge Urkunden gedruckt, insbesondere sind das Werk von Pavillon und die drei Bände von La Mainferme wahre Fundgruben. Die Priorinnen von Fontevrault, in der Literatur zutreffender als Großpriorinnen bezeichnet, waren großmächtige Frauen, die im gesamten Orden die zweite Geige spielten, nicht nur im Mutterkloster. Bereits Petronilla war der Sache nach Großpriorin neben der Priorin Hersendis von Champagne. Ihr selbst stand als Großpriorin dann die noch von Robert von Arbrissel vor 1117 ernannte Augardis zur Seite.[53] Sie begegnet

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[51] Michel Cosnier, Fontis-Ebraldis exordium complectens opuscula duo, Flexiae (= La Flèche) 1641, S. 181. Pavillon S. 619 n° 221. La Mainferme II 237.

[52] Honorat Nicquet, Histoire de l'ordre de Font-Evraud, Paris 1642, S. 408. Von den Neueren Célestin Port, Dictionnaire historique, géographique et biographique de Maine-et-Loire et de l'ancienne province d'Anjou, ²II, Paris 1978, S. 422.

[53] Auszüge aus dem Grand Nécrologe de Fontevrault, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Ms. lat. 5480, Bd. I, S. 2: 17. Mai. *Domina Augardis a beato magistro nostro Roberto olim ecclesiae priorissa ordinata.* La Mainferme II 247: Undatierte Urkunde, im Datum *Fulcone iuniore Andegavensium comite*, also vor 1129; 1129: Ebd. II 32 und II 253 (*eo tempore quo dominus Fulco comes Andegavensium Hierusalem perrexit secundo, a. ab inc. domini 1129*); 1140–1149: Ebd. II 269: Undatierte Urkunde der Äbtissin Petronilla, daher spätestens 1149. Unter den Zeugen *Gala abbas de Oratorio*, den ich nicht habe datieren können, und Abt Serlo von Savigny, daher nach 1140. Serlos Amtszeit wird allgemein ab 1140 angesetzt: Gallia christiana ed. nova XI[a] 544. Claude Auvry, Histoire de la congrégation de Savigny, ed. Auguste Laveille, Société de l'histoire de Normandie, II, Rouen 1897, S. 319. Die Klosterchronik von Savigny, ed. Etienne Baluze, Miscellanea novo ordine digesta opera et studio Joannis Dominici Mansi, I,

urkundlich vor 1129, 1129 und 1140–1149. Um 1130 war sie kurzfristig auch Priorin in Beaulieu im Roannais.[54] Wenigstens bis 1140 war Augardis also Großpriorin von Fontevrault und versperrte Mathilde den Weg in dieses Amt. Die Literatur hat Augardis diese Würde sogar fälschlich noch für 1149 zugeschrieben aufgrund einer Verbrüderungsurkunde zwischen dem Abt Petrus Venerabilis von Cluny und Fontevrault, in der außer Petronilla noch die Priorin Augardis und M. *priorissa de Hospitio* genannt ist.[55]

Man wird nicht annehmen dürfen, daß Augardis zwei Amtsperioden hatte. Eine unter Äbtissin Petronilla amtierende Großpriorin Florentia muß also ihre Nachfolgerin gewesen sein. Wir begegnen ihr als Priorin und Zeugin in einer undatierten Urkunde über einen Tausch, den Petronilla mit dem Abt Fulcher II. von Orbestier machte und der in das Jahr 1140 gehört.[56] Nachdem der Rechtshandel mit dem Abt getätigt war, wurde er etwas später von Petronilla im Kapitel von Fontevrault bestätigt. Unter den Zeugen dieses Vorganges lesen wir: *De sanctimonialibus Florentia priorissa, Mathildis sub-*

Lucca 1761, S. 327 erwähnt nur Serlos Tod, nicht seine Wahl. Sein Vorgänger starb 1138. Ein danach amtierender Abt Ewanus wird in der Literatur gelegentlich angezweifelt, doch muß man aufgrund von Robert de Torigni, Chronique II 189, der ihm ausdrücklich eine kurze Amtszeit bescheinigt, seine Existenz für gesichert halten. Serlo ist erstmals nachgewiesen am 19. September 1143; Clovis Brunel, Recueil des actes des comtes de Pontieu, Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Paris 1930, S. 44 n° 27. Undatiert ist Augardis ferner belegt bei La Mainferme II 314, außerdem in undatierten Verbrüderungen Fontevraults, s. Anm. 55.

[54] Wilhelm Wiederhold, Papsturkunden in Frankreich III., Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philol.-hist. Klasse 1907, Beiheft, S. 21 n° 2: Innocenz II. an die Priorin Agardis von Beaulieu von 1130; S. 23 n° 3: Derselbe an die dortige Priorin Juliana von 1132; S. 25 n° 4: Derselbe an die dortige Priorin Alcharda von 1142.

[55] Louis-Auguste Picard, L'ordre de Fontevrault de 1115 à 1207, o. O. u. J. (Saumur 1934), S. 79 mit dem Datum des 18. März 1149, doch ist das Stück in Wahrheit undatiert. Druck bei La Mainferme II 444, besser bei Ludovic de Vauzelles, Histoire du prieuré de la Magdeleine-lez-Orléans de l'ordre de Fontevraud, Paris und Orléans 1873, S. 209 n° 4. Man muß sich auch davor hüten, in der mit M. abgekürzten Priorin etwa Mathilde von Anjou sehen zu wollen. Es handelt sich vielmehr um Marcilia Riveria, die erste Priorin des als Hospitium bekannten Fontevristenpriorates La Madeleine vor den Toren von Orléans. S. Gallia christiana ed. nova VIII[b] 500: Der Bischof von Orléans gibt 1113 *ecclesiam Mariae Magdalenae de Hospitali, quae est in prospectu Aurelianensis civitatis* an Fontevrault. – Etwa zur selben Zeit kam es zu einer undatierten Verbrüderung zwischen Fontevrault und der Abtei Morigny bei Etampes (La Mainferme und Vauzelles a.a.O.), in der neben Petronilla und der Priorin Augarda auch *M. loci illius, ubi haec gerebantur, priorissa* genannt wird, und diese Verbrüderung erfolgte im *xenodochium sanctarum mulierum, quod Hospitale vocatur et situm est prope muros urbis Aurelianensis*. Ein drittes undatiertes Stück dieser Art, diesmal mit St.-Maurice d'Angers (La Mainferme II 443) nennt ebenfalls Petronilla und die Priorin Algardis.

[56] La Mainferme II 473. Paul Marchegay und Louis de La Boutetière, Cartulaire du prieuré de Libaud, Archives historiques de Poitou 1 (1872) 55 n° 1. Unter den Zeugen auch die Nonne Juliana von Breteuil, eine uneheliche Tochter Heinrichs I. von England und Hauptactrice eines besonders blutrünstigen Dramas der normannischen Geschichte; Ordericus Vitalis VI 210–214, 278.

priorissa. Man wird nicht fehlgehen in der Annahme, daß man das Amt der Priorin nach dem Tode der Augardis am 17. Mai (1140) geteilt hatte in das einer Großpriorin des Ordens und das einer Subpriorin, wohl der Sache nach einer Klaustralpriorin für Fontevrault, und daß es sich bei der Subpriorin um Mathilde von Anjou handelte, deren Karriere in Fontevrault also erst 1140 begann, als sie zweiunddreißig Jahre alt war.

Danach hören wir von Mathilde in Fontevrault nichs mehr bis 1149, weder als Subpriorin, noch als Großpriorin, noch sonst irgendwie. Als Petronilla am 24. April 1149 gestorben war, wurde Mathilde von Anjou zur zweiten Äbtissin gewählt,[57] was nahelag, wenn man sich die Gunst des gräflichen Hauses von Anjou erhalten wollte, erst Gottfried Plantagenets (1129–1151), dann Heinrichs II. von England (Graf von Anjou ab 1151, König von England 1154–1189). Die Rechnung ging voll auf. Das Nekrolog von Fontevrault hebt hervor, daß Heinrich *interventu matertere sue Mathildis abbatisse* dem Kloster viele Schenkungen machte,[58] und er machte Fontevrault auch zur Grablege seines Hauses, wo man in der Kirche heute noch die wunderbaren polychromen Grabmonumente Heinrichs, seiner Frau Eleonore von Aquitanien und seines Sohnes Richard Löwenherz sehen kann.

Gehen wir zurück in das Jahr 1143, als der am 20. November 1143 gestorbene König Fulko von Jerusalem endlich seinen langjährigen Plan der Gründung eines Doppelklosters in Bethanien verwirklichte. Es sollte nach dem Modell von Fontevrault eingerichtet werden und bedurfte daher möglichst einer Äbtissin von dort, wenn nicht überhaupt auch sonstiger Religiosen von Fontevrault, wie sie immer wieder zur Besiedelung der Priorate des jungen Ordens ausgesandt wurden. So etwas ging natürlich nicht ab, ohne daß Petronilla konsultiert wurde, und von beiden Seiten her war aus familienpolitischen wie ordensstrategischen Gründen Mathilde von Anjou die ideale Kandidatin. Sie war Witwe und Nonne in Fontevrault. Sie hatte 1143 mit 35 Jahren das notwendige Alter, sie war die Tochter des königlichen Gründers, sie war für den Posten einer Äbtissin im Orden als prominentes Mitglied der gräflichen Familie von Anjou prädestiniert, sie hatte als Subpriorin von Fontevrault praktische Erfahrungen in der Leitung einer klösterlichen Gemeinschaft und ihre Wahl mußte das Wohlwollen des Hauses Anjou nicht nur für Bethanien, sondern auch für Fontevrault erhalten.

Und daran ist kein Zweifel: Im Jahre 1144 hieß die erste Äbtissin Bethaniens Mathilde (RRH n° 226). Daß sie nur eine Platzhalterin für die zweite Äbtissin Iveta, die Schwester der Königin Melisendis von Jerusalem, gewesen

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[57] Als Äbtissin ist Mathilde erstmals bezeugt in JL 9348 vom 7. September 1149 und in einer Einigung mit dem Abt Julius von Corona von 1150 (Chartularfragment von Fontevrault aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Ms. lat. 2414 fol. 22^{v}; La Mainferme II 487).

[58] Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Ms. lat. 5480, Bd. I, S. 3. Vgl. Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154 III, ed. H. A. Cronne und R. H. C. Davis, Oxford 1968, S. 124 f. n° 329–332 (Heinrich nur als Graf von Anjou).

wäre, ist zweifellos nur eine eigenwillige Interpretation von Wilhelm von Tyrus, der in seinem Fundationsbericht die Klostergründung, ja sogar den einleitenden Landtausch vom Februar 1138 allein der Königin zuschreibt, obwohl er in einem Diplom des Königs beurkundet wurde (RRH n° 174), in dem Melisendis nur Mitausstellerin war, und Wilhelm den Gründungsvorgang auch richtig nicht bei 1138, sondern dort einordnete, wo er hingehört, nämlich kurz vor Fulkos Tod.[59] Tatsache ist, daß Melisendis bei der ersten sich bietenden Gelegenheit ihre Schwester Iveta zur Äbtissin machte, doch war dies erst nach dem Tode Fulkos, da Iveta 1119 oder 1120 geboren wurde und somit bei Fulkos Tod Ende 1143 maximal 24 Jahre alt war (s. oben S. 18). Sicherlich stimmt Wilhelms Bericht auch insoweit, daß Melisendis Bethanien reich ausstattete, und das mag im Osten allmählich dazu geführt haben, daß man sie als die Gründerin betrachtete, obwohl Fulko das Projekt seit 1138 betrieben hatte. Aber für den Nachruhm rächte es sich natürlich, daß er es erst gegen Ende seines Lebens in die Tat umgesetzt hatte.

Iveta sah es im übrigen ganz anders. Wir treffen sie urkundlich erstmals 1157 als Äbtissin von Bethanien (RRH n° 327). Ihre Amtsführung ist aus Quellenmangel schwer zu beurteilen. Sie scheint ihr Klostergut mit durchschnittlicher Qualität verwaltet zu haben, aber eine Petronilla war sie nicht; in der Öffentlichkeit spielte sie keine Rolle. Selbst als ihre beiden Schwestern Hodierna und Melisendis und die Tochter ihres Schwagers Fulko 1157 in eine Patriarchenwahl bestimmend eingriffen, war sie nicht mit von der Partie.[60] Im Dezember 1177 erwirkte sie eine wichtige Bestätigung von König Balduin IV., ihrem Großneffen,[61] im folgenden Jahr war sie bereits verstorben und ihre Nachfolgerin Eva war im Amt (RRH n° 569a.591a).[62]

Als ihre Schwester, die Königin-Witwe Melisendis, auf ihrem letzten langen Krankenlager lag mit einem Übel, das sich liest wie ein Schlaganfall (*aliquantisper lesa memoria, corpore quasi consumpto, lecto decumbens multo tempore, paucissimis ad eam reserato accessu, iacebat quasi dissoluta*), da wurde sie gepflegt von ihren beiden Schwestern, der Gräfin Hodierna von Tripolis und der Äbtissin von Bethanien. Und nochmals wurde Iveta innerhalb der Familie tätig, denn bei ihr in Bethanien wurde ihre Großnichte Sibylle, die Tochter des Königs Amalrich von Jerusalem, erzogen.[63] Die Familienehre ebenso wie die reichlichen Wohltaten, die Melisendis Bethanien erwiesen hatte, machten die Krankenpflege zum Gebot der Stunde, aber man mag zweifeln, ob Iveta mit dem Herzen dabei war.

Iveta hielt Kontakte mit Fontevrault. Das war selbstverständlich, denn Fontevrault hatte bei der Gründung Bethaniens Pate gestanden. Aber man

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59 WT XV.26, S. 709f.
60 WT XVIII.20, S. 840.
61 RRH n° 562b; zum Datum Mayer, Bistümer, S. 385f.
62 RRH n° 569a.591a. Da Iveta an einem 6. September (1178; s. unten S. 35) starb, muß RRH n° 569a danach ausgestellt sein.
63 WT XVIII.27, XXI.2, S. 850f., 962.

muß sehen, wie sie diese Kontakte hielt. Als sie 1178 starb, da wurde sie ins Große Nekrolog von Fontevrault eingetragen. Dieses ist verloren, aber seine Existenz ist schon 1115 bezeugt.[64] Wir sind angewiesen auf verschiedene ungedruckte und gedruckte Auszüge daraus sowie auf das Nekrolog des Tochterhauses Fontaines bei Meaux, das das Nekrolog von Fontevrault kopierte und deshalb schon frühzeitig nach Fontevrault zurückkam.[65] Unter dem 6. September (*VIII. id. Sept.*) (1178) finden wir folgenden Eintrag: *Migravit a seculo domina Iudit venerabilis abbatissa Sancti Lazari, que ecclesiam nostram plurimum diligens praeciosissimam pyxidim (?) continentem in se gloriosum lignum sancte crucis et aliorum sanctorum reliquias nobis misit.*[66] Iveta, die sich auf ihrem Siegel Judith nannte, hätte nicht von seiten ihrer Mutter Morphia eine halbe Armenierin sein müssen, wenn sie nicht eine Gegenleistung für die Reliquie verlangt hätte, und damit diese ja nicht vergessen werde, ließ sie sie auf das Reliquiar eingravieren, das sie nach Fontevrault schickte: *Iudith abbatissa b. Lazari de Bethania, filia regis Balduini, reposuit has pretiosas reliquias in hoc sacro loculo et misit eas sacro conventui Fontis-Ebraldi etc. (sic), rogans, ut pro tanto munere obitus sui diem, cum illum audierint, in martyrologio scribant et in publico conventu concelebrent et anniversarios parentum suorum similiter.*[67] Es ist klar, daß Iveta von nun an die Todestage der Verwandten nach Fontevrault mitteilte, damit diese ins Nekrolog eingetragen und die Verwandten der Kultfeier teilhaftig würden. Auf die Mutter Morphia scheint sie dabei keinen Wert gelegt zu haben, denn sie steht im Gegensatz zum Vater nicht drin. Daß ihr Schwager Fulko von Anjou drinsteht, braucht nicht auf sie zurückzugehen, denn er war vor 1129 ein derartiger Wohltäter Fontevraults gewesen, daß er auf jeden Fall hineingekommen wäre. Aber als Fulkos Sohn Balduin III. am 10. Februar 1163 starb, machte sie Mitteilung, denn er ist in dem Nekrolog enthalten, während sein Bruder, König Amalrich († 11. Juli 1174), der die Kirche finanziell

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[64] Chartularfragment von Fontevrault aus dem 12. Jahrhundert, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Ms. lat. 2414 fol. 102^{v}, wo in einer von 1115 datierten Urkunde das *martyrologium anniversarium* von Fontevrault erwähnt wird.

[65] Jean-Loup Lemaître, Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français, Recueil des historiens de la France, Obituaires 7/2, II, Paris 1980, S. 643.

[66] Departementalarchiv Angers 101 H 225bis, S. 252. Pavillon S. 580 druckt *arcam* statt *pyxidim*. Das trifft den Sinn, aber ich habe *arcam* in der Handschrift in Angers, die Auszüge des 17. Jahrhunderts aus dem Großen Nekrolog von Fontevrault enthält, nicht lesen können. Das Wort enthält zweifellos ein *x* und dies brachte mich auf *pyxidim*, was aber für den verfügbaren Platz zu lang ist; die griechische Form *pyxin* wäre auch eine Möglichkeit.

[67] La Mainferme I^{a}, 49, dort mit dem Zusatz Mainfermes, sie habe die Reliquien an Petronilla geschickt, was – falls richtig – den Beginn der Amtszeit Ivetas auf eine Zeit vor dem Tode Petronillas am 24. April 1149 festlegt. Mit geringfügigen Varianten steht die Inschrift auch bei Pavillon S. 622 n° 234 mit dem Zusatz: „Ces mots sont écrits sur le reliquiaire de cette abbaisse." – Zu Ivetas Siegel s. Gustave Schlumberger, Sigillographie de l'Orient latin, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 37, Paris 1943, S. 122 n° 130.

bedrückte, fehlt. Dagegen stehen in dem Nekrolog unter dem 21. Dezember (1161 oder später) ihre Schwester, die Gräfin Hodierna von Tripolis, und unter dem 21. Januar (1146 oder später; vgl. RRH n° 234a) ihre älteste Schwester, die Fürstin Alice von Antiochia, Fulkos große Widersacherin in Nordsyrien, verzeichnet.[68] Diese beiden hatten mit Fontevrault wirklich nichts zu tun. Ihr Eintrag kann ebenso wie der Balduins III. nur auf Ivetas Betreiben zurückgehen. Das Nekrolog ist, wie gesagt, nicht vollständig erhalten, aber wenn Balduin II., Fulko, Balduin III., Hodierna, Alice und Iveta selbst drinstehen – denn auch hier muß sie ja dafür Sorge getragen haben, daß ihr Tod nach Anjou gemeldet wurde – und in die Auszüge gelangten, obwohl in Anjou kaum jemand gewußt haben dürfte, wer Alice und Hodierna waren, dann müßte ein Eintrag der am 11. September 1161 verstorbenen Königin Melisendis von Jerusalem auch noch erhalten sein, wenn er nur in dem Nekrolog gestanden hätte. Wir gehen daher davon aus, daß Iveta den Tod ihrer ältesten Schwester Melisendis ebenso wenig mitteilte wie denjenigen des Königs Amalrich, obgleich Melisendis Bethanien überaus reichlich bedacht hatte und immerhin die Gemahlin des in Fontevrault so hoch verehrten Fulko V. von Anjou war.

Es hatte seine Gründe, wenn Iveta zwar die kranke Melisendis pflegte, die Feier ihres Jahresgedächtnisses in Fontevrault aber hintertrieb. Balduin II. von Jerusalem hatte vier Töchter gehabt, von denen Melisendis als die älteste mangels eines Sohnes die Thronfolge antrat. Aber Iveta war als einzige geboren worden, als Balduin II. bereits König war; die anderen drei stammten aus seiner Zeit als Graf von Edessa. Schon Wilhelm von Tyrus hebt diesen Punkt hervor, ohne die Konsequenzen aufzuzeigen.[69] Darauf wurde später aber die Theorie der Porphyrogenneta angewandt, die in der Konsequenz bedeutete, daß Iveta vor Melisendis den Thron hätte erben sollen. Man hat dies in Jerusalem rechtzeitig gesehen, und alles deutet darauf hin, daß Iveta im Zusammenhang mit der Versorgung aller vier Töchter nach dem Tod der Mutter 1126 oder 1127 aus der Thronfolge entfernt wurde, indem man sie zum Eintritt in das Nonnenkloster St. Anna in Jerusalem zwang, wofür man die Begründung leicht in der sarazenischen Geiselhaft fand, in der Iveta für ihren Vater 1124–1125 gewesen war. Obwohl sie damals erst fünf Jahre alt war, wurden ihr sexuelle Beziehungen mit Sarazenen angedichtet, was im Adel ein unüberwindliches Ehehindernis war und deshalb in der Regel die klösterliche Existenz nach sich zog.[70] Es war ein Justizskandal, wie ihn Wil-

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[68] Auszüge s. XVII aus dem Großen Nekrolog von Fontevrault, Departementalarchiv Angers 101 H 225bis, S. 234 (Adelaidis = Alice von Antiochia und Hodierna), 251 (Balduin II.), 257 u. 311 (Fulko). Boutillier du Retail und Piétresson de St.-Aubin, Obituaires de la province de Sens IV, Recueil des historiens de la France, Obituaires 4, Paris 1923, S. 189 (Balduin III. aus dem Nekrolog des Fontevristenpriorates Fontaines bei Meaux).

[69] WT XII.4, S. 551.

[70] Mayer, Bistümer, S. 250–257. Jonathan Riley-Smith, The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277, London 1973, S. 104, 108.

helm von Tyrus in dem vergleichbar gelagerten Fall der Königin Arda hart angriff.[71] Es ist zutiefst verständlich, daß Iveta dafür sorgte, daß Melisendis in das Nekrolog von Fontevrault nicht eingetragen wurde, die ihr in ihrer Sicht – Primogenita anstelle der Porphyrogenneta – den Thron abgejagt hatte.

Sieht man in der Äbtissin Mathilde von Bethanien von 1144 Fulkos Tochter Mathilde von Anjou, so erhebt sich dagegen freilich ein ernst zu nehmender Einwand. Wilhelm von Tyrus schreibt, es sei bei der Klostergründung, also kurz vor Fulkos Tod, *annosa quedam et in religione probata venerabilis matrona* zur Äbtissin eingesetzt worden.[72] Das läßt sich leicht mit Mathilde von Anjou vereinbaren. *Annosa* hat ja nicht die Bedeutung einer alten Frau in unserem und im klassischen Sinne, sondern es sollte dartun, daß die Äbtissin in einem Alter stand, das die nötige Erfahrung garantierte und dem Kirchenrecht standhielt. Im übrigen hatte Wilhelm eine Tendenz, seine Figuren übermäßig alt erscheinen zu lassen. Von König Fulko sagte er, er sei 1131 *grandevus* und über 60 Jahre alt gewesen, was seine Geburt auf etwa 1070 festlegen würde, obgleich er nachweislich erst 1090 oder 1092 geboren wurde, also rund 20 Jahre später. Ebenso wenig war der Patriarch Fulcher von Jerusalem 1155 *longevus et fere centenarius.*[73] Mathilde war bei der Gründung Bethaniens 35 Jahre alt, aber wenn man das Alter ihres Vaters um volle 20 Jahre erhöhte, so mußte das natürlich auf sie zurückwirken. Auch *matrona* paßt gut auf sie, denn auch hierunter dürfen wir uns keine angejahrte Dame vorstellen, sondern es bedeutet entweder Nonne schlechthin oder aber „verheiratete Frau",[74] und Mathilde von Anjou war ja bekanntlich Witwe.

Wilhelm von Tyrus fährt in seinem Fundationsbericht aber fort, Iveta sei zur Äbtissin gemacht worden, nachdem die ehrwürdige Matrone gestorben sei. Das ist natürlich mit Mathilde von Anjou, die 1149 Äbtissin von Fontevrault wurde, nicht zu vereinbaren. Aber Wilhelm, der 1130 geboren wurde, und 1145–1165 in Europa war, ist ja über die Gründung Bethaniens kurz nach 1140 nicht gut unterrichtet. Sein Fundationsbericht muß ihm später von jemandem souffliert worden sein, der Fulkos Anteil an der Gründung schlankweg unterdrückte. Aber auch über Mathilde von Anjou unterrichtet Wilhelm uns unzutreffend. Er schreibt, sie sei mit Wilhelm Aetheling verlobt worden, der aber noch vor der Hochzeit (*antequam convenirent*) ertrunken

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[71] WT XI.1, S. 495 f.

[72] WT XV.26, S. 709 f.

[73] WT XIV.1, S. 631. Chartrou, S. 1. WT XVIII.6, S. 818. Bernard Hamilton, The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church, London 1980, S. 72 hält ihn für etwa 70 Jahre alt.

[74] Novum glossarium mediae latinitatis, Stichwort matrona. Zur ersten Bedeutung vor allem Abälard, Regula monialium, ed. Terentius Mc Laughlin, Abelard's Rule for Religious Women, Medieval Studies 18 (1956) 251: *In monasteriis ... una omnibus praesit matrona.*

sei, woraufhin Mathilde in Fontevrault eingetreten sei. Es kann aber nach der einhelligen Aussage der anderen Quellen überhaupt kein Zweifel bestehen, daß die Ehe tatsächlich geschlossen wurde.[75] Wilhelm kann also auch über die erste Äbtissin von Bethanien schlecht informiert gewesen sein. Da sein Gewährsmann – eher eine Gewährsfrau in Bethanien – verschwieg, daß Bethanien eine Gründung Fulkos war, hatte er auch allen Anlaß zu unterdrücken, wenn Fulkos Tochter dort die erste Äbtissin war, deren Namen er nicht einmal preisgibt. Der Wahrscheinlichkeitsbeweis dafür, daß tatsächlich Mathilde von Anjou die erste Äbtissin Bethaniens war, ist an sich ziemlich gut zu führen, auch wenn wir keine positive Nachricht haben, daß sie je im Osten war. Er wird natürlich hypothetisch durch Wilhelms Nachricht, die erste Äbtissin sei im Amt gestorben, aber dagegen muß eingewandt werden, daß Wilhelm weder für Bethanien, noch für Mathilde ein zuverlässiger Chronist ist.

Das nötigt natürlich zu der Frage, wie man sich denn den Gang der Dinge innerhalb unserer Hypothese vorzustellen hat, nach der Mathilde von Anjou erste Äbtissin von Bethanien und noch 1144, also kurz nach Fulkos Tod, im Amt war. Solange Fulko lebte, konnte ihr nichts passieren. Nach Fulkos Tod aber kamen für so Manchen harte Zeiten. Melisendis übernahm jetzt weitgehend die Macht im Reich, denn sie hatte aus der 1129 begründeten Samtherrschaft einen eigenen Anteil daran und verwaltete als Regentin für ihren bis Mitte 1145 minderjährigen Sohn auch noch dessen Teil. Fulko hatte zu Beginn seiner Regierung eine sehr eigenwillige Personalpolitik geführt mit dem Ziel, sich – gegen Melisendis natürlich – eine eigene Klientel aufzubauen. Jetzt kam die Zeit der Reaktion. In Beirut mußte Guido Brisebarre, der Fulko mit zum Thron verholfen hatte, 1144 seinem Bruder Walter I. weichen, den er selbst in den frühen 30er Jahren dort verdrängt hatte. Erst nach des Königs Volljährigkeit konnte Guido 1145 zurückkehren. Sidon, das ungeachtet eines guten Anspruchs Walters von Caesarea, eines getreuen Parteigängers des Königs Fulko im Jahre 1134, unter königlicher Verwaltung gestanden zu haben scheint, ging 1147 an einen neuen Baron Gerhard von Sidon, der keine familiäre Bindung mit der alten Seigneursfamilie hatte.[76] Es war selbstverständlich, daß Melisendis auch die Kirche zu kontrollieren suchte, was im Episkopat natürlich schwieriger war als bei den Baronen. Patriarch Wilhelm von Jerusalem, wohl die stärkste Stütze des verstorbenen

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[75] WT XIV.1, S. 633. Florentius von Worcester, Chronicon ex chronicis, ed. Benjamin Thorpe, II, London 1849, S. 72. Simeon von Durham, II, 263. Wilhelm von Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 90, II, London 1889, S. 482. Ordericus Vitalis VI 302. Suger von St.-Denis, Vie de Louis le Gros, ed. Auguste Molinier, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, Paris 1887, S. 91.

[76] Hierzu s. Mayer, Angevins versus Normans, passim und Hans Eberhard Mayer, The Wheel of Fortune. Aristocratic Vicissitudes under Kings Fulk and Baldwin III of Jerusalem, Speculum 65 (1990) 205–223.

Königs, wurde vom Tod im September 1145 aus dem Wege geräumt. In dem neuen Patriarchen Fulcher, bei dessen Wahl sie und der König mitzureden hatten, muß sie sich verrechnet haben: er war aus Eisen. Das zeigte sich sehr bald an seinem letztlich erfolgreichen Widerstand gegen die Erhebung des königlichen Kanzlers Radulf zum Erzbischof von Tyrus.

Eine Äbtissin Mathilde von Anjou, die Tochter des wenig geliebten Gemahls, in Bethanien mußte Melisendis ein Dorn im Auge sein. Es war natürlich an sich nicht möglich, sich einer rechtmäßig gewählten Äbtissin zu entledigen, aber man konnte ihr das Leben sauer machen, so daß sie von selbst ging, oder man konnte plötzlich entdecken, daß sie nicht rechtmäßig ins Amt gekommen war. Es ist in diesem Zusammenhang immerhin aufschlußreich, daß Wilhelm von Tyrus für die Erhebung Ivetas zur Äbtissin von Bethanien betont, daß Melisendis sie *de consensu domini patriarche* (es war wohl Fulcher) *et sororum sanctimonialium coniventia* ernannte, während für die Vorgängerin nur davon die Rede ist, daß sie von Melisendis (an sich wäre richtiger: von Fulko) ernannt wurde. Sollte damals ein jetzt als verpönt geltender unzulässiger Laieneinfluß vorgelegen haben? Das ließ sich dann leicht als Simonie ausgeben und entsprechend verwenden. Entscheidend war, daß der Patriarch Melisendis gewähren ließ. Diesem Intransigenten, der das heimatliche Angoumois im Zorn verlassen hatte, weil sein Bischof Gerard von Angoulême dem schismatischen Papst Anaklet II. anhing, war sicher nicht verborgen geblieben, daß die Grafen von Anjou sich wenig um die neuen Rechtsauffassungen kümmerten, wenn es um die Macht in der Kirche ging. Wenn als Bischöfe von Angers 1081–1124 mit Gottfried von Tours, Gottfried von Mayenne und Rainald von Martigné drei Söhne großer Vasallen des Grafenhauses aufeinander folgten, ist klar, wer hier ernannte. Und Abt Gottfried von Vendôme sorgte dafür, daß Graf Fulko V. in Rom denunziert wurde, weil er 1117 bei der Wahl des Erzbischofs von Tours seinen Kandidaten Gilbert favorisiert und durchgesetzt hatte. Auch kannte Fulcher wohl die 1137 von Ludwig VI. und Ludwig VII. von Frankreich bewilligte Freiheit kirchlicher Wahlen für Bistümer und Klöster in Aquitanien.[77] Wenn Mathilde gehen mußte, so war dies ein Zeichen, daß nunmehr in Jerusalem weniger rauhe Sitten gelten sollten, wie sich auch sogleich am Fall der Besetzung des Erzbistums Tyrus zeigen sollte.

Wir kennen durchaus Fälle von Äbten, die im Unfrieden aus ihren europäischen Klöstern schieden und im Hl. Lande neue Karrieren begannen. Patriarch Fulcher selbst war ein Beispiel dafür. Nach 1130 wegen des Schismas aus seiner Stellung als Abt von Cellefrouin vertrieben, ging er als einfacher Kanoniker nach Jerusalem. Ebenso bekannt ist der europäische

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[77] Chartrou S. 197. Die Privilegien von 1137 für die aquitanische Kirche bei Achille Luchaire, Louis VI de Gros. Annales de sa vie et de son règne, Paris 1890, S. 265 n° 581; Druck bei Jean-Auguste Brutails, Cartulaire de l'église collégiale St.-Seurin de Bordeaux, Bordeaux 1897, S. 350 n° 352, wiederholt von Ludwig VII. bei Achille Luchaire, Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII, Paris 1885, S. 97 n° 1.

Skandal des 1122 vom Papst abgesetzten Abtes Pontius von Cluny, der gleichfalls im Hl. Land Zuflucht suchte. Ein Abt, der ein offener und sogar geständiger Betrüger war, konnte dennoch 1099 zum ersten Leiter der Kirche von Josaphat und 1101 zum ersten Erzbischof von Caesarea aufsteigen. Der übernächste Vorsteher Josaphats, Gilduin mit Namen aus dem Hause Le Puiset, war Mönch in Cluny und zuvor in St.-Martin-des-Champs, als er 1120 in den Osten ging, immerhin mit Erlaubnis des Abts von Cluny. Dort wurde er sofort Abt von Josaphat, da er ein Blutsverwandter des Königs war. Um dieselbe Zeit oder früher ging der aus seinem Kloster vertriebene Abt Gerhard ins Hl. Land, wo er Prior der Grabeskirche wurde. Amalrich, der Abt des Klosters Gottesgnaden bei Kalbe, ging 1135 ins Hl. Land und wurde dort Abt des Prämonstratenserklosters St. Joseph und Habakuk.[78]

Das war natürlich weitgehend eine Einbahnstraße, was daran lag, daß die lateinische Kirche des Ostens eine Einwandererkirche war, schon weil sie nicht über Bildungsmöglichkeiten verfügte, die denen in Europa vergleichbar gewesen wären. Sie mußte deshalb auch Leute beschäftigen, die unter Schwierigkeiten aus Europa geschieden waren, und das mußte auf gewisse unruhige Elemente in Europa anziehend wirken. In der Weltkirche kam es hin und wieder vor, daß man aus dem Osten zurück nach Europa ging und dort Karriere machte, allen voran der Patriarch Jakob Pantaleon von Jerusalem, der als Urban IV. Papst wurde, und der Archidiakon von Tyrus Johannes Pisanus, der als einziger Kirchenvertreter des Ostens zum Kardinalat aufstieg.[79] Aber im monastischen Bereich war es extrem selten, und ich kenne hier nur den Fall der Ermengard von der Bretagne.

Die Schwierigkeit bei der Rückwanderung lag darin, daß man anders als im Osten in Europa nicht unter Druck stand, vertriebene Äbte oder Äbtissinnen angemessen zu beschäftigen. Aber Mathilde von Anjou hätte in Fontevrault

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[78] Hans Eberhard Mayer, Guillaume de Tyr à l'école, Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon 127 (1985–1986, erschienen 1988) 258 (Fulcher). Ordericus Vitalis VI 170, 310 (Pontius). Vgl. Gerd Tellenbach, Der Sturz des Abtes Pontius von Cluny und seine geschichtliche Bedeutung, Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken 62–63 (1963) 13–55 und H. E. J. Cowdrey, Abbot Pontius of Cluny, Studi Gregoriani 11 (1978) 177–277. John L. La Monte, The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades, Speculum 17 (1942) 109 (Gilduin). Die Zwiefaltener Chronik Ortliebs und Bertholds, ed. Erich König und Karl Otto Müller, Schwäbische Chroniken der Stauferzeit 2, Stuttgart 1941, S. 196 (Gerhard). Vgl. auch Bernold von Konstanz, Chronik, MG SS V 466. Nichts wird von der Vertreibung berichtet in Monachi anonymi Scaphusensis De reliquiis sanctissimi crucis et dominici sepulchri Scaphusam allatis, Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux V, Paris 1895, S. 337. Wahrscheinlich wollte auch Abt Ernst von Zwiefalten, der 1146 sein Amt niedergelegt hatte, im Hl. Land bleiben, wurde dort aber schon während des zweiten Kreuzzuges getötet; Annales Zwifaltenses, MG SS X 56. Fundatio monasterii Gratiae Dei, MG SS XX 688 f. (Amalrich); vgl. Adalbert von Mülverstedt, Regesta archiepiscopatus Magdeburgensis I, Magdeburg 1876, S. 409 n° 1051, 423 n° 1089 und Sigeberti Continuatio Valcellensis, MG SS VI 640.

[79] Zu Johannes Pisanus s. Mayer, Guillaume de Tyr à l'école, passim.

natürlich einen Platz gehabt, an den sie hätte zurückkehren können. Nach Petronillas Tod wurde sie 1149 dort Äbtissin; Fulkos Großzügigkeit gegenüber Fontevrault machte sich für seine Tochter und das Haus Anjou bezahlt, dessen Freigebigkeit unter Heinrich II. von England in Fontevrault neue Triumphe feierte. Am 22. Mai 1154 ist Mathilde in Fontevrault gestorben:

> *XI kal. iun. Migravit a saeculo Mathildis abbatissa, quae secunda post Petronillam primam Fontis-Ebraldensis abbatissam eandem ecclesiam, nolens renitens, suscepit regendam, quae transacto post electionem suam quinque annorum curriculo peccatis nostris exigentibus, ut credimus speramus confidimus, in vera confessione fidei secessit in paradisum dolorem nobis relinquens et lachrimas.*[80]

Exkurs

Die Legatenurkunden von angeblich 1136

Oben S. 32f. wurde eine für die Biographie Mathildes von Anjou wichtige, undatierte Urkunde über einen Tausch der Äbtissin Petronilla von Fontevrault mit dem Abt Fulcher II. von Orbestier benutzt, die in das Jahr 1140 gehört. Die Herausgeber haben im Grundsatz richtig beobachtet, daß die Urkunde in den Zeitraum nach dem 1. August 1137 (im Datum wird Ludwig VII. als König genannt) und vor dem 6. Oktober 1140 (es wird der damals verstorbene Bischof Wilhelm Alelmus von Poitiers als lebend genannt) fallen muß. Ausgestellt war das Stück in St.-Hilaire de Poitiers in Anwesenheit des päpstlichen Legaten (1132–1143), Bischof Gaufrid von Chartres, des Erzbischofs Gaufrid von Bordeaux (1136–1158), des Bischofs Lambert von Angoulême (1136–1148), des Bischofs Wilhelm Alelmus von Poitiers (1124–1140), der Archidiakone Arnold Qui-non-ridet[81] und Chalo

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[80] Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, Ms. lat. 5480, Bd. I, S. 2, gedruckt in Anonymus, Extrait du Grand Nécrologe de Fontevraud, (Bulletin de la) Société des lettres, sciences et arts du Saumurois 4 n° 11 (1913), S. 50, außerdem bei Pavillon S. 587 und verkürzt in Boutillier du Retail und Piétresson de St.-Aubin, Obituaires de la province de Sens IV, Recueil des historiens de la France, Obituaires 4, Paris 1923, S. 191. In der Literatur liest man als Todesjahr durchgehend 1155, als Todestag gelegentlich den 31. Mai. Letzteres beruht darauf, daß man in Pavillons Wiedergabe des Eintrags 11 kal. Iun. für II kal. Iun. hielt. Ersteres hängt mit dem falschen Ansatz des Beginns der Amtszeit zu 1150 zusammen, wobei JL 9348 übersehen wurde; vgl. oben S. 33.

[81] Der offenbar notorisch Humorlose schreckte tatsächlich vor nichts zurück, denunzierte er doch seinen eigenen Bischof Gilbert de la Porrée, den bedeutendsten Philosophen der Zeit, wegen angeblicher Irrlehre beim Papst, so daß Gilbert nach manchem Hin und Her im März 1148 vor Eugen III. auf dem Reimser Konzil erscheinen mußte, wo er dann freilich triumphierte. Auguste Berthaud, Gilbert de la Porrée évêque de Poitiers et sa philosophie, Poitiers 1892, S. 263–304. Suitbert Gammersbach, Gilbert

de Mella von Poitiers und des meines Wissens anderweitig nicht bezeugten Abtes Gerhard von Le Breuil-Herbaud, ferner Petronillas und des Abtes von Orbestier, also sichtlich bei einer Regionalsynode. Hierfür – so die Editoren – komme in Poitiers nur 1137 (Krönung Ludwigs VII. in Poitiers im August 1137) oder 1139 in Betracht, als der Legat im Anschluß an das Lateranum II ganz Aquitanien durchreiste und in drastischer Weise mit den letzten Spuren des anakletianischen Schismas aufräumte.[82] Schon La Mainferme zog eine ganze Reihe undatierter Urkunden von Fontevrault, darunter auch diese, zusammen und ließ sie bei einer Synode von Poitiers 1136 ausgestellt sein, bei der auch der hl. Bernhard zugegen gewesen sei, von dem allerdings nicht eine datierte und lokalisierte Urkunde von 1136 vorhanden ist. An verschiedenen Stellen der Editio nova der Gallia christiana wurde dieses Konzil von Poitiers von 1136 zementiert, so daß es dabei blieb, so noch bei Picard und selbst bei Janssen.[83] Doch ist die Sache weniger einfach. Bei dieser Gelegenheit sollen folgende, allesamt undatierte Urkunden ausgestellt worden sein: 1) Der Tausch zwischen Petronilla von Fontevrault und Fulcher von Orbestier; 2) Einigung zwischen Fontevrault und dem Bischof und Kapitel von Poitiers betreffend den Wald von Born. Anwesend: Der Legat Gaufrid von Chartres, die Erzbischöfe Gaufrid von Bordeaux und Hugo von Tours, die Bischöfe Wilhelm Alelmus von Poitiers, Joscelin (von Soissons?), Hamelin von Rennes, Wilhelm von Saintes, Briccius von Nantes, Hugo Paganus von Le Mans, Lambert von Angoulême und Petronilla, also 1136–1140; 3) Einigung zwischen Petronilla und dem Abt Mascelin von St.-Cyprien de Poitiers. Anwesend: Der Legat Gaufrid von Chartres und Petronilla, jedoch entgegen Gallia christ. ed. nova II[a]. 1318 nicht Bernhard von Clairvaux, also wegen des Endes von Gaufrids Legation vor 23. September 1143, doch kann das Stück auch früher liegen, denn der herkömmliche Ansatz der Amtszeit des Abtes Mascelin beruht für den Anfang eben auf der traditionellen Annahme einer Synode in Poitiers 1136, die auch diese Sache regelte; 4) Einigung zwischen Petronilla von Fontevrault und dem Abt Matthaeus (1128–1155) von St.-Florent-lez-Saumur. Anwesend: Bischof Wilhelm Alelmus von Poitiers, Bernhard von Clairvaux, Petronilla sowie der Legat, also 1132–1140; 5) Von dem Legaten vermittelter Vergleich zwischen Marmoutier und dem Bischof Briccius von Nantes. Anwesend: Die Erzbischöfe von Tours, Bordeaux und Bourges.[84] Wegen des letzteren ist der Ansatz zu 1136 problematisch, da er

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von Poitiers und seine Prozesse im Urteil der Zeitgenossen, Neue Münstersche Beiträge zur Geschichtsforschung 5, Köln 1959, S. 76–103.

[82] Chronique de Morigny, ed. Léon Mirot, Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire, Paris 1909, S. 72 f.

[83] La Mainferme II 493. Picard S. 93. Wilhelm Janssen, Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Schisma Anaklets II. bis zum Tode Coelestins III. (1130–1198), Kölner Historische Abhandlungen 6, Köln 1962, S. 23 mit Anm. 29.

[84] Urkunde 1: Oben Anm. 56. Urkunde 2: Pavillon S. 613 n° 196. Urkunde 3: Louis Rédet, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de St.-Cyprien de Poitiers, Archives historiques de Poitou 3 (1874) 306 n° 506. Urkunde 4: Paul Marchegay, Cartulaires du Bas-Poitou,

sonst in der ganzen Serie nie vorkommt. In Frage kommen könnte aber die Weihnachtskurie Ludwigs VII. in Bourges 1137.[85]

Unbezweifelbar ist, daß es in diesen Jahren eine Synode in Poitiers gab. Dies geht aus der Urkunde n° 1 deutlich hervor, und der Legat stellte 1136 eine Urkunde für St.-Hilaire de Poitiers aus.[86] Aber die Urkunde n° 2 ist nicht in Poitiers ausgestellt, sondern *in loco, qui antiquitus Conolium appellatur,* und nur die Urkunde n° 1 ist mit Sicherheit in Poitiers ergangen, ist aber wie alle anderen undatiert. Die Anwesenheit Bernhards von Clairvaux ist nur für die Urkunde n° 4 belegt, die aber gleichfalls undatiert ist. Gleichwohl hat unter anderem sie die Basis dafür abgegeben, Bernhard im März 1136 einen Aufenthalt in Poitou zuzuschreiben. Diese Annahme wurde dadurch verstärkt, daß man eine Urkunde des Legaten für Bernhard, in der Gaufrid von Chartres die Gründung und Schenkung von Grâce-Dieu durch Graf Wilhelm von Poitou bestätigte, wahrscheinlich richtig zu 1136 ansetzte, da der Graf bereits im Frühjahr 1137 starb.[87] Bernhard war also 1136 in Poitou, was man auch zu einer regionalen Synode benutzt haben wird, doch ist keineswegs gesagt, daß alle oben zitierten Urkunden bei dieser Gelegenheit ergingen, bei denen nur im Fall von Nummer 4 Bernhards Anwesenheit gesichert ist. Aber eine Ausstellung der Nummer 1 im Jahr 1136 ist schon wegen der Nennung Ludwigs VII. im Datum als König von Frankreich und Herzog von Aquitanien ausgeschlossen. Das Stück muß vielmehr zu Ende 1140 angesetzt werden. Der Legat hielt sich damals mehrfach in der Region auf. Auf päpstliche Anweisung intervenierte er in Angelegenheiten von St.-Florent-lez-Saumur, und zwar an Ort und Stelle, 1142 half er Fontevrault gegen den Bischof Ulger von Angers. Er begab sich hierfür nach Fontevrault und versammelte, wie wir aus seiner Urkunde zugunsten der Abtei Noyers erfahren, die Erzbischöfe von Tours und Bordeaux sowie die Bischöfe von Poitiers, Nantes und Rennes um sich. Man muß also wahrscheinlich von einer Vielzahl solcher Regionalsynoden ausgehen. Ende 1140 befand sich der Legat in der Umgebung des Königs in Poitou, denn er unterschrieb am

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Les Roches-Baritaud 1877, S. 30 n° 22. Urkunde 5: Hyacinthe Morice, Mémoires pour servir de preuves à l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Bretagne, I, Paris 1742, Spalte 577.

[85] Ordericus Vitalis VI 508.

[86] Louis Rédet, Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de St.-Hilaire de Poitiers, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest 1847, S. 132 n° 118.

[87] Georges Musset, L'abbaye de la Grâce-Dieu, Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis 27, Paris und Saintes 1898, S. 134 n° 1 zu 1135 oder 1136. Gallia christiana ed. nova II[b], 387 n° 8 ohne Datum. Alexandre Teulet, Layettes du Trésor des Chartes I, Paris 1863, S. 47 n° 64 zu 1135, als Gaufrid von Chartres und Bernhard von Clairvaux in Aquitanien beim Grafen waren, aber in Parthenay, nicht in Poitiers, wo sich damals noch immer der anakletianische Legat Aegidius von Tusculum hielt; Janssen S. 21. Auch verbietet die Nennung des Erzbischofs Gaufrid von Bordeaux in der Urkunde jedes Datum vor 1136.

28. Dezember in St.-Jean-d'Angely ein Diplom Ludwigs VII.[88] In diese Zeit fiel eine scharfe Auseinandersetzung um die Wahl des Bischofs von Poitiers. Bischof Wilhelm Alelmus war am 6. Oktober 1140 gestorben. Jetzt trat der erste Testfall für die Diplome Ludwigs VI. und VII. von 1137 ein, in der sie in ganz Aquitanien die Freiheit aller kirchlichen Wahlen, den Verzicht auf den Treueid und auf die Einkünfte während der Sedisvakanzen bewilligt hatten,[89] und natürlich kam es sofort zum Streit zwischen dem König und dem Episkopat. Gegen den erklärten Willen des Königs wurde der Abt Grimoard von Alleux gewählt, obwohl er kernig erklärt hatte, er wolle lieber leprös als Abt, lieber Martyrer als Bischof sein – ein Mann nach meinem Geschmack! Aber dazu mußten mindestens der Legat und der Erzbischof von Bordeaux nach Poitiers eilen, um für Grimoards Wahl zu sorgen; am 26. Januar 1141 wurde er geweiht.[90] Der Vergleich zwischen Fontevrault und Orbestier ist noch zu Lebzeiten des Bischofs Wilhelm Alelmus ausgestellt, so daß er nicht direkt mit einer Synode aus Anlaß der Wahl Grimoards verbunden werden kann, aber er fällt in die Zeit zwischen dem 17. Mai (1140) als dem Todestag der Großpriorin Augardis von Fontevrault,[91] da zur Zeit des Vergleichs bereits Florentia Großpriorin war, und dem 6. Oktober 1140 als dem Todestag des Wilhelm Alelmus, eher an das Ende dieses Zeitraums, als der Legat und der König in Poitou weilten und sicherlich auch ein guter Teil des Episkopats der Region, wie er uns in der Zeugenliste entgegentritt, bei Hofe waren. Es mag 1136 durchaus eine Synode in Poitiers stattgefunden haben, aber sie ist nicht gesichert und muß vor allem als eine alle kirchlichen Streitfälle der Region richtende Supersynode gestrichen werden.

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[88] JL 8319 von 1139–1143. Ramackers, Papsturkunden in Frankreich, Neue Folge V, S. 122 n° 51 von 1141/42. JL 8263 weist aus, daß diese Interventionen vor Ort geschahen. Fontevrault gegen Bischof Ulger: JL 8333; vgl. Chartrou S. 188. C. Chevalier, Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Noyers, Tours, 1872, S. 562 n° 534. Diplom Ludwigs VII.: Th. Grasilier, Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes, Cartulaires inédits de la Saintonge, Niort 1871, S. 50 n° 47, dazu Luchaire, Etudes S. 84 Anm. 2.

[89] S. oben Anm. 77.

[90] Alfred Richard, Histoire des comtes de Poitou, II, Paris 1903, S. 73. Marcel Pacaut, Louis VII et les élections épiscopales dans le royaume de France, Paris 1957, S. 92 f.

[91] S. oben Anm. 53.

VII

Das syrische Erdbeben von 1170

Ein unedierter Brief König Amalrichs von Jerusalem

Zur Stunde der Prim des 29. Juni 1170, als die Kirchen wegen des Festes von Peter und Paul zum Morgengottesdienst gefüllt waren, bebte heftig die Erde in ganz Phönikien, Syrien und Zölesyrien, also im heutigen Libanon und in Nordsyrien. Zusammen mit dem Erdbeben von 1202 gehörte das Beben von 1170 zu den schwersten in der seismisch empfindlichen Region während der Kreuzfahrerzeit[1]. Es ist deshalb in den Quellen auch häufig bezeugt, meist ausführlicher in syrischen und arabischen Berichten als in lateinischen, die allerdings mit der Chronik des Wilhelm von Tyrus die ausführlichste Schilderung des Unglücks bieten[2]. Als zerstört werden gemeldet

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[1]) Zu den Erdbeben im allgemeinen und dem von 1202 im besonderen siehe Hans E. Mayer, Two Unpublished Letters on the Syrian Earthquake of 1202, Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of A. S. Atiya (1972) S. 297–310.

[2]) Das Erdbeben ist in folgenden Quellen erwähnt, aus denen im folgenden ohne Einzelnachweis dargestellt wird: 1) Abendländische Quellen: JL 11952, zuletzt gedruckt bei Rudolf Hiestand, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius III. Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande (Abh. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge 136, 1985) S. 393 n° 198. Bernardus Maragone, Annales Pisani, hg. Michele Lupo Gentile (Muratori² 6,2, 1936) S. 49 f. Wilhelm von Tyrus, Chronique, hg. R. B. C. Huygens (CC. Cont. med. 63, 1986) S. 934–936. Robert de Torigni, Chronique, hg. Léopold Delisle (Société de l'histoire de Normandie), Bd. 2 (1873) S. 20. Annales Vizeliacenses, hg. R. B. C. Huygens, Monumenta Vizeliacensia. Textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Vézelay (CC Cont. med. 42, 1976) S. 228 f. Chronique de Terre Sainte de 1097 à 1202, hg. Charles Kohler, Un rituel et un bréviaire du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem, Revue de l'Orient latin 8 (1900–1901) S. 400. Annales Floreffienses, MG SS 16 S. 625. Ex brevi chronico Uticensis coenobii (= St.-Evroul) in monasterio Gastinensi continuato, in: Bouquet, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France 12 S. 774. Chronique de Terre Sainte, in: Les Gestes des Chiprois, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens 2 (1906) S. 656. Wilhelm von Nangis, Chronicon, in: Bouquet, Recueil 20 S. 738. Andrea Dandolo, Cronica per extensum descripta, hg. Ester Pastorello (Muratori² 12, 1, 1938–1958) S. 249. Annales de Terre Sainte, hg. Gaston Raynaud u. Reinhold Röhricht, Archives de l'Orient latin 2[b] (1884) S. 432. Franciscus Pippinus, Chronicon, bei Muratori¹ 9 (1726) Sp. 626 f. – 2) Arabische Quellen: Bahā' ad-Dīn, Anecdotes et beaux traits de la vie du Sultan Youssof, Recueil des

Antiochia, Laodicaea (Latakia), Gabulum (Ǧabala), Valania (Banyas-sur-Mer), die große Burg Margat (Marqab) dicht daneben, die Burgen Chastel Blanc (Ṣāfītā), Krak des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād) und ᶜArīma, Archas (ᶜArqā) nordöstlich von Tripolis und die benachbarte Burg Gibelacar (ᶜAkkār), Tripolis, danach in Abstufungen betroffen Tyrus, Akkon und Jerusalem auf der christlichen Seite, während im muslimischen Bereich genannt werden Bagras, Ḥarīm (Harenc)[3], Aleppo, Šaizar (Cesara), Hama, Bārīn (Montferrand), Homs (Emissa), Baalbek und danach abgestuft Damaskus, Samosata und Mosul. Jerusalem, wo die Erde bebte, ohne daß Nennenswertes passierte, ist der südlichste genannte Punkt. Sieht man von der einmaligen und etwas unglaubwürdigen Erwähnung von Mosul ab, so ist das Jakobitenkloster Mār Ḥananiā bei Mardin im Zweistromland östlich von Edessa zugleich der nördlichste und der östlichste Punkt, von dem Schäden gemeldet werden.

Es fällt sofort auf, daß die Küste zwischen Tortosa (Ṭarṭūs) und Tripolis in der Nord-Südrichtung und zwischen der dortigen Küste und dem Gebirge in der West-Ostrichtung besonders betroffen gewesen sein muß. Von den großen Burgen dieser Region wird allein das Templerkastell in Tortosa nicht als beschädigt erwähnt[4]; in Krak des Chevaliers blieb nicht eine Mauer stehen. Das riß natürlich ein höchst gefährliches Loch in die tripoli-

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Historiens des Croisades. Historiens orientaux 3 (1884) S. 50. Ibn al-Aṯīr, Kamel-Altevarykh, ebd. 1 (1872) S. 572 f. Ibn al-Aṯīr, Histoire des atabecs de Mosul, ebd. 2^b (1876) S. 262. Abū Šāma, Livre des deux jardins, ebd. 4 (1898) S. 150 u. 154. Ibn Waṣīl, Mufarriǧ al-kurūb fī ahbār Bani Ayyūb, hg. Ǧamal-ad-Dīn aš-Šayyāl, Bd. 3 (Kairo 1960) S. 188. Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary, engl. Übers. v. William Baron Mack Guckin de Slane, 2 (1843) S. 343. – 3) Syrische Quellen: Michael der Syrer, Chronique, französ. Übers. v. J. B. Chabot, 3 (1905) S. 337–339. (Anonymus Chabot): Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens, französ. Übers. v. Albert Abouna, Bd. 2 (Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium 354 = Scriptores Syri 154, 1974) S. 127. The Chronography of Gregory Abu'l-Faraj, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus, engl. Übers. v. Ernest A. Wallis Budge, 1 (1932) S. 295–296. – 4) Armenische Quellen: La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat, französ. Übers. v. Gérard Dédéyan (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 13, 1980) S. 53. Hethum von Gorigos, Table chronologique, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens 1 (1869) S. 476. – Wilhelm von Nangis und Franciscus Pippinus datieren falsch auf 28. Juni, letzterer zusätzlich ins falsche Jahr 1169, aber der 29. Juni 1170 wird bestätigt durch die arabischen (12. Šawāl A. H. 565) und die syrischen (29. Haziran 1481 der seleukidischen Ära) Quellen. Die Datierung auf 1171, ind. 3 bei Bernardo Maragone ist natürlich calculus Pisanus.

[3]) Dieser Ort wird nur in den Annales Pisani genannt als Uringa/Orenga. Daß es sich um Ḥarīm handelt, ergibt sich aus der Nachricht der Annalen S. 65, es sei 1177 (Maragone schreibt falsch 1179) vom Grafen von Flandern belagert worden.

[4]) Tortosa blieb auch 1202 unversehrt; Mayer, Earthquake of 1202 S. 309.

tanische Ostgrenze. Die Situation wurde nur dadurch entschärft, daß es jenseits der Grenze kaum anders aussah, denn dort war mit Šaizar, Hama, Bārīn und Homs die gesamte Verteidigung der Orontes-Linie zusammengebrochen. Auch die Stadt Tripolis wurde aufs schwerste mitgenommen. Die dortige Marienkathedrale[5] stürzte ein und begrub die Gemeinde unter sich. Das alles war um so schlimmer, als gerade diese Gegend mit Tripolis, Krak des Chevaliers, Ṣāfītā und Tortosa bereits 1157 von einem schweren Erdbeben heimgesucht worden war.

Daneben treten in den Berichten vor allem die Schäden in Antiochia und Aleppo hervor. Wahrscheinlich war das Beben hier weniger heftig als in Tripolis, aber in Antiochia mußte die Hanglage die Schäden fördern, und bezeichnenderweise wird vor allem der Schaden an den Mauern erwähnt, die sich von der Stadt bergaufwärts zur Zitadelle zogen. Mauern, Türme, Kirchen und Gebäude werden in Antiochia als zerstört gemeldet. Auch hier stürzte die Kathedrale St. Peter ein. Dort zelebrierte gerade der 1165 installierte griechisch-orthodoxe Patriarch Athanasius, der den lateinischen Patriarchen Aimerich von Limoges ins Exil in die Burg Quṣair südlich von Antiochia (wo sich die Erdstöße gleichfalls heftig bemerkbar machten) getrieben hatte. Athanasius wurde schwer verletzt. Man fand ihn noch atmend, aber er starb auf dem Transport durch die Stadt. Nun holte man eilends den lateinischen Patriarchen wieder in die Stadt zurück. Neben der Kathedrale wurde auch die eigentliche orthodoxe Kirche Antiochias völlig zerstört.

Im muslimischen Gebiet waren die im Orontestal getroffenen Orte eher klein, so daß ihrer in den Quellen meist nur en passant gedacht wird. In seinen Memoiren hielt Usāma ibn Munqidh das Unglück nicht einmal einer Erwähnung für wert, obwohl die Burg von Šaizar, in der er geboren worden war, getroffen war[6]. Da Damaskus glimpflich davonkam, betonen die muslimischen Quellen, wie sehr Aleppo getroffen wurde, obwohl es in Baalbek sicher nicht besser aussah. In Aleppo, dieser wehrhaftesten Stadt des Islam, traf es die Mauern und die Hauptmoscheen der Stadt heftig. Nūr ad-Dīn, der Herrscher von Damaskus, erfuhr zuerst von den sehr beträchtlichen Zerstörungen an der Zitadelle von Baalbek im dortigen Jupi-

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[5]) Maragone spricht nur von der *magna ecclesia,* ähnlich auch Michael der Syrer, aber 1152 amtierte ein päpstlicher Legat in der Marienkirche von Tripolis, also gewiß in der Kathedrale, siehe Reinhold R ö h r i c h t, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (1893; künftig: RRH) n° 275.

[6]) Allerdings war er seit 1138 nicht mehr in Šaizar gewesen, siehe Usâma ibn Munqidh, Des enseignements de la vie, französ. Übers. v. André M i q u e l (1983) S. 26 f.

tertempel. Er eilte aus Transjordanien sofort dorthin, um mit dem Wiederaufbau zu beginnen, überließ dies aber jemand anderem, als er von den Zerstörungen in Aleppo hörte. Er begab sich dorthin und sparte weder Geld noch Mühe, um Mauern und Moscheen wieder aufzubauen. Michael der Syrer, der 1126 geborene jakobitische Patriarch von Antiochia (1166–1199), erlebte das Erdbeben im Kloster Mār Ḥananiā. Er hat uns eine lebendige Schilderung hinterlassen, wie beim Gottesdienst die Kirche plötzlich zu schaukeln anfing wie eine Barke auf dem Meer. Aber hier waren weder Menschenleben zu beklagen, noch Gebäudeschäden[7].

Michaels Bericht enthält Elemente, die zeigen, daß trotz allen Unglücks Antiochia und Aleppo weniger hart getroffen wurden als Phönikien. Die Verluste an Menschenleben werden überall betont. Es ist natürlich übertrieben, wenn die pisanischen Annalen von 40 000 Christen und 200 000 Sarazenen reden, die umgekommen seien. Das bedeutet lediglich „sehr viele". Aber nicht nur kamen die eine jakobitische Kirche in Aleppo und die drei in Antiochia unbeschädigt durch den Sturm wie übrigens auch die jakobitischen Kirchlein in Ǧabala und Latakia, ja selbst in Tripolis[8], sondern Michael bezifferte auch die Zahl der Toten in Antiochia mit lediglich fünfzig. Das kontrastiert erheblich mit dem, was der Zeitgenosse Wilhelm von Tyrus über Tripolis sagt: *Facta est tota civitas quasi agger lapidum et oppressorum civium tumulus et sepulchrum publicum.* Kein Zweifel, das Epizentrum lag in Phönikien, von wo auch die meisten zerstörten Burgen gemeldet werden[9].

Vordringlich war der Wiederaufbau und das Abriegeln der in die Verteidigung gerissenen Löcher. Dem Gebot der Vernunft gehorchend schlossen die Franken einen im wesentlichen eingehaltenen Waffenstillstand mit Nūr ad-Dīn von Damaskus, was um so leichter möglich war, als Byzanz seit 1159 ohnehin das Gleichgewicht im Norden der Kreuzfahrerstaaten

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[7]) Michael der Syrer S. 337–339; die dortige Lücke wird ausgefüllt von seinem getreuen Benutzer Bar Hebraeus S. 295–296.

[8]) Dies erstaunte schon Bar Hebraeus, als er Michaels Chronik exzerpierte, so daß er die tripolitanische Kirche wegließ.

[9]) Auch 1202 litten die Burgen in dieser Gegend schwer, insbesondere der schönste aller Bergfriede der Kreuzfahrerburgen in Chastel Blanc (Ṣāfītā), siehe M a y e r, Earthquake of 1202 S. 306–310, bes. S. 309: *Castri autem Albi maxima pars murorum cecidit, turris autem maior, qua nullam credimus fortius vel firmius edificatam, in hoc rimis et quassaturis debilitata est, quod melius nobis esset, si funditus corrueret, quam ita stans permaneret.* T. E. L a w r e n c e, Crusader Castles, hg. Denys P r i n g l e (1988) S. 58 setzte den Turm um 1140 an. Richtiger ist wohl Paul Deschamps, Les châteaux des croisés en Terre Sainte 3 (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 90, 1973) S. 258: erbaut nach 1171 und repariert nach 1202.

garantierte und entscheidende Fortschritte beider Seiten nicht zuließ. Die Auseinandersetzung hatte sich seither ganz nach Ägypten verlagert bis zu König Amalrichs letzter Expedition dorthin im Jahre 1169, die Damiette in akute Gefahr gebracht hatte. Von Ägypten stieß jetzt Saladin in das ihm geschwächt scheinende Königreich Jerusalem vor, denn der Graf Raimund III. von Tripolis war 1164 in sarazenische Gefangenschaft geraten, wo er bis 1174 blieb. Der König Amalrich von Jerusalem war Regent von Tripolis geworden und mußte sich daher jetzt um den Wiederaufbau kümmern. Ende 1170/Anfang 1171 nahm Saladin von Ägypten aus den Lateinern die Stadt Gaza ab und – viel schlimmer – auch Aila (ᶜAqaba), ihren einzigen Vorposten am Roten Meer, wo sie die Hauptstraße für die ägyptischen Mekkapilger kontrolliert hatten. Für den Norden spricht Wilhelm von Tyrus zwar nur von einer *brevis pax*, aber der dortige Waffenstillstand scheint angehalten zu haben bis in den Herbst 1171. Damals aber war die Grenze noch immer so unverteidigt, daß Nūr ad-Dīn nach einer Provokation ungehindert die Grafschaft Tripolis verwüsten, Archas belagern und Chastel Blanc (Ṣāfītā) und ᶜArīma demolieren konnte[10]. Was immer dort bereits aufgebaut war, wurde jetzt erneut zerstört.

Während Nūr ad-Dīn sich persönlich der Reparaturen in Aleppo annahm und auch anderwärts in den zerstörten Städten Aufbaumaßnahmen einleitete, war Amalrich mehrfach in Tripolis. Noch im Jahre 1170 schenkte er unter dem Vorbehalt der Zustimmung Raimunds III. nach dessen allfälliger Freilassung den Johannitern die Burgen Archas und Gibelacar nordöstlich von Tripolis nebst ihrem Umland, aber mit der Verpflichtung zum Wiederaufbau, da sie vom Erdbeben gänzlich zerstört seien[11]. Sie waren erst Anfang 1170 den Muslimen entrissen und der gräflichen Domäne zugeschlagen worden. Hier sollte jetzt nach Amalrichs Willen eine weitere Grenzmark der Johanniter entstehen, wie sie sie seit 1144 bereits um Krak des Chevaliers herum besaßen. Aber diese Mark hätte wesentlich näher an Tripolis gelegen als die ältere und hätte bei Archas überdies noch die Route nach Norden gesperrt. Unter diesen Umständen dürfte der Graf von dem Handel kaum begeistert gewesen sein, und in der Tat finden wir Archas 1180 nicht im Besitz der Johanniter, sondern des Grafen oder seiner Vasallen[12]. Freilich dürfte die Erteilung einer gräflichen Zustimmung nach 1174 gar nicht akut geworden sein, denn die Schenkung geriet ohnehin in den

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[10]) Wilhelm von Tyrus S. 935. Ibn al-Aṯīr, Kamel-Altevarykh S. 584.

[11]) RRH n° 477.

[12]) Wilhelm von Tyrus S. 1008. Jean R i c h a r d, Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187) (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 39, 1945) S. 64 f.

Strudel der großen Verfassungskrise der Johanniter von 1170–1172, als der Meister Gilbert von Assailly zweimal zurücktrat und dann erneut das Meisteramt anstrebte. In der Auseinandersetzung ging der Konvent gegen die seit den vierziger Jahren massiv betriebene Politik der Übernahme von Burgen in Ordensbesitz vor, die zusammen mit dem Engagement des Ordens in den ägyptischen Kampagnen des Königs von Jerusalem den Orden hoch verschuldet hatte; Wilhelm von Tyrus bezifferte die damaligen Ordensschulden auf die ungeheuerliche Summe von 100 000 Byzantinern[13]. Im Jahre 1172 untersagte der Papst dem Meister ausdrücklich, ohne den Rat des Kapitels neue Burgen entgegenzunehmen oder an der Grenze gegen die Türken gelegene weiter auszubauen[14]. Die Johanniter hatten mit dem unabdingbaren Aufbau von Krak des Chevaliers genug zu tun, in Archas und Gibelacar dürfte das Kapitel ein Veto eingelegt haben.

Im März 1171 war der königliche Regent erneut in Tripolis, wo er urkundete und alsdann das Schiff nach Konstantinopel nahm, wo er bis in den Juni blieb[15]. Es ist bekannt, daß der König bei diesem Staatsbesuch sein Heil in der engeren Anlehnung an Byzanz suchte. Das war natürlich in erster Linie eine Konsequenz der jetzt gescheiterten Ägyptenpolitik, aber auch im Norden war der diplomatische und militärische Schutz durch Byzanz angesichts des Erdbebens und der damit verbundenen schweren Beeinträchtigung der Grenzverteidigung von Tripolis und Antiochia mehr denn je eine Notwendigkeit. Noch ehe dieses politische System erst in der Schlacht bei Myriokephalon 1176, dann im byzantinischen Lateinerpogrom von 1180 zusammenbrach, wurden die Franken fürs erste durch den Tod Nūr ad-Dīns 1174 gerettet, weil der politische Erbe Saladin Jahre benötigte, bis er sich von Ägypten und Damaskus aus auch Aleppo und Mosul unterworfen hatte.

Bisher war nichts darüber bekannt, wie die Nachricht von dem Erdbeben in den Westen gelangte. Natürlich brachten die Kaufleute und Pilger im Herbst Nachrichten mit. Der Klerus und die Ritterorden werden wie 1202 gleichfalls Mitteilung gemacht haben, aber all das ist verloren. Kürzlich aber hat Professor R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden) in der römischen Handschrift des Beda Venerabilis und des Guibert von Nogent (Vat. Reg. lat. 122 fol. 162^r–162^v) unter den Nachträgen noch einen bisher unbekannten und in

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[13]) Wilhelm von Tyrus S. 918.

[14]) Rudolf Hiestand, Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius II. Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter. Neue Folge (Abh. Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, N.F. 135, 1984) S. 227 n° 20.

[15]) RRH n° 488. Wilhelm von Tyrus S. 942, 946.

Wilmarts Handschriftenkatalog der lateinischen Reginenses nicht vermerkten Brief des Königs Amalrich von Jerusalem an Ludwig VII. von Frankreich gefunden, der von dem Erdbeben Meldung macht[16]. Der Brief enthält nichts außer dem Bericht über das Erdbeben und dem obligaten Ruf nach materieller und militärischer Unterstützung der Terra Sancta. Es werden nicht, wie dies sonst oft vorkam, noch weitere rezente Ereignisse erwähnt, die mit dem eigentlichen Zweck eines Briefes nichts zu tun hatten. Man kann also annehmen, daß der König seinen Brief sehr bald nach dem Ereignis aufsetzen ließ. Die großen Schiffskonvois des Frühjahrspassagiums wurden im September in Europa zurückerwartet[16a], so daß der Brief wohl im Juli oder August 1170 abgefaßt wurde.

Das Schreiben bestätigt das Bild der Chroniken. Auch hier treten die Verluste an Menschenleben und die Zerstörungen in Tripolis und an den Burgen im Tripolitanischen besonders hervor. Auch wird der Schaden an den Mauern von Antiochia hervorgehoben. Ohne wie die Chronisten ex eventu zu schreiben, erkannte der König illusionslos die schwere Gefährdung der tripolitanischen und antiochenischen Ostgrenze. Werde Antiochia und Tripolis nicht geholfen, so würden Tripolis, Archas, Ğabala, Latakia, Margat und Antiochia besetzt werden. Freilich deutete der König an, daß damit nicht sofort zu rechnen sei, weil auch die islamischen Nachbarn schwer getroffen worden seien. Aber im Prinzip verlangte er Hilfe.

In Europa ist der Brief wenig benutzt worden. Aber er mag, entweder als Parallelausfertigung an den Papst oder auf dem Umweg über den französischen Hof, die Kurie erreicht haben. Jedenfalls könnte er in JL 11952 benutzt worden sein. Alexander III. schrieb darin im Dezember 1170 oder 1171 an die Gläubigen in Frankreich, sicher habe man aus den Berichten der Reisenden schon von dem Unglück gehört, das er gleichwohl nochmals in Erinnerung rufe. Freilich sind die Anklänge an unseren Brief eher dürftig:

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[16]) Herr Kollege Huygens hat mir diesen Brief zur Edition überlassen und zum Text auch seinen philologischen Rat beigesteuert; für beides sei ihm herzlich gedankt.

[16a]) Ein venezianischer Darlehensvertrag aus Konstantinopel von Dezember 1158 sah Rückzahlung in Venedig vor *cum mudua navium, que venerit in Venecia de Constantinopoli aut de Alexandria in isto primo venturo septembre;* R. Morozzo della Rocca u. A. Lombardo, Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII, Bd. 1 (Documenti e studi per la storia del commercio e del diritto commerciale italiani 19, 1940) S. 133 n° 134.

Amalrich	Alexander III.
iusto, sepe tamen occulto, dei iudicio omnem fere in ea carnem suffocavit	*divino siquidem et occulto iudicio ingens hominum multitudo est suffocata*

Das können zufällige Anklänge sein, aber viel Raum dafür gab es in dem Papstbrief nicht, denn die Unterrichtung über das Erdbeben war nicht sein eigentlicher Zweck. Vielmehr waren Kanoniker aus Nazareth gekommen, die Klage geführt hatten, daß der Feind im Anschluß an das Beben ein großes und zahlreich bevölkertes Casale der Kirche von Nazareth besetzt und die Bewohner in Gefangenschaft verbracht habe. Dadurch sei das Stift so verarmt, daß die Kanoniker ohne Spenden aus dem Abendland die tägliche Kultfeier nicht mehr fortführen könnten. Das war natürlich maßlos übertrieben, aber vermutlich brauchte man Geld für den damals betriebenen Ausbau der Verkündigungskirche, einer der größten Kreuzfahrerkirchen.

Dagegen scheint der Brief Amalrichs im Osten selbst benutzt worden zu sein. Im Rituale der Grabeskirche, das heute in S. Sepolcro di Barletta aufbewahrt wird, finden sich Annalen, die mit dem Erdbeben von 1202 abbrechen. Hierin ist auch ein Eintrag über das Erdbeben von 1170, das mit Jahr und Apostelfest exakt datiert wird[17]. Die zerstörten Städte werden hier in derselben Reihung aufgeführt wie in unserem Brief, und diese ist mit Tripolis, Archas, Gabulum, Laodicia, Margat und Antiochia ja nicht in Ordnung. Sie folgt grob der Küste von Süden nach Norden, ordnet aber Margat falsch ein, denn es müßte vor Gabulum (Ǧabala) stehen[18]. Dies wird aus Amalrichs Brief stammen, dessen auffällige falsche Reihung damit textlich gesichert wird. Hierher mögen die Annalen auch die Zerstörung der antiochenischen Mauern und vieler „türkischer" Siedlungen bezogen haben.

Wie der Brief in die aus dem Besitz von Alexandre Petau stammende römische Handschrift geriet, ist nicht bekannt. Die Überlieferung wirft aber ein Problem auf. Man vermag nämlich nicht recht zu sehen, warum der Brief isoliert in der römischen Handschrift steht, dagegen fehlt in dem Briefcorpus von St.-Victor in Paris, dessen Grundstock für die Kreuzfahrerstaaten zurückgeht auf die Zusammenstellungen von Hugo von Champfleuri und insoweit Briefe aus der Zeit zwischen 1159 und 1172 umfaßte[19].

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[17]) Chronique de Terre Sainte (wie Anm. 2).

[18]) Die weit späteren Annales de Terre Sainte (wie Anm. 2) haben den Fehler korrigiert.

[19]) Der Brief fehlt nicht nur in Vat. Reg. lat. 179, sondern auch in der weitere Teile derselben Sammlung enthaltenden Hs. der Universitätsbibliothek Bologna 1232 aus dem

Hugo war seit 1159 Bischof von Soissons und von 1150 bis 1172 Kanzler des französischen Königs. Er stellte seine Sammlung ganz überwiegend aus dem Einlauf am königlichen Hof zusammen, während wenig Auslauf darunter ist. Er hat insgesamt sechs Briefe des Königs Amalrich an Ludwig VII. aufgenommen (RHH n° 382. 384. 394. 396. 411. 459). Den Brief von 1170 muß er gekannt haben.

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17. Jh. Daneben gab es eine weitere, heute verlorene Hs. aus St.-Victor, deren Inhalt überwiegend gedruckt wurde von Edmond M a r t è n e und Ursin D u r a n d, Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio 6 (1729) S. 218–279 und aus der André D u c h e s n e, Historiae Francorum scriptores 4 (1641) S. 762–770 seinem erstmaligen Druck von Reg. lat. 179 noch 21 Stücke hinzufügte. Von dieser verlorenen Hs. sind die Mss. Lat. 14615 und 14664 der Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris partielle Kopien des 17. Jh. Nirgends findet sich unser Brief. – Zu der Sammlung siehe jetzt vor allem Dietrich L o h r m a n n, Papsturkunden in Frankreich. Neue Folge 8: Diözese Paris 1. Urkunden und Briefsammlungen der Abteien Sainte-Geneviève und Saint-Victor (Abh. Göttingen, 3. Folge 174, 1989) S. 51 f., 68–113 (mit Hinweis auf weitere Handschriftenfragmente, in denen der Brief ebenfalls fehlt); Julius von P f l u g k - H a r t t u n g, Iter Italicum 1 (1883) S. 8–9, 142–144; Achille L u c h a i r e, Etude sur quelques manuscrits de Rome et de Paris (Université de Paris. Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres 8, 1899) S. 39–43, 99–145; Giuseppe K i r n e r, Di alcuni documenti del secolo XII concernenti le chiese francesi, Studi storici 9 (1900) S. 93–121, 241–276; Andreas W i l m a r t, Codices Reginenses Latini 1 (1937) S. 419–430. – Die Entstehung der Sammlung kann noch nicht als vollständig aufgehellt gelten, was teilweise damit zusammenhängt, daß Gleiches auch vom Ende Hugos von Champfleuri gilt (Zu seiner Person vgl. Dom B r i a l in: B o u q u e t, Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France 16 [1813] S. 1 f.; Histoire littéraire de France 13 [1869] S. 536–541, noch immer die beste Biographie und besser als die einschlägigen Lexikonartikel; Achille L u c h a i r e, Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII [1885] S. 57 f.; Georges T e s s i e r, Diplomatique royale française [1962] S. 133 f. Ganz ungenügend ist Lucien P e r r i c h e t, La Grande Chancellerie de France des origines à 1328 [1912] S. 504 f.). Wie schon sein Vorgänger im Kanzleramt Etienne de Garlande kumulierte Hugo als Kanzler Pfründe über Pfründe und hatte Positionen in Arras, Paris, Orléans und Soissons (vgl. JL 10126. 10339. 10340. 10473. 10516. 10518. 10520. 10521. 10522 allein aus dem Pontifikat Hadrians IV.). Das mußte ihm Feinde schaffen. Alexander III. brauchte ihn anfänglich im Schisma und versicherte ihm noch 1167, er werde es niemals dulden, daß er seiner Ämter verlustig gehe. Später fiel er beim König aus unbekannten Gründen in Ungnade, wohl auf päpstlichen Druck, denn im März (1171 oder 1172) wies Alexander III. den Erzbischof von Reims an, dafür zu sorgen, daß Hugo die Kanzlei niederlege und sich seinem Bischofsamt widme (JL 12004; B o u q u e t, Recueil 15, 904 n° 304). Das Schreiben gehört eher zu März 1172 als März 1171, da Hugo nach dem 16. April 1172 noch als Kanzler amtierte (L u c h a i r e, a.a.O.). Eine kurzfristige Kanzleivakanz 1170, die das Fehlen des Briefes in der Sammlung von St.-Victor erklären könnte, ist höchstwahrscheinlich ein gelehrter Irrtum (Léopold D e l i s l e, Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste [1856] S. LXXXVII.). Hugo zog sich nach seinem Sturz nach St.-Victor zurück, wo er 1175 starb. Noch auf dem Totenbett beteuerte er seine Unschuld, und der König war sich nicht zu gut, ihn in extremis zu besuchen (B o u q u e t, Recueil 16, 161 n° 679).

Aber obwohl das Schreiben in der Sammlung fehlt, ist es gleichwohl echt, denn das Formular ist unanfechtbar. Es mag am Ende leicht unvollständig sein, jedenfalls enden die anderen Briefe Amalrichs an Ludwig meist mit *Valete* oder mit Ort und Tag, aber immerhin hört RRH n° 394 von 1164 ebenso schmucklos auf wie unser Brief. Das Diktat unseres Briefes folgt dem Muster der anderen Schreiben Amalrichs. Der Empfänger wird vorausgestellt und erhält nach einer Devotionsformel den Titel *Francorum rex* mit einem Epitheton. Meist folgt der Adresse noch eine Schmeichelei wie hier *domino et patri karissimo,* womit zu vergleichen ist *patri in Christo karissimo* (RRH n° 411) und *patri et amico suo karissimo* (RRH n° 459). Danach kommt die stets unveränderliche Absenderbezeichnung als *A. per eandem (gratiam) Ierosolimorum rex* und die Grußformel *salutem (et dilectionem* oder *et veri amoris inditium).*

Die für den französischen König in Amalrichs Briefen verwendeten Epitheta weisen eine erhebliche Variationsbreite auf und nur in unserem Brief wird er *christianissimus Francorum rex* genannt. Überwiegend ist der Ehrentitel des „roi très chrétien" ein Produkt der Propagandisten Philipps des Schönen, mit dem es dann im Hundertjährigen Krieg erst recht steil bergauf ging, aber seit 1163 erscheint er in der päpstlichen Korrespondenz, ebenso verwendete ihn Johann von Salisbury mehrfach in seiner um 1165 verfaßten Historia pontificalis, und bald darauf folgte ihm Wilhelm von Tyrus[20]. Aber man sollte in unserem Brief nicht ein frühes Zeugnis für diese Heraushebung des französischen Königs sehen, sondern der Gebrauch war hier eher unbewußt wie im D. 126 Philipps I. von Frankreich von 1092, wo der Ausdruck auf Karl den Kahlen und die Königin von England gemünzt wurde. Nicht nur kommt die Bezeichnung für Ludwig VII. in Amalrichs Briefen nur einmal vor, sondern wird auch in RRH n° 384 von 1163 für Amalrichs eigenen Bruder verwendet: *dominus et frater rex christianissimus Balduinus.* Für Amalrich war Ludwig VII. ein guter Christ – wie andere Menschen auch.

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[20]) Noel V a l o i s, Le roi très chrétien, in: Alfred B a u d r i l l a r t, La France chrétienne dans l'histoire (14e Centenaire du Baptême de Clovis, 1896) S. 314–327; Jean d e P a n g e, Le roi très chrétien (1949); Joseph S t r a y e r, France: the Holy Land, the Chosen People and the Most Christian King, in: Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe. Essays in Memory of E. R. Harbison, hg. Theodor K. R a b b u. Jerrold E. S e i g e l (1969) S. 3–16 (alle unvollständig in den Belegen). – Johann von Salisbury, Historia pontificalis, hg. Marjorie C h i b n a l l (1956) S. 2, 11, 52, 57. Wilhelm von Tyrus S. 1011.

Text

König Amalrich von Jerusalem unterrichtet den König Ludwig VII. von Frankreich über das Erdbeben vom 29. Juni (1170) in den nördlichen Kreuzfahrerstaaten und weist auf die dadurch bedingten Gefahren für Antiochia und Tripolis hin. *(1170 Juli/August).*

Abschrift aus dem Ende des 12. Jh. als Anhang zu der Kreuzzugschronik des Guibert von Nogent: Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica, Reg. lat. 122, fol. 162^{r}–162^{v} (D). – Ungedruckt.

L(udovico) dei gratia christianissimo Francorum regi, domino et patri karissimo, A(malricus) per eandem gratiam Iherosolimorum rex salutem. Cotidianis, quibus Orientalis ecclesia usque ad sui defectum contunditur, inimicorum infestationibus, inusitata celitus iusto, sepe tamen occulto, dei iudicio ⟨accessit⟩ calamitas. In passione namque apostolorum Petri et Pauli subitus et hactenus inauditus terre motus totam Tripolim funditus delevit et omnem fere in ea[a)] carnem suffocavit. Similiter Margat, Gabulum, Laodiciam[b)] et omnia pene castella et civitates, que sunt a Tripoli usque Anthiochiam[c)], miro et ineffabili modo excussit, ut nec edificiorum vestigia appareant. In Anthiochia quoque, quod non sine gravi gemitu loquimur, edificiorum et domuum, que ferme omnes corruerunt, discidium tacentes[d)], tanta murorum ruina facta est, ut inreparabilis esse videatur et sit. Constat ergo quia Anthiochia ⟨et⟩ Tripolis cum provintiis sibi suffraganeis, nisi celitus ei⟨s⟩[e)] subveniatur, ab inimicis crucis Christi occupabuntur: Tripolis, Archas, Gibellum, Laodicia, Margat[f)] et Anthiochia. Sed deo disponente terra gentilium miserabilius tota dissipata est urbesque ⟨et⟩ munitiones non sine suorum occisione latius deiecte.

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a) Danach ist iuventutem *getilgt D;* omnem ... carnem *wird gestützt durch den biblischen Anklang Gen. 6,17 (u. ö.):* ut interficiam omnem carnem. *b) davor ist* Lod *getilgt D.* *c) danach folgt ungetilgt* ram et *D.* *d)* tacentes] *Nominativus absolutus.* *e) will man* ei *stehen lassen, so gerät man in Konflikt mit* Anthiochia ⟨et⟩ Tripolis, *aber eine gänzlich befriedigende Heilung des mindestens sehr ungelenken, eher aber verderbten Satzes scheint nicht möglich.* *f)* Margant *D.*

VIII

Vier jerusalemitanische Königsurkunden für Pisa: echt, gefälscht oder verunechtet?

In einem wie stets sehr förderlichen und generell scharfsinnigen Aufsatz über die mittelalterliche Topographie des Hafens und der Stadt Akkon hat David Jacoby von vier jerusalemitanischen Königsurkunden für Pisa, die sich mit dem pisanischen Quartier in Akkon befassen, die Meinung vertreten, daß sie, wenn nicht ganz gefälscht, so doch mindestens verunechtet seien, und zwar um den Pisanern ein größeres Quartier in der levantinischen Hafenstadt zu verschaffen als ihnen zustand, insbesondere aber ein Quartier, das ihnen – zu Unrecht – einen direkten Zugang zum westlichen Hafen Akkons verschafft hätte[1]. In diesem von der *catena,* der Hafensperrkette, verschlossenen Westhafen wurden die Importe angelandet und die Exporte verschifft, allerdings nur mit flachgehenden Leichterbooten, weil der Westhafen nicht genügend Tiefgang für seegehende Schiffe besaß. Diese ankerten vielmehr in dem dem Westhafen vorgelagerten Osthafen[2]. Nach der Hafensperrkette hieß dann auch die königliche Behörde am Becken des Westhafens, bei der die Importe und Exporte abgefertigt wurden, Catena.

Bei den von Jacoby untersuchten Diplomen handelt es sich um folgende Stücke:

1) RRH n° 449 des Königs Amalrich von 1168;
2) RRH n° 617 des Königs Balduin IV. von 1182;

Abkürzung:
RRH = Reinhold RÖHRICHT, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (1893).

1) David JACOBI, Crusader Acre in the Thirteenth Century: Urban Layout and Topography, Studi Medievali, 3ª serie 20 (1979) S. 1–45, 3 Abb., 1 Karte. Meine vorliegende Arbeit befaßt sich ganz überwiegend mit S. 19–24 dieses Aufsatzes. Auf diese sechs Seiten wird in den Anmerkungen nur noch verwiesen, wenn es unbedingt notwendig ist, ansonsten wird Jacobys Aufsatz nur dann zitiert, wenn andere Teile benutzt werden.

2) Zum Hafen von Akkon im allgemeinen und zu der Scheidung von West- und Osthafen und zu deren Funktionen vgl. ebd. S. 8–14. Über das Leichtern Jonathan RILEY-SMITH, The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277 (1973) S. 92.

3) RRH n° 668 des Markgrafen Konrad von Montferrat vom Oktober 1187;

4) RRH n° 684 des Königs Guido von Lusignan von 1189, in der Sache eine Bestätigung von Nr. 3.

Jacoby hat sich mit den formalen Aspekten der vier Diplome überhaupt nicht befaßt, sondern rein vom Sachinhalt her argumentiert. Ich werde mich deshalb hier auf diesen Aspekt beschränken, wobei gleich vorwegzunehmen ist, daß es bei Jacobys Verdächtigung dieser Urkunden nicht bleiben kann. Ich habe aber für alle vier Stücke den schon vor langem vorgenommenen Diktatvergleich nochmals nachgearbeitet und bin zu unveränderten Resultaten gekommen, die ich detailliert in der Kanzleigeschichte der Urkunden des Königreichs Jerusalem vorführen werde. Formal sind alle vier Diplome zur Gänze einwandfreies Diktat der Königskanzlei bzw. der Gegenkanzlei Konrads von Montferrat und damit formal echt. Es sind nicht die geringsten Ansätze für die von Jacoby vermuteten Verunechtungen bei den innerstädtischen Territorialkonzessionen zu sehen. Weder bricht an irgendeiner Stelle das Kanzleidiktat zugunsten eines kanzleifremden Diktats ab, noch sind unsaubere Nahtstellen oder ähnliches zu erkennen.

Die ersten beiden Diplome lassen sich kürzer abhandeln als die letzten beiden, obwohl gerade beim ersten als einzigem wenigstens ein gewisser sachlicher Ansatzpunkt für Jacobys Kritik zu erkennen ist, denn dieses Stück, welches das pisanische Quartier in Akkon begründete, weist in der Tat eine topographische Schwierigkeit auf. Der Stein des Anstoßes ist für Jacoby auch hier, daß es das pisanische Quartier im Osten direkt an den Hafen angrenzen läßt. Er ist der Meinung, daß dies den königlichen Interessen so sehr widersprach, daß man nicht davon ausgehen dürfe, daß die Könige eine solche Konzession jemals gemacht hätten. Die Umschreibung des pisanischen Quartiers sei also gefälscht. Das Argument kann für sich allein nicht bestehen, man wird dies unten bei RRH n° 617 erst recht sehen, und Jacoby versucht denn auch, die Interpolation aus sachlichen Unstimmigkeiten des Passus abzuleiten, methodisch natürlich ein richtiges Verfahren. Es läßt sich zeigen, daß König Guido wenigstens die Behörde der königlichen Catena, die Konrad von Montferrat aus der Hand gegeben hatte, der Krone als unentbehrlich vorbehielt (unten S. 153). Aber die Behörde erstreckte sich räumlich ja nur auf einen Teil der Hafenfront, so daß der Umstand, daß der König diesen Bau natürlich in der eigenen Hand behalten wollte, nicht auszuschließen braucht, daß ein italienisches Quartier neben der Catena dennoch an das Hafenbecken angrenzen konnte. Pisa hat dieses Ziel auch anderswo verfolgt und erreicht. In Tyrus gewährten sowohl Konrad von Montferrat wie Guido von Lusignan 1187 und 1189 und in Jaffa wenig-

stens Konrad 1187 den Pisanern den freien Zugang zum Hafen, ohne daß Jacoby deshalb gegen diese Diplome argumentierte[3].

In RRH n° 449 von 1168 schenkte König Amalrich den Pisanern in Akkon *unam petiam terre iuxta ecclesiam sancte Anne supra portum Acconensem.* Das Stück Land maß an der Straßenfront 16 *cannae.* Den hier zitierten entscheidenden Passus, der auch die Schwierigkeiten enthält, übersetzt Jacoby als ein Stück Land „close to the church of St. Anne in the vicinity of the harbour". Nun heißt *supra portum* sicherlich mehr als nur dies, es heißt am Hafen, nicht nur in dessen Nähe. Es wird ja ausdrücklich gesagt, daß dieses Gelände zum Hafen hin eine *canna* tiefer sei als die anderen Häuser am Hafen (*versus portum plus una canna quam relique domus portus*), worunter doch nun wirklich nur Häuser verstanden werden können, die direkt am Hafen lagen; was anders sollen denn *domus portus* sonst sein? Zur Verdeutlichung sei aber noch Amalrichs Diplom RRH n° 412 von 1165 für die Pisaner in Tyrus zitiert. Dort erhielten sie *spacium illud terre, quod est supra portum Tyri inter civitatis domus et aquam portus.* Dieses Stück Land erstreckte sich ganz klar bis direkt an das tyrensische Hafenbecken und wurde gleichzeitig *supra portum* lokalisiert. Es sollte den Pisanern als Stapelplatz für ihre Waren dienen, weshalb der König ein allgemeines Bebauungsverbot dafür erließ. Nun erfahren wir aber aus demselben Diplom, daß dieses Land bereits bebaut war. Das alte Haus wurde abgerissen und der Vorbesitzer mit 400 Byzantinern entschädigt. Aber nicht der König, der nach Jacoby die Hafenfront unbedingt im Kronbesitz halten wollte, war der Vorbesitzer, sondern der Seneschalk des Erzbischofs von Tyrus. Es geht also nicht an, a priori abzustreiten, daß die Pisaner in Akkon jemals direkten Zugang zum Hafen gehabt haben könnten, und auf dieser nicht nur unbewiesenen, sondern mindestens für die analogen Fälle in Tyrus und Jaffa nachweislich verkehrten Prämisse die Schlußfolgerung aufzubauen, die Texte seien im Fall von Akkon interpoliert.

Es gibt aber in RRH n° 449 eine andere, genuine Schwierigkeit topographischer Natur, in der Tat die einzig wirklich relevante, die von Jacoby auch genau erkannt wurde. Das von Amalrich geschenkte Stück Land soll auf der einen Seite *supra portum Acconensem* gelegen haben, auf der anderen Seite aber

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3) Unten S. 147, vgl. auch S. 149. Vgl. ferner RRH n° 292 (Pisa): *terram ad construendam domum in portu civitatis Laodiciae, quae terra extenditur ... usque ad mare*; RRH n° 322 (Pisa): *in ruga iuxta portum quinque domos*; RRH n° 55 (Genua): *terciam partem Tripolis ... cum insulis ipsius civitatis et portu.* Topographisch unklar ist RRH n° 402 (Venedig).

iuxta ecclesiam sancte Anne. Diese Kirche lag im östlichen Teil des Templerquartiers, das seinerseits insgesamt an der südwestlichen Ecke der Altstadt von Akkon lag. Östlich des Templerquartiers lag dann das pisanische Quartier des 13. Jahrhunderts[4]. Die in RRH n° 449 skizzierte Lage des Grundstücks sei unmöglich, meint Jacoby. Es könne, da nur 16 *cannae* (Jacoby: 32 Meter) lang, nicht gleichzeitig am Hafen und bei St. Anna gelegen haben, denn die Kirche habe weit vom Hafen entfernt gelegen. Das klingt zunächst plausibel und bleibt eine Schwierigkeit, die zu Hypothesen zwingt. Gleichwohl ist der Sachverhalt keineswegs so klar, wie er sich Jacoby darstellt. Die *canna* in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten war ca. 2,2 Meter lang[5], d. h. 16 *cannae* waren 35,2 Meter. Ein Grundstück dieser Länge konnte in der Tat nicht gleichzeitig an den Hafen und an St. Anna angrenzen, auch wenn man sich klarmachen muß, daß Akkon keine große Stadt war. Das wird nämlich bei Jacoby an dieser Stelle nicht klar. Die weiteste Entfernung von West nach Ost beträgt im hier tangierten Südteil Akkons vom westlichsten Punkt des Templerquartiers bis zum nordöstlichsten Punkt des Westhafens auf Jacobys eigener Karte ca. 450 Meter, bis zum südwestlichsten Punkt des Westhafens nur 300 Meter. Diese zweite Linie verläuft südlich der ersten, und es ist klar, daß man das Grundstück mehr auf dieser Höhe suchen muß als auf der ersten. Mehr als 350 Meter Stadtbreite wird man hier nicht unterstellen dürfen. Davon aber muß man im Westen, um St. Anna zu erreichen, den größten Teil des Templerquartiers abziehen, dessen Breite Jacoby mit maximal 200 Metern kartierte. Wenigstens 100 Meter wird man also abziehen müssen, so daß die noch zur Verfügung stehende Restbreite der Stadt zwischen St. Anna und dem Hafen, in der das Grundstück mit seinen 32 bis 35 Metern lag, nur ca. 250 Meter betrug. Das gibt der Angabe „neben der Kirche St. Anna am Hafen" schon ein anderes Gesicht als Jacobys Interpretation, daß St. Anna „far removed from the harbour" war. Denn wer diese For-

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4) Zur Lage des Templerquartiers und des pisanischen Quartiers des 13. Jh. siehe JACOBY (wie Anm. 1), Karte, und die israelische Regierungspublikation: Acre. The Old City. Survey and Planning (der sog. Kesten Report, 1962) S. 19–21, 54 f. und Karten 2, 3 und 17. Zur Lage der Annenkirche siehe Gestes des Chiprois § 501, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Documents arméniens 2, 814 f. und F. M. ABEL, Le couvent des Frères Prêcheurs à Saint-Jean d'Acre, Revue Biblique 43 (1934) 271 f.

5) Zur Länge der *canna* siehe die Literatur bei JACOBY (wie Anm. 1) S. 20 Anm. 95 sowie Jean RICHARD, Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles) (Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 73, 1962) S. 20. Sicher ist nur die Länge der *canna* von Zypern, doch wird man dieses Maß auf Akkon übertragen dürfen.

mulierung liest und die topographischen Verhältnisse nicht gut kennt, wird sehr leicht in ganz anderen Entfernungen denken.

Immerhin entwerten diese Berechnungen die Zweifel Jacobys noch nicht. Nun waren aber 16 *cannae* nicht die Ausdehnung des Grundstücks zwischen Kirche und Hafen, sondern in der anderen Richtung *secus viam,* d. h. von Süden nach Norden. Die hier allein interessierende Ausdehnung in der Ost-Westrichtung wird überhaupt nicht angegeben. Hierüber wird nur ausgesagt, daß das Land in dieser Richtung (*versus portum*) eine *canna* länger gewesen sei als die übrigen Häuser am Hafen. Jacoby scheint an ein annähernd quadratisches Grundstück gedacht zu haben, etwa 16 *cannae* in der einen Richtung und 17 *cannae* in der anderen. Das ist zwar möglich, aber ein rechteckiges Grundstück ist wahrscheinlicher. Die wertvollere Seite des Grundstücks war ja diejenige, die auf der einen Seite am Hafen lag, auf der anderen an einer Straßenfront, weshalb eben auch für diese beiden Fronten und nicht in der anderen Richtung die Länge mit 16 *cannae* genau vermessen wurde. Der Hafen ist schon für das 10. Jh. bezeugt[6], und schon in der Vorkreuzzugszeit muß die Lage am Hafen die Gestalt dieser natürlich vielbegehrten Grundstücke und damit die Straßenführung bedingt und zu gleichen Resultaten geführt haben wie überall in vergleichbaren Lagen: Grundstücke, die schmal waren, aber tief. Man darf durchaus annehmen, daß das Stück Land in der Ost-Westrichtung spürbar mehr als 16 *cannae* hatte, wenn es bereits in der Nord-Südrichtung so viel hatte. Hierauf führt auch eine andere Betrachtung. Eine annähernd quadratische Gestalt von 16 × 17 *cannae* ergäbe bei 2,2 Metern pro *canna* eine Gesamtfläche von 35,2 × 37,4 = 1316 Quadratmetern. Darauf sollte aber nicht nur eine *domus* gebaut werden, die Jacoby zu Recht als eine Art von öffentlichem Gebäude anspricht, eben ein Khan für den Handel, sondern dazu noch eine Kirche, und dafür waren dann reichlich 1300 Quadratmeter doch etwas wenig. Würde man die Tiefe des Grundstücks dagegen mit ca. 50 Metern annehmen, also etwas kleiner als das größte Gebäude in dieser Ausdehnung, der heutige Khan al-ᶜUmdān, in dem Jacoby sicherlich mit Recht die königliche Catena sieht, dann käme man wenigstens schon auf ca. 1750 Quadratmeter und hätte auch längenmäßig schon ein Fünftel der maximalen Entfernung zwischen dem Hafen und St. Anna überbrückt.

Aber es gibt noch eine ganz andere Möglichkeit, die man viel ernsthafter in Erwägung ziehen muß. Die einzige uns bekannte Lokalisierung von St. Anna

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6) al-Muquaddasi, Aḥsan at-tāqasīm fi maᶜrifat al-aqālīm (La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces), übers. von André MIQUEL (1963) S. 181 f.

im östlichen Teil des Templerquartiers gilt für das Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts; niedergeschrieben wurde sie erst im 14. Jahrhundert. Es ist überhaupt nicht gesagt, daß St. Anna 1168, als Amalrich den Pisanern ihr Quartier in Akkon schenkte, an derselben Stelle lag wie Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts. St. Anna war ein hauptstädtischer Nonnenkonvent, der in engen Beziehungen zum Königshaus stand. In Jerusalem bauten die Nonnen eine sehr große Kirche von etwas über 30 Metern Innenlänge, die heute noch steht. Bis zum Verlust Jerusalems 1187 brauchten sie in Akkon lediglich eine Kapelle. Ab 1191 aber mußten sie in Akkon residieren, unterbrochen wohl von den Jahren 1229–1244. Bauland wurde in Akkon zwangsläufig knapper, als nach 1191 die gesamte geistliche und weltliche Spitze des Landes, die zuvor in Jerusalem residiert hatte, in Akkon zusammengedrängt wurde, gemeinsam mit anderen hauptstädtischen Klöstern. Es ist ganz eindeutig, daß dies nach der Rückeroberung Akkons 1191 zu umfangreichen Besitzverschiebungen in der Stadt führte. Favreau-Lilie hat gezeigt, wie in dieser Zeit der große Johanniterkomplex an der Nordmauer geschaffen wurde und wie das alte armenische Hospiz jetzt durch das deutsche Feldspital okkupiert wurde. Jacoby selbst rechnet aus diesen Gründen mit der Vergrößerung oder dem Neubau zahlreicher Gebäude in der Stadt[7]. Es wäre durchaus möglich, daß die Nonnen von St. Anna eine ältere kleine Kapelle in Akkon auf immer wertvoller werdendem Land nicht weit vom Hafen verkauft und sich dafür einen größeren, ihren Bedürfnissen angemessenen Neubau (Gestes des Chiprois § 501 über St. Anna: *mout noble yglise et haute*) weiter westlich gebaut hätten. Auch das bleibt natürlich Hypothese, die freilich einen erheblichen Vorteil gegenüber Jacobys Erklärung hat. Wenn nämlich, wie er meint, die in RRH n° 449 geschilderte Lage des Grundstücks unmöglich ist, dann ist nicht einzusehen, warum der postulierte Fälscher sie in sein Falsifikat überhaupt hineinbrachte, denn wo St. Anna zu seiner Zeit lag, konnte er durch einen kurzen Spaziergang herausfinden. War dagegen St. Anna nach 1191 verlegt worden, so ist klar, wie in RRH n° 449 – bezogen auf die Verhältnisse des 13. Jahrhunderts – eine „unmögliche" Grenzbeschreibung des Grundstücks herauskam.

Noch rascher erledigt ist RRH n° 617, mit dem Balduin IV. 1182 das pisanische Quartier um eine Piazza am Hafen (*ad portum Achon*) erweiterte, auf der die Pisaner lediglich Einwölbungen errichten durften. Über diesen Gewölben durften sie nach Belieben Oberstockwerke bauen, unter den Einwölbungen

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7) Marie-Luise FAVREAU, Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens (Kieler Historische Studien 21, 1974) S. 44–46, 55 f. JACOBY (wie Anm. 1) S. 44.

aber mußte die Piazza anderweitig unbebaut und für die Zwecke sowohl der Pisaner wie der Stadt Akkon nutzbar bleiben. Bei RRH n° 617 führt selbst Jacoby kein irgendwie aus dem Text gewonnenes Argument mehr gegen die Echtheit der Grenzumschreibung der Piazza vor, sondern die Echtheit wird lediglich bezweifelt, weil nicht sein kann, was nicht sein darf: ein direkter pisanischer Zugang zum Hafen. Die Grenzumschreibung ist aber eindeutig und zeigt im übrigen ein Gelände, das ebenso begrenzt war wie dasjenige aus RRH n° 449: im Osten vom Hafen, im Westen von einer öffentlichen Straße, im Norden und Süden jeweils von einem Haus, was den *domus portus* aus RRH n° 449 entspricht: „Das eine Ende (*caput*) dieser Piazza ist von der öffentlichen Straße her, das andere vom Hafen (*a portu*) her, die eine Seite ist vom Haus des Martin Piper, die andere vom Haus des Wilhelm von Jaffa her". Es steht ganz außer Frage, daß diese Piazza an den Hafen angrenzte und wegen der Parallelität der Lage dann auch das Grundstück aus RRH n° 449. Daß sich dieser Text Jacobys Vorstellungen nicht fügt, ist wirklich kein Grund, ihn für gefälscht zu halten, zumal immer wieder darauf hingewiesen werden muß, daß Pisa andernorts den Zugang zum Hafenbecken nachweislich erreicht hat, ohne daß dies Jacoby gestört hätte.

Umständlicher gestaltet sich die Untersuchung von RRH n° 668.684 Konrads von Montferrat und Guidos von Lusignan, weil Jacoby hier zusätzlich zu dem Umstand, daß die darin enthaltenen innerstädtischen Landschenkungen wieder den Pisanern den Zugang zum Hafen gewähren, noch vier weitere Argumente gegen die Echtheit dieser Passagen anführt:

1) die Ausdehnung des in RRH n° 668.684 versprochenen pisanischen Quartiers sei völlig unrealistisch;

2) die inkriminierten Urkunden existierten nicht als Originale, sondern nur als Kopien;

3) die Urkunden seien auf Geheiß ausgerechnet des pisanischen Konsuls in Akkon von dem pisanischen Notar Benencasa kopiert worden, und zwar RRH n° 449.684 im März 1248, RRH n° 617.668 im März 1249 (so Jacoby fälschlich), was in Zusammenhang gebracht wird mit der Erwartung der Ankunft Ludwigs des Hl. 1248 und der Anwesenheit seiner Delegierten in Akkon 1249;

4) 1248 und 1249 habe man den Kopien dieser Urkunden durch einen Notar öffentliche Glaubwürdigkeit verleihen lassen[8].

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8) Die vier Urkunden, ja alle 33 damals von dem Notar Benencasa kopierten Urkunden für Pisa sind in Wahrheit im März und April 1248 abgeschrieben worden. Jacoby hat übersehen, daß wegen des pisanischen Jahreswechsels am 25. März und des in den

Das zweite Argument ist kurios, denn das Nichtvorhandensein von Originalen kann beim besten Willen nicht als Indiz für eine Fälschung oder eine Verunechtung gelten[9], sonst wären ja 90 Prozent unserer urkundlichen Überlieferung, weil nur kopial überliefert, verfälscht. Wer fälschen ließ, wollte doch keine Kopien, sondern angebliche Originale; die akkonensischen Fälschungen für Marseille sind ein Beispiel dafür. Daß sie später noch zur Inserierung in Papsturkunden vorgelegt wurden, steht natürlich auf einem anderen Blatt. Jacoby meint, es sei ziemlich verdächtig, daß es von den inkriminierten Stücken keine Originale, sondern nur spätere Kopien gebe. Daraus muß man nach der Logik des Arguments schließen, daß die Fälschung einer Urkunde dann auszuschließen ist, wenn ein Original vorliegt. Das ist schon richtig, aber nur wenn das Original nach den äußeren Merkmalen zweifelsfrei ist. Angebliche Originale, die es ja in nicht geringer Zahl gibt, werden von dem Argument überhaupt nicht erfaßt. Es gibt angebliche Originale, sogar gekonnt gemachte, die unecht sind, und es gibt natürlich ganze Legionen nur kopial überlieferter Urkunden,

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Beglaubigungen durchweg eigens vermerkten *calculus Pisanus* die nach dem 24. März 1248 kopierten Urkunden bereits das Inkarnationsjahr 1249 tragen, deshalb haben auch alle Kopien des Benencasa die 6. Indiktion (September 1247 – September 1248). Deshalb kann man unmöglich mit Jacoby die Kopien von angeblich 1249 in Verbindung bringen mit der Anwesenheit von Gesandten Ludwigs IX. von Frankreich in Akkon im Februar und März 1249. Und es ist auch unwahrscheinlich, daß sie, wie Jacoby wenigstens für die von ihm 1248 angesetzten Kopien meint, mit dem bevorstehenden Kreuzzug Ludwigs zusammenhingen. Ludwig brach von Aigues-Mortes aus zwar erst am 25. August 1248 auf, hatte aber bereits 1246 in Genua und Marseille für den Sommer 1247 Schiffe gechartert (Hans E. MAYER, Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonensisches Fälscheratelier des 13. Jahrhunderts [Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 38, 1972] S. 93 f.; Jean RICHARD, Saint Louis, roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre Sainte [1983] S. 182, 199), so daß man pisanische vorbeugende Fälschungen schon aus dem Frühjahr 1247 erwarten müßte. Überdies war der französische König nicht Pisa, sondern Genua verpflichtet, denn dort und in Marseille hatte er Schiffe gechartert, während in Pisa lediglich Marseillaiser zusätzliche Tonnage ankauften. Auch die Kopie Benencasas von RRH n° 775 des Bischofs von Akkon für Pisa stammt nicht von 1249 (so JACOBY S. 22 Anm. 107), sondern von 1248, und verstärkt die Fälschungsthese nicht, denn wenn Innocenz IV. RRH n° 775 im Juni 1247 für ungültig erklärt hatte (Reg. d'Innocent IV n° 2801), brauchte dies im Orient im Frühjahr 1248 wegen der ab Herbst ruhenden Schiffahrt noch nicht bekannt zu sein, wäre aber ohnedies kein Fälschungsindiz, denn natürlich würde Pisa an der Kurie gegen die päpstliche Entscheidung vorgehen und brauchte dazu eine Kopie der kassierten Urkunde.

9) So schon Marie-Luise FAVREAU-LILIE, Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom Ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (maschinenschriftl. Habilitationsschrift Kiel 1983) S. 674.

die vollständig echt sind. Die ersteren halten der Untersuchung der äußeren Merkmale letztlich nicht stand, obgleich die Scheidung eines gut gemachten Falsifikates von einer gekonnten Nachzeichnung zu den schwierigsten Aufgaben der Diplomatik gehören kann. Die letzteren, nämlich die Kopien echter Urkunden, müssen formal dadurch als echt erwiesen werden, daß sie der Kritik der inneren Merkmale standhalten. Andere als diese beschwerlichen Wege kann man in der Diplomatik nicht mit Aussicht auf Erfolg gehen. Im übrigen ist es ja nicht so, daß es keine Originale der inkriminierten Urkunden gegeben hätte. Vielmehr wird ihr Vorhandensein in den notariellen Bestätigungsvermerken ausdrücklich versichert und die Siegel werden richtig beschrieben.

Das dritte und das vierte Argument sind im Grunde nur eines. Der pisanische Konsul in Akkon ordnete die Abschreibeaktion an, der dortige Notar nahm sie vor. Das dokumentiert natürlich pisanisches Interesse an der Aktion, aber dieses ist einheitlicher Natur und nicht beim Konsul ein anderes als beim Notar. Ein Notar wird ja niemals von sich aus tätig, sondern bedarf immer des Auftrags. Indem Jacoby diesen als Einheit zu sehenden Tatbestand in zwei zerlegt, behauptet er das Vorhandensein von vier Argumenten, wo es in Wahrheit nur drei gibt. Das spricht nicht gerade dafür, daß er von seiner eigenen These zutiefst überzeugt war. Die ganze Abschreibeaktion zeugt ohnehin nicht für eine Verunechtung der vier Diplome, denn sie war weit umfassender. Es wurde damals ja die Mehrzahl der levantinischen Urkunden Pisas abgeschrieben, von denen wir auch die noch nie verdächtigten ohne den Konsul und seinen Notar überwiegend nicht besäßen. Was hier passierte, ist vergleichbar mit der Anlage eines Kopialbuches, wie sie Genua mit den *Libri iurium*, Venedig mit den *Libri pactorum* und dem *Liber albus* vornahm, allerdings gesamtstaatlich und nicht auf die Levante beschränkt. Soweit wir wissen, hat es städtische Chartulare in Pisa nie gegeben, aber man konnte mit notariell beglaubigten Kopien den Zweck eines Chartulars noch besser erreichen, weil die Zweitschriften durch die notarielle Beglaubigung öffentliche Glaubwürdigkeit erhielten. Auf eine solche rein beweissichernde Aktion kostbarer Rechtstitel deutet schon die Menge der (zweifelsfrei echten wie verdächtigten) kopierten Urkunden hin: der Notar Benencasa hat 1248, soweit wir wissen, 33 Urkunden abgeschrieben. In dieselbe Richtung weist der Umstand, daß die erhaltenen Kopien nicht für die Prozesse im Osten hergestellt wurden, wo man nach Jacobys Theorie widerrechtlich angemaßte Rechtspositionen hätte durchsetzen müssen. Vielmehr gingen sie nach Pisa, wo sie heute noch im Staatsarchiv liegen. Wollte man also Jacoby bei seiner Interpolationsthese überhaupt folgen, so müßte man außer den erhaltenen Kopien noch jeweils zwei weitere Überlieferungen postulieren:

das ursprüngliche Original ohne die Interpolation und wenigstens eine weitere beglaubigte Kopie der interpolierten Stücke, tunlichst aber deren angebliche Originale. Die methodisch einfachere und daher zu bevorzugende Annahme ist doch, daß hier überhaupt keine Interpolationen vorlagen, sondern der heimischen Stadtverwaltung ein Überblick über ihre urkundliche Position in der Levante verschafft wurde. Das erfordert dann nur noch die Annahme zweier Überlieferungen, eines im Osten verbliebenen Originals und der nach Pisa abgelieferten Kopie. Genua ließ seine auswärtigen Pacta, darunter die levantinischen Urkunden, 1229 von dem Notar Atto Placentinus in einem Register sammeln, Venedig hat sich natürlich Kopien des Pactum Warmundi besorgt, das seine Rechtsposition im Osten begründete. Die älteste und beste dieser Kopien in der Biblioteca Marciana, die bisher stets für ein Original gehalten wurde, ist eine Nachzeichnung. Diese Urkunde deshalb hinsichtlich ihrer Echtheit zu verdächtigen, ist aber noch niemandem eingefallen.

Es ist Jacobys These auch nicht sonderlich förderlich, daß die Herstellung der Kopien von 1248 keineswegs die erste Aktion dieser Art war, sondern daß der pisanische Notar Bonaccursus in geringem Umfang bereits am Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts dasselbe getan und dabei auch die drei inkriminierten Diplome Amalrichs, Konrads von Montferrat und Guidos von Lusignan mit allen von Jacoby als falsch verdächtigten Stellen abgeschrieben hatte. Hierfür kann Jacoby gar keine Erklärung anbieten. Das braucht der nicht, der die Stücke für echt hält. Wer aber für Verunechtung eintritt, trägt die Beweislast und muß erklären, warum kurz vor 1200 hier Interpolationen gemacht wurden. Dafür daß man die Stücke vielleicht 1229 Kaiser Friedrich II. vorlegte[10], bietet der Text der Diplome Friedrichs (RRH n° 1005 – 1007) keinerlei Anhalt, so daß es verwegen ist, auch noch zu sagen, dies sei „obvious". Es wäre im übrigen keine Erklärung, warum die „Interpolationen" von einem Notar angebracht oder mindestens kopiert worden wären, der nur von 1192 bis 1200 im Osten nachweisbar ist.

Es ist auch überhaupt nicht einzusehen, warum von den vielen Urkunden, die Bonaccursus und Benencasa kopiert haben, nur RRH n° 449.617.668.684 verunechtet sein sollen, die anderen aber nicht, da doch die Überlieferungslage für alle dieselbe ist. Das hat schon Jacoby zu Recht nachdenklich gemacht, aber er hat seine diesbezügliche Erkenntnis in eine Anmerkung verbannt[11]. Nahezu alle pisanischen Urkunden über Besitz in Akkon, Tyrus, Tripolis und eine

10) Jacoby (wie Anm. 1) S. 23.
11) Ebd. S. 23 Anm. 109.

über Antiochia seien 1248 kopiert worden; dies gilt übrigens auch für Jaffa, und für Antiochia handelt es sich um zwei Stücke (RRH n° 667.769.886). Wenn man mit der Überlieferungslage argumentiert, so ist die Konsequenz unausweichlich, daß man alle ca. 1200 und 1248 kopierten Urkunden Pisas als verunechtet erklärt. Jacoby hat deshalb getan, was er im Rahmen seiner These nicht mehr lassen konnte. Er hat zwar nicht nachgewiesen, daß sie sämtlich gefälscht oder verunechtet sind, aber er hat es insinuiert: „The authenticity of these charters should be examined anew". Dann hätte er es freilich tun sollen. Er beläßt es bei der bloßen Verdächtigung, wohl ahnend, daß die geforderte Untersuchung die erwünschten Resultate nicht bringen werde. Man muß sich verdeutlichen, was hier methodisch passiert ist: Er hat erkannt, daß er seine These, sein drittes und viertes Argument sprächen für die Verunechtung von RRH n° 668.684, nur dann halten kann, wenn sämtliche 1248 kopierten Urkunden wenigstens interpoliert sind, aber er hat sich der für seine Behauptung wesentlichen Beweisführung entzogen. Ja, er hat dem Leser sogar den quantitativen Aspekt des Problems verschwiegen. Es handelte sich bei der Kopieraktion von 1248 um nicht weniger als 33 Urkunden. Gerade vier davon verdächtigte er mit gewissen Argumenten, die anderen werden pauschal verurteilt mit dem Hinweis auf eine notwendige Untersuchung, die dann unterlassen wird.

Es bleibt wirklich nur Jacobys erstes Argument, die Versprechungen über innerstädtischen Besitz in Akkon in RRH n° 668.684 seien unglaubwürdig groß und umfaßten etwa drei Viertel der Altstadt von Akkon. Das wäre *prima vista* immerhin ein Fälschungsmotiv und damit ein ernstzunehmendes Argument. Aber auch hier ergeben sich bei näherer Betrachtung gravierende Zweifel an der These einer Interpolation dieser Passagen über den innerstädtischen Besitz. Man darf ja die Urkunden für Akkon nicht isoliert betrachten, Konrad von Montferrat hat auch Versprechungen beurkundet, die innerstädtischen Besitz in Tyrus und Jaffa betrafen (RRH n° 665.667). Alle drei Urkunden Konrads vom Oktober 1187 sind absolut diktatgleich und im Wortlaut, aber auch in der Struktur des Aufbaus ziemlich deckungsgleich, auch in den territorialen Passagen. Versprochen werden gewisse Häuser, deren Lage beschrieben wird. Dabei ist überall nicht nur erkennbar, daß den Pisanern ein Quartier verschafft werden soll, das bestimmte Einrichtungen und bestimmte Privilegien haben soll, sondern überall soll den Pisanern ihr Quartier dergestalt erweitert werden, daß es direkten Zugang zum Hafen gewinnt (RRH n° 665 für Pisa in Tyrus: *domus ... cum platea usque ad mare* viermal sowie *platea portus undique libera;* RRH n° 667 für Pisa in Jaffa: *domos omnes, quas antea habuerunt et etiam usque ad portam portus;* RRH n° 668 für Pisa in Akkon: *ex transverso a mare portus*

usque ad mare burgi novi). Wer die Territorialkonzessionen hinsichtlich Akkons angreift, muß konsequenterweise auch diejenigen in Tyrus und Jaffa attackieren, was Jacoby aber nicht tut. Dennoch gibt es leichte Unterschiede in den territorialen Bestimmungen der drei Diplome über den Umfang der Quartiere. Wir kennen ja einigermaßen nur die Topographie Akkons, diejenige von Tyrus und Jaffa aber nicht. Jacoby läßt dieses Problem ganz unerörtert, so daß der Eindruck entsteht, nur in Akkon hätten sich die Pisaner ein grandioses innerstädtisches Quartier in das Diplom hineininterpoliert, in Tyrus und Jaffa aber seien sie bescheidener gewesen. So viel ist aber klar, daß auch in diesen beiden Städten die Erweiterung des pisanischen Quartiers groß konzipiert war, weil auch dort jeweils der Zugang zum Hafen erreicht wurde. Die Bestimmungen über das Quartier müßten also auch in RRH n° 665.667 interpoliert sein, wenn man an eine solche Möglichkeit überhaupt glauben will.

Aber hier stoßen wir dann auf Sachverhalte, die in diesen von Jacoby mit sicherem Instinkt nicht inkriminierten Diplomen ganz gegen eine Fälschung sprechen. Nur in Akkon und Tyrus, nicht aber in Jaffa beanspruchten die Pisaner nämlich eine Mühle und eine Kirche, obwohl die Pisaner schon 1157 einen Kirchenbau in Jaffa planten, für den sie wahrscheinlich die notwendige Erlaubnis des Patriarchen nicht erhielten[12]. Wenn sich aber ein Fälscher schon hinsetzt und als Patriot oder gegen Geld echte Diplome interpoliert, dann wird er natürlich die Mühle und die Kirche in Jaffa nicht weglassen, wenn er sie in Tyrus hineinbringt und für Akkon sogar in den Plural setzt, also dort gleich mehrere Kirchen beansprucht. Ebensowenig wird er erkennen lassen, daß die beanspruchten Besitzerweiterungen in Wahrheit die Usurpation fremden Eigentums sind. Genau dies ist aber in RRH n° 665 betreffend Tyrus passiert. Überwiegend wird dort das Quartier um pisanische Häuser erweitert, die an das alte Quartier angrenzten, aber bisher nicht zu diesem gehört haten. An einer Stelle aber wird es erweitert zu Lasten eines sehr mächtigen Vorbesitzers: *ut sunt domus que fuerunt Templi cum turre et platea coram ipsis usque ad mare et earum pertinentia et sunt posite et fundate prope fundacum Pisanorum super murum civitatis.* Das war natürlich eine sehr bedeutende Einzelerweiterung. Sie grenzte an den pisanischen Fondaco, stellte den Zugang zum Meer her, war außerdem mit einem Turm befestigt und kontrollierte noch einen Teil der Stadtmauer zur See hin. Man kann wirklich nicht annehmen, daß die Templer dies freiwillig

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12) Hans E. Mayer, Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem (Schriften der MGH 26, 1977) S. 126 f.

hergegeben hätten, was übrigens auch nicht behauptet wird. Mehrere Templer, darunter der oberste amtierende Funktionär Terricus und sogar der Präzeptor des Templerhauses in Tyrus haben dazu ihren Konsens gegeben oder die Sache bezeugt. Der wahre Grund für diese Schenkung lag natürlich darin, daß die Pisaner im Moment der Ausstellung des Diploms (Oktober 1187), als man in Tyrus die Belagerung durch Saladins Truppen erwartete, jedermann mit ihrer unentbehrlichen maritimen Präsenz schrankenlos erpressen konnten und die Templer sich dem Machtwort Konrads von Montferrat unter pisanischem Druck beugen mußten. Man darf auch nicht vergessen, daß die Templer im Hl. Land dezimiert waren, weil Saladin die in der Schlacht von Hattin gefangenen Ordensmitglieder, und das waren praktisch alle Kampffähigen, hatte niedermetzeln lassen. Vom Umfang her sind die Pisaner in Tyrus also ebenso grandios verfahren wie in Akkon. Aber ein auch nur halbwegs versierter Fälscher hätte dies doch sorgsam kaschiert und nicht noch in einem Diplom, das man möglicherweise in einem Prozeß würde vorlegen müssen, ausdrücklich auf die Vorbesitzer hingewiesen, diesen damit den Ansatzpunkt für die Rekuperation verschaffend. Anders Konrads Kanzlei. Sie hatte natürlich ein Interesse am Einbau dieses Hinweises, um sich bei einem späteren Prozeß, der mit Sicherheit zu erwarten war, gegen den Vorwurf abzusichern, sie selbst habe der Usurpation Vorschub geleistet, indem sie die Vorbesitzer und deren Rechte verschwiegen habe.

König Guido von Lusignan hat 1189 zwar Konrads Diplome über pisanischen Besitz in Tyrus und Akkon bestätigt, nicht aber das über Besitz in Jaffa. Das ist eine ganz erhebliche Einschränkung der pisanischen Position im Hl. Land. Wenn aber die Pisaner um 1200, als die ältesten Kopien dieser Diplome hergestellt wurden, schon Konzessionen in Akkon erfälschten – wobei man immer wieder hinzufügen muß, daß diese These erfordert, daß sie auch ihre Urkunden für Jaffa und Tyrus veränderten –, dann wäre es doch ein leichtes gewesen, neben Konrads Diplom für Jaffa auch ein solches Guidos herzustellen, und wenn schon nicht um 1200, als Jaffa nacheinander im Besitz Heinrichs von Champagne, danach im Besitz von Guidos Bruder Aimerich und schließlich ab 1197 muslimisch war und eine solche Fälschung zwecklos gewesen wäre, dann aber 1248. Daß Jaffa damals dem energischen Juristen Johann von Ibelin gehörte, hätte die Pisaner doch nicht zu stören brauchen, wenn sie, wie Jacoby meint, mittels Fälschungen in Akkon eigentlich jedermann außer dem König aus der Stadt zu verdrängen suchten. Umgekehrt liegt freilich ganz deutlich auf der Hand, warum Guido Konrads Diplom über Jaffa von seinen eigenen Bestätigungen ausnahm. Jaffa war reserviert für seinen älteren Bruder und

Chef des Hauses Lusignan namens Gottfried, der seit 1189 im Hl. Land war und ab 1191 als Graf von Jaffa nachweisbar ist[13].

Daß Guido 1189 in so einschneidender Weise Pisas Position im Osten verkleinern konnte, spricht schon generell gegen die Annahme von Interpolationen. Aber es führt zum selben Resultat, wenn man Guidos Bestätigung RRH n° 684 von 1189 über Akkon analysiert. Der König hat hier die wortwörtlich benutzte, wenn auch natürlich nicht ausdrücklich genannte Urkunde seines Gegners Konrad von Montferrat teilweise erweitert, teilweise aber auch deutlich eingeschränkt. Die pisanischen Steuerprivilegien wurden erweitert. Konrad hatte im Sommer 1189 in Tyrus für die Stadtverteidigung eine Kommune nach italienischem Vorbild begründet[14]. In seinem Privileg RRH n° 665 vom Oktober 1187 gewährte er dem pisanischen Quartier die völlige Steuerbefreiung, behielt sich (nominell dem König) aber ein gewisses Besteuerungsrecht über den Besitz von Pisanern vor, der außerhalb des tyrensischen Quartiers lag und aufgrund der von Favreau-Lilie aufgedeckten pisanischen Dauersiedlung im Hl. Land[15] offenbar nicht unbeträchtlich war. Solcher Besitz tritt uns im selben Diplom ja mehrfach entgegen als pisanische Häuser, die an das alte Quartier angegrenzt hatten, jetzt aber in dieses mit einbezogen wurden. Konrad bestimmte, wenn eine Taille für die Zwecke der Kommune von Tyrus erhoben würde – und im Oktober 1187 hieß das: für die Stadtverteidigung –, dann seien die außerhalb des Quartiers lebenden Pisaner dieser Steuer zu unterwerfen. Gleichlautend wurde die Bestimmung in RRH n° 668 betreffend Akkon übernommen, obwohl Akkon nicht in christlicher Hand war und es bisher dort überhaupt keine Kommune gegeben hatte. Aber die Kommune von Tyrus war eine Notlösung in einer Extremsituation gewesen. Sowohl Konrad wie Guido standen derlei Experimenten offenbar mit Skepsis gegenüber. Schon im Mai 1188 sind in Konrads RRH n° 674.675 die Manifestationen einer solchen Kommune mindestens undeutlich. Die unmittelbare Gefahr für Tyrus war ja auch vorbei, und Konrad schuf sich, wie gerade diese beiden Urkunden zeigen, in der pisanischen Gesellschaft der Roten eine neue Institution für die Einbindung Pisas in die Stadtverteidigung von Tyrus. Auch in Konrads Diplom RRH

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13) Favreau-Lilie, Italiener (wie Anm. 9) S. 209. Über die urkundlichen Nachweise siehe Hans E. Mayer, The Double County of Jaffa and Ascalon: One Fief or Two?, in: Crusade and Settlement (1985) S. 183.

14) Hans E. Mayer, On the Beginnings of the Communal Movement in the Holy Land: The Commune of Tyre, Traditio 24 (1968) S. 443–457.

15) Favreau-Lilie, Italiener (wie Anm. 9) S. 441–456.

n° 682 von 1189 und erst recht in dem von ihm schon als Herr von Tyrus ausgestellten RRH n° 692 von 1190, beide für Genua, fehlen solche Manifestationen. Guido seinerseits schrieb nichts, was in Akkon in eine solche Richtung hätte deuten können, in seine Privilegien für Amalfi und für Marseille von 1190 (RRH n° 690.697), ja er band den marseillaisischen Vizegrafen sogar durch einen Treueid an den König und das Recht von Jerusalem.

Als Guido aber 1189 den Pisanern Konrads Privilegien für Tyrus und Akkon bestätigte, da sahen er und seine Kanzlei sich der erwähnten Klausel gegenüber, die dem König zwar gewisse Einnahmen garantierte, aber nur wenn er sie für die Kommune von Tyrus und eine solche Institution in dem noch immer unerobertenAkkon erhob. Tyrus hätte ihm ziemlich gleichgültig sein können, denn dort herrschte Konrad. Aber die Stadt war theoretisch Krongut, die Kommune war faktisch aufgelöst. Viel mehr tangiert war der König in Akkon, das ohne Jerusalem die Hauptstadt seines künftigen Reiches werden mußte, aber selbst mit Jerusalem noch immer das Wirtschaftszentrum des Reiches blieb. Lieber als eine Besteuerung zu bestätigen, die sich nur bei einer bestehenden Kommune verwirklichen ließ und daher kommunalen Bestrebungen Vorschub leisten mußte, wandelte Guido die Klausel so ab, daß sie nunmehr ganz zugunsten Pisas ging, dafür aber jede kommunale Implikation vermied:

Konrad 1187	Guido 1189
De domibus autem burgensium Pisanorum extra honorem Pisani communis positis rex taliam possit percipere, si pro communi civitatis Acconis taliam receperit.	*De domibus autem burgensium Pisanorum extra honorem Pisani communis positis consules Pisanorum possint de eis taliam recipere, quando eam pro communi recipere voluerint, et rex non possit de eis taliam recipere.*

An die Stelle einer 1187 noch anvisierten Kommune von Akkon hatte sich 1189 die Stadt Pisa geschoben.

Die sachliche Erweiterung von 1189 ist also politisch leicht erklärt. Nun zu den damals vorgenommenen Einschränkungen. In Tyrus nahm Guido solche nicht vor, eben weil er dort gegenüber Konrad ohnehin keine wirklichen Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten hatte. In Akkon präzisierte er zum Teil die topographischen Angaben. Aus der Mühle bei der zuvor nie und später nur einmal 1255 in RRH n° 1234 genannten Kirche des hl. Nikolaus außerhalb der Stadt wurde die Mühle bei der zum zentralen Nikolausfriedhof führenden *portam sancti Nicholai*, wenn auch verschrieben zu *partem*. Am Ende seines Diploms

nannte Guido einen hohen Preis dafür, daß er Konrads Urkunde überhaupt bestätigte. Seine eigene Verfügung sollte nur so lange gelten, wie die Pisaner ihm in Treue anhingen (*Hec autem omnia predicta dedimus et concessimus eis, dum nos plena fide dilexerint*). Gingen sie, was immer zu befürchten stand, zu Konrad über oder verhielten sich auch nur neutral, dann war Guidos Diplom ausdrücklich außer Kraft gesetzt. Ein solcher Passus kann doch unmöglich von einem pisanischen Fälscher in das Diplom hineingebracht worden sein, und auch bei einer Verunechtung an anderer Stelle hätte er die angeführte Bestimmung bestimmt herausgenommen.

Eine andere wesentlich gravierendere Einschränkung hat Favreau-Lilie aufgedeckt, die als erste die topographischen Angaben von RRH n° 668.684, die sehr schwierige Probleme aufwerfen, mit der notwendigen Exaktheit durchdacht und nicht wie alle anderen Autoren vor ihr die eigentlichen Schwierigkeiten einfach aus der Betrachtung ausgeklammert hat[16]. Zwischen ihr, Jacoby und Prawer besteht Einigkeit, daß den Pisanern in RRH n° 668 zunächst die gesamte Küstenlinie Akkons vom Sturmkap bei St. Andreas im Süden bis zum Arsenal im Nordosten verliehen wurde. *Ex transverso* erhielten sie zwischen dem *mare portus* und dem *mare burgi novi* die Westküste, definiert durch den Verlauf zweier Straßen. Favreau-Lilie hat klar erkannt, daß *ex transverso* ungeachtet der Tatsache, daß unmittelbar zuvor eine Richtung von Süden nach Nordosten angegeben wird, nicht eine Ost-Westrichtung meint, sondern „an der anderen Seite", eben an der Westküste. Das ist aber nur dann aus dem Text herauszudestillieren, wenn man in der Angabe *a mare portus usque ad mare burgi novi* nicht mehr länger eine reine Ost-Westrichtung sieht wie Richard[17], noch auch nur eine Südost-Nordwestrichtung, sondern eine klare Süd-Nordrichtung. Favreau-Lilie hat eben dies klar demonstriert und gezeigt, daß die eine der beiden dieses Westquartier an seiner Westseite begrenzenden Straßen eindeutig vom Sturmkap im Süden gradlinig nordwärts lief und dabei das Templerquartier an der Südwestecke Akkons aussparte, während die andere, deren Lokalisierung die Forschung bisher immer umgangen hatte, die östliche Begrenzung dieses pisanischen Westquartiers darstellte. Guido hat zwar das pisanische Ostquartier in Akkon vom Sturmkap bis zum Arsenal bestätigt, im Prinzip auch das Westquartier, aber er hat, wie erstmals Favreau-Lilie erkannte, die Klausel über dessen östliche Grenze weggelassen und damit die Frage

16) Favreau-Lilie, Italiener (wie Anm. 9) S. 333–345.

17) Jean Richard, Colonies marchandes privilégiées et marché seigneurial. La fonde d'Acre et ses „droitures", Le Moyen Age 59 (1953) S. 336 Anm. 20.

dieser östlichen Begrenzung bis zur Neuregelung der Besitzverhältnisse nach einer Rückeroberung Akkons vertagt, um nicht mit der Bestätigung der von Konrad gewährten Begrenzung Reibungsflächen zu schaffen mit Johannitern und Genuesen, die sich hier tangiert sehen mußten. Den pisanischen Interessen war dies natürlich abträglich, denn nun war nur noch klar, daß sie die Westküste nördlich des Templerquartiers und mindestens bis zur Nordmauer der Altstadt kontrollierten, aber es war plötzlich vollständig unklar, wo nach Osten hin dieses Gelände seine Begrenzung finden sollte. Im Zusammenhang mit der Aussparung des Templerquartiers und der Offenlassung der Ostgrenze des pisanischen Westquartiers ist auch die generelle salvatorische Klausel in RRH n° 684 zu sehen, daß die Pisaner ihr westliches Quartier erhielten *salvis rationibus Templi et Hospitalis et ecclesie sancte Anne.*

Noch an einer weiteren Stelle hat Guido das Diplom Konrads präzisiert, und diese ist nach wie vor ungeklärt. Konrad hatte Pisa als akkonensisches Ostquartier das Gelände verliehen vom Sturmkap bis zum St. Andreastor (d. h. dem Tor bei der Andreaskirche im Süden, die nach RRH n° 422 a *extra muros* lag) *et extra portam ad tarsanam,* d. h. bis zum Arsenal. Das Arsenal ist auf den mittelalterlichen Stadtplänen Akkons östlich des venezianischen Quartiers kartiert. Jacoby und Favreau-Lilie haben richtig gesehen, daß bei dieser Grenzumschreibung die Pisaner 1187 die gesamte Ostküste unter Einschluß der Front des Westhafens, ferner des venezianischen Quartiers mit seiner an das Becken des Osthafens angrenzenden Front und noch ein Stück Küste darüber hinaus bis zum Arsenal erhalten hätten. Das ist in der Tat gewaltig. Hier schob Guido aus elementarem Eigeninteresse 1189 einen mächtigen Riegel vor. Nun lautete die Grenzumschreibung nämlich: Vom Sturmkap bis zum Andreastor *et extra portam usque ad tarsanam et ad mare et usque ad cathenam.* Diese Änderung spart die königliche Catena, also die Hafenzollbehörde, an der sehr große Einnahmen anfielen, aus dem pisanischen Quartier aus, das nur *usque ad cathenam* reichte[18]. Konrads Schenkung hatte die Catena mit inbegriffen. Der Text von Guidos Umschreibung des Ostquartiers ist dagegen so zu verstehen: Vom Sturmkap bis zum Andreastor und von dort bis zum Arsenal, das Meer und die Catena erreichend (letztere aber nicht einschließend).

Das war nun freilich eine noch viel einschneidendere Verringerung des pisanischen Ostquartiers durch Guido, als es die Öffnung der Ostgrenze des West-

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18) Vgl. die sprachlich parallele Einfügung Guidos in Konrads Vorurkunde bei der Beschreibung des pisanischen Westquartiers: *usque ad* (d. h. bis zu, aber ohne) *domum Templi.*

quartiers gewesen war, denn die den Pisanern zuvor von Konrad übereignete Catena war natürlich ein Besitz von kapitaler Bedeutung. Jacoby hat sogar gemeint, daß kein König von Jerusalem den Pisanern einen Zugang zum Westhafen verschafft hätte, da dies den Pisanern erlaubt hätte, die königliche Catena zu umgehen. Das ist in dieser Schärfe nicht nur deshalb nicht haltbar, weil Pisa in Akkon, Tyrus und Jaffa den Zugang zum Hafen tatsächlich gewann (siehe oben S. 147). Aber auch Venedig hatte als akkonensisches Quartier einen langen Küstenstreifen, der an den Osthafen angrenzte. Wer als Venezianer wollte und dabei nicht ertappt wurde, konnte hier genau das tun, was Jacoby für die Pisaner unterstellt, hätten diese am Westhafen gesessen: Er konnte die auf flachgehende Boote geleichterten Waren direkt am venezianischen Quartier anlanden. Die Seemauer längs der Küste hätte sich mit Hilfe eines Flaschenzuges schon überwinden lassen. Den Zugang zum Hafen konnten die Könige ruhig gewähren und haben dies auch getan. Was sie nicht konnten, war dagegen, die Kontrolle über die Hafenzollbehörde aus der Hand zu geben.

Konrads Privileg RRH n° 668 hat also durch Guido wirklich einschneidende Verschlechterungen für Pisa erfahren, über die man auch dann nicht hinwegsehen kann, wenn das pisanische Quartier, so wie Guido es bestätigte, noch immer riesig war und, wie Favreau-Lilie richtig gesehen hat, alle anderen Italiener für immer vom Zugang zum Meer ausschloß. Jacoby hat schon gesehen, daß es Differenzen zwischen den beiden Stücken gab, aber er hat sie heruntergespielt und von „some small variations of the promised boundaries" gesprochen, ungeachtet derer aber beide Versionen dasselbe besagten[19]. Eine solche Fehleinschätzung mag bei diesen langen Urkunden bei einer flüchtigen Lektüre hingehen, darf aber nicht vorkommen, wenn ein Fälschungsnachweis angetreten werden soll. Nur mit dieser Verniedlichung von Unterschieden, die sowohl für den König wie für Pisa einschneidend waren, kann Jacoby seine These von den interpolierten Diplomen retten. Aber ohne Rücksicht auf die bewilligte Größe der beiden pisanischen Quartiere in Akkon sind die Unterschiede in der Grenzumschreibung der beiden Urkunden der Todesstoß für Jacobys Theorie. Unmöglich kann der innerstädtische Territorialpassus in Guidos Diplom von einem pisanischen Fälscher interpoliert sein. Der Pisaner hätte Pisa bei der Strafe des Verlusts der pisanischen Rechtsstellung an Guido gebunden, hätte zuungunsten seiner Heimatstadt eine allgemeine salvatorische Klausel zugunsten der Ritterorden und St. Annas in das Diplom hineingeschrieben, hätte den Verlauf der Ostgrenze des pisanischen Westquartiers ganz offen und fraglich

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19) Jacoby (wie Anm. 1) S. 21 Anm. 103.

gemacht und hätte expressis verbis den Templerkomplex und die königliche Catena, die in Konrads Diplom mit inbegriffen waren, wieder herausgenommen. Was für ein Pisaner! Aber ungeachtet aller Differenzen zwischen Konrads und Guidos Diplomen, die Jacoby in ihrem Umfang aus gutem Grund dem Leser überhaupt nicht vorführt, muß er wegen der schieren Restgröße des pisanischen Quartiers in RRH n° 684 die Interpolation des gesamten innerstädtischen Besitzes behaupten, weil das Argument der alle Dimensionen sprengenden Größe ja auch das einzige ist, was allenfalls sich gegen RRH n° 668 als stichhaltig erweisen könnte. Wenn aber, wie wir gesehen haben, RRH n° 684 auf keinen Fall interpoliert ist, dann ist auch kein Grund zu sehen, warum dies bei RRH n° 668 der Fall sein sollte.

Jacoby hat richtig gesehen, daß solche Passagen der von ihm verdächtigten Urkunden, die Restriktionen für Pisa enthalten, prinzipiell auf deren Echtheit hindeuten, nur hat er dies auf die Grenzumschreibung des innerstädtischen Quartiers nicht angewandt. Er hat allerdings etwas für eine ernsthafte Restriktion gehalten, was Favreau-Lilie zu Recht als ein ganz außerordentliches Privileg interpretiert hat[20], nämlich das an Pisa in Tyrus (RRH n° 665.683), Jaffa (RRH n° 667) und Akkon (RRH n° 668.684) verliehene Recht, an der Catena, im königlichen Fondaco und an den Toren der Stadt eigene pisanische Funktionäre zur Abfertigung der pisanischen und toskanischen Händler einzusetzen. Jacoby hat gezeigt, daß dieses Recht tatsächlich funktionierte und bis 1286 bezeugt ist[21]. Er hält es deshalb für eine Restriktion, weil es anzeige, daß die Pisaner gezwungen gewesen seien, ihre Waren im Westhafen an der Catena anzulanden. Dies wiederum bedinge, daß die Könige Pisa nie den freien Zugang zum Westhafen gewährt hätten, da sie sonst ihre Waren unmittelbar in ihrem Quartier hätten anlanden können, ohne die Catena zu passieren. Aber wenn die Pisaner in der Catena ihre eigene Zollselbstverwaltung haben durften, lief das auf dasselbe hinaus, nämlich auf die Ausschaltung jeglicher königlichen Kontrolle. Zweifellos hat daher Favreau-Lilie recht, die auf die absolute Einmaligkeit dieses Privilegs hingewiesen hat. Alle anderen Italiener besaßen zwar Zollprivilegien, mußten diese aber bei der königlichen Zollverwaltung beanspruchen. Die Interpretation dieser Bestimmung als einer Restriktion ist gekünstelt, aber man sieht natürlich leicht warum. Bei den innerstädtischen Ter-

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20) Favreau-Lilie, Italiener (wie Anm. 9) S. 405.

21) Als Thomas von Acerra die Pisaner zur Rechnungslegung in der Catena zwang, erwirkten diese alsbald 1229 ein Privileg Friedrichs II. (RRH n° 1005), welches den alten Zustand wiederherstellte.

ritorialkonzessionen konnte sich Jacoby noch auf Akkon beschränken, weil die Topographie von Tyrus und Jaffa ganz unbekannt ist. Mindestens ebensoweit wie die territorialen Konzessionen geht aber das Zugeständnis einer eigenen Zollverwaltung, die im Gegensatz zu dem riesigen innerstädtischen Quartier auch nachweislich etabliert wurde. Nach Jacobys Hauptargument: „Was zu umfangreich ist, muß gefälscht sein", hätte er konsequenterweise auch gegen die eigene Zollverwaltung Pisas in der Levante angehen müssen. Das tut er nicht nur deshalb nicht, weil das Funktionieren dieser Einrichtung durch ein Jahrhundert hindurch gegen eine Fälschung spricht, sondern auch weil er, würde er das Zollprivileg in Akkon als zu weitgehend und daher gefälscht interpretieren, sofort dazu gezwungen wäre, auch die Schenkungen Konrads und Guidos an Pisa in Tyrus und in Jaffa für interpoliert zu erklären.

Es gibt aber in diesen Urkunden eine andere Restriktion, und Jacoby hat natürlich prinzipiell recht, wenn er Restriktionen für unverdächtig hält. Die Einschränkung steht im Gerichtsprivileg. Ganz allgemein kann man sagen, daß die Könige darauf achteten, vom Privileg der italienischen Eigengerichtsbarkeit möglichst die Kapitalverbrechen auszunehmen und sich deren Aburteilung selbst vorzubehalten. Konrad von Montferrat tat dies noch im Oktober 1187 in seinem Privileg RRH n° 666 für die Provenzalen, ebenso 1190 in RRH n° 691 für Genua. Guido hielt es ebenso in RRH n° 697 von 1190 für die Provenzalen. Genau dasselbe hatte König Amalrich vorgesehen, als er 1168 in RRH n° 449 das pisanische Quartier in Akkon begründete. *Homicidium, mortidatio, traditio, furtum, raptus* und alle Delikte, die mit Strafen an Leib und Leben bedroht waren, reservierte er dem Königsgericht. Diese Einschränkungen sind in den Diplomen Konrads und Guidos für Pisa gefallen. Auch das Gerichtsprivileg ist also sehr weitgehend. Aber dafür werden jetzt in Tyrus (RRH n° 665.683), in Jaffa (RRH n° 667) und in Akkon (RRH n° 668.684) aus dem pisanischen Gerichtsprivileg alle Fälle herausgenommen und den Feudalgerichten der Barone und des Königs reserviert, die pisanische Land- und Geldlehen betreffen (ähnlich schon in RRH n° 449). Das ist natürlich eine Restriktion und daher echt. Aber man fragt sich, warum ein Fälscher, der das ganze gewaltige Ost- und Westquartier in das Privileg hineininterpoliert und dem es am Mut zum Ungewöhnlichen daher wirklich nicht gefehlt hätte, gerade diese Einschränkung des Gerichtsprivilegs hätte stehen lassen sollen, umso mehr als dieses ohnehin schon so weit ging, daß es selbst die Aburteilung pisanischer Kapitalverbrechen an Pisa auslieferte.

Fassen wir zusammen: An der Lokalisierung des pisanischen Grundstücks in RRH n° 449 bleibt ein leichter Zweifel bestehen, aber es kann nicht zweifel-

haft sein, daß es im Osten an den Westhafen von Akkon angrenzte ebenso wie die Piazza in RRH n° 617. Ebensowenig kann aus der schieren Größe der innerstädtischen Konzession Konrads von Montferrat in Akkon an die Pisaner vom Oktober 1187 (RRH n° 668) eine Interpolation des Textes abgeleitet werden, ja diese wird geradezu ausgeschlossen durch die Einschränkung des pisanischen Gerichtsprivilegs in Lehnsangelegenheiten, die ein Fälscher nicht hätte stehen lassen, erst recht aber durch die von Jacoby nicht bemerkten oder einfach heruntergespielten drastischen Beschränkungen dieser Territorialkonzessionen im Diplom RRH n° 684 Guidos von Lusignan von 1189. Da alle vier Diplome formal vollständig dem Diktat von Kanzlei und Gegenkanzlei entsprechen, sind sie weder gefälscht noch auch nur verunechtet, sondern formal und sachlich vollständig echt.

IX

Die Legitimität Balduins IV. von Jerusalem und das Testament der Agnes von Courtenay

Ich habe an anderer Stelle, in den demnächst erscheinenden Akten des zweiten Kongresses der Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East dargelegt, daß der Adel und die Kirche von Jerusalem 1163, ehe sie den Grafen Amalrich von Jaffa-Askalon zum Königtum aufsteigen ließen, die Auflösung seiner Ehe mit Agnes von Courtenay, der Tochter des Grafen Joscelin II. von Edessa, höchstwahrscheinlich deshalb erzwangen, weil die 1157 geschlossene Ehe bigam war, da Agnes bereits mit Hugo von Ibelin, dem Herrn von Ramla und Chef eines der mächtigsten Adelsclans, verheiratet war. Offiziell freilich wurde die Scheidung begründet mit einer mäßigen Blutsverwandtschaft zwischen den beiden im vierten Grad, die durch einen kirchlichen Dispens als Ehehindernis leicht hätte überwunden werden können. Die Reduktion der Rechtsfrage auf dieses vergleichsweise harmlose Niveau erleichterte aber den Kompromiß. Dieser bestand darin, daß bei der Scheidung die Legitimität der beiden aus der Union Amalrichs mit Agnes hervorgegangenen Kinder Sibylle und Balduin IV. garantiert wurde, was ein entscheidender Punkt in den Verhandlungen war, da sich damit Thronfolgerechte verbanden. Bei Vorliegen einer bigamen Ehe der Eltern waren die Kindern adulterin gezeugt und ungleich schwerer zu legitimieren, als wenn sie bei Blutsverwandtschaft der Eltern nur inzestuös gezeugt waren. Wie wichtig solche Legitimierungsakte waren, zeigt die Parallele 1186, als sich auch die Königin Sybille bei ihrer Scheidung die Legitimität ihrer beiden Töchter mit Guido von Lusignan – den sie sofort nach der Scheidung wieder heiratete – ausdrücklich zusichern ließ[1]. Daß hieraus keine Schwierigkeiten entstanden, die den nachstehend untersuchten glichen, hängt damit zusammen, daß die beiden Töchter mitsamt der Mutter 1190 verstarben.

Zu den Bedingungen der Legitimierung Sibylles und Balduins gehörte nach dem Zeugnis Wilhelms von Tyrus auch die ausdrückliche Zusiche-

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[1] Zu der Scheidung im allgemeinen s. Benjamin Z. Kedar, The Patriarch Eraclius, in: Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer, ed. B.Z. Kedar u.a. (Jerusalem 1982) 195–198. Zu der Legitimierung s. Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus, ed. Marianne Salloch (Greifswald 1934) 65.

rung, daß sie in den *bona paterna* das volle Erbrecht haben sollten[2]. Dies war vermutlich so gedacht, daß Balduin König, Sibylle aber Gräfin von Jaffa-Askalon werden sollte. Jedenfalls wurden die *bona paterna* später so verteilt. Wilhelm von Tyrus sagt nichts, ob auch eine Regelung für die Nachfolge in den *bona materna* getroffen wurde. Daß dies keine theoretische Frage war, ergibt sich aus dem analogen Fall der Beatrix von Henneberg-Botenlauben, die als Tochter des Titulargrafen Joscelin III. von Edessa 1220 dem Deutschen Orden die sogenannte Seigneurie de Joscelin bei Akkon so verkaufte, wie sie ihr *paterno et materno iure* nach Erbrecht zustand[3], denn dieses Besitzkonglomerat umfaßte nicht nur das, was Joscelin III. selbst zusammengerafft hatte (unten S. 69), sondern auch das Erbe der Agnes von Milly, die Joscelin III. geheiratet hatte und die die Mutter der Beatrix war. Agnes von Courtenay wird nach sechs Jahren Ehe mit dem Grafen von Jaffa-Askalon kaum mehr so mittellos gewesen sein, wie sie es gewesen war, als sie 1157 oder zuvor zur Heirat ins Königreich Jerusalem kam. Auch muß man eine Abfindung seitens Amalrichs anläßlich der Scheidung doch wohl unterstellen.

Vermutlich wurde aber tatsächlich 1163 über die *bona materna* nichts bestimmt, nicht nur weil Wilhelm von Tyrus darüber nichts sagt, sondern auch aus besitzpolitischen Erwägungen im Adel. Agnes war ja bei der Scheidung maximal erst 30 Jahre alt[4] und kehrte nun zu ihrem rechtmäßigen Gemahl Hugo von Ibelin zurück, der doch auf Kinder hoffte, so daß das Gut der Agnes für ihre Kinder aus dieser dritten Ehe (sie war vor 1149 bereits mit Rainald von Marash verheiratet gewesen) bestimmt gewesen sein wird. Sibylle und Balduin waren durch die Nachfolge im väterlichen Gut ja hinreichend versorgt. Daß Agnes später über ihren Besitz eigens testieren mußte (RRH n° 654), deutet darauf hin, daß die Erbfolge hier nicht eine durch das Recht bestimmte automatische, sondern eine ungewöhnliche war. Tatsächlich muß sich später das Fehlen einer Regelung von 1163 über die *bona materna* als böser politischer Fehler herausgestellt haben.

Die *bona materna* vermehrten sich nicht, als Hugo von Ibelin 1169 oder bald danach starb, oder doch nur um das, was er Agnes während der Ehe überschrieben haben mag. Das bedeutete nun allerdings nicht, daß Agnes

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[2] Guillaume de Tyr, Chronique, XIX.4, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (= Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis 63, Turnhout 1986, künftig gekürzt als WT) 869.

[3] Reinhold Röhricht, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani 1097–1291 (Innsbruck 1893, künftig: RRH) n° 974 (Bestätigung Friedrichs II. von 1226): *ad eamdem comitissam paterno et materno iure ratione successionis spectabant.*

[4] Ihre Mutter Beatrix war in erster Ehe mit Wilhelm von Sahyun verheiratet, der 1132 im Kampfe fiel, so daß 1133 der früheste Zeitpunkt für die Geburt der Agnes aus der zweiten Ehe ihrer Mutter ist.

unversorgt geblieben wäre. Nach den jerusalemitanischen Rechtsbüchern des 13. Jh. erhielt eine Witwe als Versorgung die Hälfte der Einkünfte des Nachlasses[5], in diesem Falle der halben Herrschaft Ramla, und konnte vom eigentlichen Erben, hier Hugos Bruder Balduin von Ibelin, zur Wiederverheiratung nicht gezwungen werden. Für diesen *servise de mariage*, den Witwen ihrem Lehnherren dann schuldeten, wenn sie ein Lehen innehatten, aus dem sie den Militärdienst *(servise de cors)* zu leisten hatten, gab es hier keinen Anlaß, weil der Kriegsdienst auf den eigentlichen Erben fiel und die Witwe nur den Nießbrauch an dem halben Lehen hatte. Dagegen sollte der eigentliche Erbe die Witwe offenbar deshalb nicht zur Wiederverheiratung zwingen können, um sie nicht auf diesem Wege aus ihrem Nießbrauchsanspruch dadurch herauszudrängen, daß er sie durch eine neue Ehe anderweitig versorgte. Wollte die Witwe aber von sich aus heiraten, so bedurfte sie der Zustimmung des eigentlichen Erben. Holte sie diese nicht ein, so verlor sie den Nießbrauch. Auch wenn es nicht ausdrücklich bezeugt ist, so liegt natürlich auf der Hand, daß der Erbe seine Zustimmung zu einer gewünschten neuen Ehe davon abhängig machen konnte, daß die Witwe auf den ihr an sich auf Lebenszeit zustehenden Nießbrauch freiwillig verzichtete.

Nach dem Tode Hugos von Ibelin heiratete Agnes von Courtenay Rainald von Sidon. Man darf sicher sein, daß Balduin von Ibelin-Ramla als Erbe seines kinderlosen Bruders Hugo bei diesem Anlaß von der skizzierten Rechtsmöglichkeit Gebrauch machte. Das bedeutete, daß Agnes erneut weitgehend einkommenslos war und *bona materna* für ihre Kinder schon aus Mangel an Einkommen nicht aufbauen konnte. In der Frage ihrer letzten Ehe ist über die Ergebnisse von La Monte und Hamilton nicht hinauszukommen[6]. Sie wurde zwischen 1169 und 1171

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[5] Livre de Jean d'Ibelin c. 177, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (künftig: RHC). Lois, 2 Bde. (Paris 1841/1843) I, 279 f., ergänzt durch Livre de Jaques d'Ibelin c. 68, ebd. I, 467 und Livre de Geoffroy Le Tort c. 16, ebd. I, 449. Die Bestimmung wurzelt im römischen Privatrecht, wo bei der *donatio propter nuptias* der ursprüngliche Gedanke der Witwenversorgung im Laufe der Zeit zurückgedrängt wurde von dem Interesse, diese Schenkung beim Tod des Ehemannes den Kindern aus dieser Ehe zu erhalten und sie einem zweiten Ehemann oder den aus einer solchen Ehe hervorgehenden Kindern vorzuenthalten, so daß auch bei einer Schenkung *propter nuptias* der Witwe nach dem Tode ihres Mannes hieran nur ein Nießbrauch verblieb. Vgl. Max Kaser, Das römische Privatrecht (= Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft Abt. 10, T. 3, Bd. 3, Abschn. 2, München 1959) 134–141.

[6] John L. La Monte, The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Byzantion 17 (1944/1945) 199; Bernard Hamilton, Women in the Crusader States: The Queens of Jerusalem (1100–1190), in: Medieval Women, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford 1978) 163 f. mit Berichtigung einiger Daten bei Hamilton, The Titular Nobility of the Latin East: The Case of Agnes of Courtenay, in: Crusade and Settlement, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff 1985) 199 f.

geschlossen. Zu einem unbekannten Zeitpunkt, aber auch dies noch vor 1171, spätestens aber vor 1174, suchte Reinalds Vater Gerhard plötzlich die Ehe annullieren zu lassen und war nach Wilhelm von Tyrus dabei auch erfolgreich[7]. Er machte die Einrede zu naher Verwandtschaft, die er aber vor der Eheschließung nicht gemacht hatte. Zudem konnte er diese nach unserer heutigen Kenntnis nicht zu rekonstruierende Verwandtschaft schon damals nicht eigentlich beweisen, sondern beeidete sie lediglich nach dem Hörensagen, wie es ihm nämlich seine Vorfahren erzählt hatten. Die Gründe für Gerhards Vorgehen bleiben im dunklen. Auf jeden Fall muß – so eine ansprechende Vermutung Hamiltons – die Scheidung durch eine Appellation rückgängig gemacht worden sein, da alles dafür spricht, daß Agnes mindestens bis 1179 mit Rainald verheiratet war, wahrscheinlich aber bis zu ihrem Tode 1185[8]. Auch Rainald von Sidon mag uns unbekannt gebliebene Besitzüberschreibungen kleineren Umfanges an Agnes vorgenommen haben, aber sicher ist, daß sich die *bona materna* durch die Ehe mit ihm nicht wesentlich vermehrten. Da Rainald seine Frau überlebte, erhielt sie auch aus Sidon keine Witwenrente mehr.

Im Jahre 1174 starb König Amalrich. Ihm folgte sein minderjähriger, überdies leprakranker Sohn Balduin IV. Nachdem die Barone dem unkonstitutionellen Regime des Milo von Plancy durch seine Ermordung sehr bald ein Ende gemacht hatten, verlangte und erhielt noch 1174 Graf Raimund III. von Tripolis als der nächste (männliche) Verwandte die Regentschaft für die Zeit der königlichen Minderjährigkeit. Nach dem Präzedenzfall der Königin Melisendis, die nach dem Tode König Fulkos

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[7] WT XIX.4, 870. Gerhard ist letztmals bezeugt 1165 in RRH n° 412. Sein jüngerer Sohn Rainald erscheint 1171 mit dem Zusatz *Sydoniensis*, 1174 als *Sydonensis domnus* (RRH n° 487, 517), so daß sein Vater spätestens dann verstorben war, eher aber schon vor 1171.

[8] WT XXI.10(11), 976 bezeichnet Agnes noch zu 1176 als Gemahlin Rainalds. In RRH n° 589 vom Dezember 1179 kann die *magna comitissa Sagite* nur Agnes sein. Noch im August 1200 (RRH n° 773) bemühte man Rainald von Sidon um einen Konsens zu einer güterrechtlichen Einigung zwischen dem Patriarchen von Jerusalem und der jüngeren Tochter Joscelins III. von Courtenay, wobei Rainald als deren Onkel bezeichnet wurde. Als Gemahl der Agnes von Courtenay war er ohnehin nur ein angeheirateter Onkel dieser Tochter und wäre bestimmt nicht so bezeichnet worden, wenn die Ehe zwischen ihm und Agnes jemals rechtswirksam annulliert worden wäre. Trotzdem geht es zu weit, wenn Huygens, WT 870 die Nachricht über die Scheidung als späteren Zusatz verwirft. Hamilton, Queens of Jerusalem, 163f. und ders., Titular Nobility, 199f. Zum Todesdatum der Agnes: Im November 1183 wirkte sie noch mit bei der Erhebung Balduins V. (WT XXII.30[29], 1058), im September 1184 schrieb ihr Ibn Jubair den Besitz von Toron zu (unten S. 70), aber am 1. Februar 1185 war sie tot und von ihrer Tochter Sibylle beerbt worden: RRH n° 1110a (dazu unten S. 88), was bei der Etablierung ihres Todesdatums im allgemeinen übersehen wird.

nicht nur als Samtherrscherin, sondern auch als Regentin für den minderjährigen Balduin III. geherrscht hatte, wie auch nach den Rechtsbüchern von Jerusalem gebührte die Regentschaft in erster Linie dem überlebenden Elternteil, dem danach nächsten Verwandten erst dann, wenn es einen solchen Elternteil nicht mehr gab[9]. Danach hätte die Regentschaft an Agnes von Courtenay fallen müssen. Man hat gelegentlich vermutet, daß dies deshalb nicht der Fall gewesen sei, weil ihre Ehe mit Amalrich 1163 annulliert worden war[10]. Die Dinge lagen aber wohl komplizierter. Die Rechtsbücher sprechen teils vom überlebenden Elternteil, der die Regentschaft ausüben sollte, teils davon, daß die Königinwitwe dies tun solle. Diese Bestimmungen hatten natürlich den Normalfall im Auge, daß die Königinwitwe mit der Mutter identisch war. In dieser Hinsicht aber war die Situation 1174 delikat: Agnes war die Mutter, war aber nie Königin gewesen. Maria Komnena, Amalrichs zweite Gemahlin, war die Königinwitwe, aber nicht die Mutter. Vielleicht neutralisierten sich die beiden Damen gegenseitig und ermöglichten es dadurch Milo von Plancy, in die Rechtslücke vorzustoßen. In Genua glaubte man später, daß König Amalrich selbst auf dem Totenbett Milo, der ohne Zweifel sein engster Vertrauter war, zum Regenten eingesetzt hatte[11]. Die Unklarheit, ob Agnes oder Maria ein Recht auf die Regentschaft hatten, könnte dem sterbenden König eine solche Lösung tatsächlich nahegelegt haben.

Jedenfalls ist es erstaunlich, daß Agnes einfach übergangen wurde und es so lange dauerte, bis man die Regentschaft regelte. Raimund III. von Tripolis hatte sie zwar alsbald verlangt, aber zunächst nur eine hinhaltende Antwort erhalten, wohl unter Milos Einfluß. Nach dessen Ermordung erhielt er die Regentschaft sofort zugesprochen. Man muß aber genau lesen, wie er sie beantragt hatte[12]. Er sei, so führte er aus, der nächste aller Blutsverwandten des verstorbenen Königs. Riley-Smith hat darauf hingewiesen, daß – wenn man die Mutter ausschaltet – Balduins Schwester Sibylle eine nähere Verwandte war als Raimund[13]. Es kommt noch hinzu, daß sie älter war als Balduin[14], und da er gerade 13 Jahre alt

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[9] Livre au roi c. 6, RHC. Lois I, 610; Documents relatifs à la successibilité au trône, RHC. Lois II, 397f.; Jonathan Riley-Smith, The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277 (London 1973) 186.

[10] Marshall W. Baldwin, Raymond III of Tripolis and the Fall of Jerusalem (1140–1187) (Princeton 1936) 25 Anm. 26; Jean Richard, Le royaume latin de Jérusalem (Paris 1953) 65 = The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Amsterdam 1979) 65.

[11] Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia: Annali di Genova (Fonti per la storia d'Italia) 1 (1980) 135; Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, 101.

[12] WT XXI.3, 963.

[13] Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, 186.

[14] WT XXI.2, 962.

war, könnte sie vielleicht volljährig gewesen sein (15 Jahre). Riley-Smith hat recht, daß sie unverheiratet war, aber es ist fraglich, ob sie deshalb nicht in Betracht gezogen wurde. Nicht nur daß man sie hätte verheiraten können und dies 1176 auch tat, sondern sämtliche Regelungen, die die Regentschaft in die Hand einer verwitweten Mutter legten, gingen davon aus, daß diese ohne einen Mann das Amt ausüben werde, wie es Melisendis tatsächlich auch getan hatte, wenngleich durch ihren eigenen Anteil am Reich begünstigt. Viel entscheidender aber war, daß Raimund die Regentschaft ausdrücklich mit dem Hinweis verlangte, sie stehe ihm *iure agnationis* zu. Das fegte alle Ansprüche hinweg, die Agnes, Maria Komnena oder Sibylle hätten erheben können, denn in der agnatischen Verwandtschaft spielten Frauen keine Rolle. Raimunds Argument war insofern unzutreffend, als auch die Agnaten nur durch Männer verwandt sein durften, dies hier aber nicht der Fall war, denn die Großmutter Balduins IV. und die Mutter Raimunds III. waren Schwestern gewesen. Aber die drei Frauen waren auf jeden Fall als mögliche Konkurrenten ausgeschaltet.

Unter den Baronen, die Raimunds Kandidatur unterstützten, war Rainald von Sidon einer der wichtigsten[15]. Es ist daher nicht verwunderlich, wie Hamilton richtig bemerkt hat, daß Agnes schon unter der Regentschaft Raimunds an den Hof zurückkehren konnte, da sie 1175 die Wahl ihres Günstlings Eraklius zum Erzbischof von Caesarea durchsetzte[16]. Dadurch kam sie wieder in engen Kontakt mit ihren Kindern, denn 1170 war ihr Sohn Wilhelm von Tyrus zur Erziehung anvertraut worden, während Sibylle im Doppelkloster Bethanien erzogen wurde[17]. Der wahre Einfluß der Agnes aber begann erst 1176, nachdem Raimunds Regentschaft wegen der Volljährigkeit des Königs geendet hatte. Zwar war sie, wie Hamilton beobachtet hat, nie selbst Königin, aber sie war die Mutter Balduins IV., ab 1177 die Großmutter Balduins V. und ab 1180 die Schwiegermutter Guidos von Lusignan, der im Jahr nach ihrem Tode König wurde. Ibn Jubair schrieb, man bezeichne sie als Königin (unten S. 70). Sie nutzte die Zeit ihres sich immer mehr steigernden Einflusses auf ihren immer kränker an Lepra dahinsiechenden Sohn zum Aufbau einer massiven Klientel. Der Aufmarsch der Parteien war 1180 abgeschlossen, und zur Kamarilla der Agnes gehörten jetzt der Patriarch mit der Mehrheit des Episkopats, der Herr von Transjordanien und Hebron, die

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[15] WT XXI.3, 964.

[16] La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197), ed. Margaret R. Morgan (= Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 14, Paris 1982) 50 = Estoire de Eracles, RHC. Historiens occidentaux (künftig: Hoc.) II, 60; La chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris 1871) 82; Hamilton, Titular Nobility, 200.

[17] WT XXI.1.2, 961 f.

fähigen und zähen Brüder Aimerich und Guido von Lusignan, von denen der erste Konstabler des Reiches war, der zweite Graf von Jaffa-Askalon und Gemahl der Schwester des Königs, die angesichts von dessen Lepraerkrankung als Thronfolgerin galt. Eine weitere dominierende Gestalt in dieser Partei war Joscelin III. von Courtenay, der nach langer Gefangenschaft 1176 freigekommen war und noch im selben Jahr Seneschalk von Jerusalem wurde, sicher dank des Einflusses seiner Schwester Agnes.

Die Bereicherung der Courtenays lief, soweit wir es erkennen können, zunächst über Joscelin III., der schon mit seiner Einheirat in die Familie Milly bald nach 1176 wichtige Besitzungen östlich von Akkon erwarb. Seit 1179 erhielt er auch Gunsterweise des Königs, seines Neffen, die nach 1180 einen immer schnelleren Rhythmus annahmen und aus denen er in der Krondomäne von Akkon ein Konglomerat von Besitzungen und Rechten aufbaute, das so sehr den äußeren Anschein einer Seigneurie hatte, daß es als Seigneurie de Joscelin bekannt war, ohne doch eine zu sein[18]. Nach 1180 griff auch Agnes zu. Wilhelm von Tyrus, der sie freilich nicht mochte, weil sie ihm 1180 den Weg zum Patriarchat verbaut hatte, beschuldigte sie zum Jahr 1182, sie sei *in extorquendo importuna* gewesen, was der altfranzösische Übersetzer noch verschärfte: *estoit mout angoisseuse de prendre deniers et amoit trop la seignorie*[19]. Ihre Ambitionen richteten sich wie die ihres Bruders auf eine eigene Seigneurie, und ab 1180 bot sich ein konkretes Ziel, nämlich die Herrschaft Toron (heute Tibnin im Libanon östlich von Tyrus). Im Oktober 1180 wurde Humfred IV. von Toron mit Isabella, der Tochter Maria Komnenas und des Königs Amalrich, also mit der Halbschwester des Königs Balduin IV., verlobt. Als Preis dafür mußte er sein Erbgut Toron aufgeben, das er erst 1170 beim Tode seines Großvaters Humfred II. geerbt hatte, da sein Vater vor seinem Großvater gestorben war. Sein Großvater hatte solide im Lager der Gegner der Agnes gestanden, aber es war kein Machtzuwachs ihrer Feinde, wenn Humfred IV. jetzt die Frau heiratete, die die einzige Alternative zu einer Thronfolge Sibylles bilden konnte, denn 1186 sollte er sich dem Versuch entziehen, seine Frau zur Gegenkönigin und ihn zum Gegenkönig aufzubauen. Zudem lebte Humfred IV. in Transjordanien bei einem entschiedenen Parteigänger der Agnes, nämlich bei dem Herrn von Transjordanien Rainald von Châtillon, so daß die 1183 in Kerak in Transjordanien geschlossene Ehe die Alternativkandidatin Isabella dem Einfluß der Opposition gegen Agnes entzog, denn hatte sie bisher in

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[18] Hans E. Mayer, Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden, in: Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas, ed. Josef Fleckenstein und Manfred Hellmann (Sigmaringen 1980) 171–181.

[19] WT XXII.10(9), 1019. Altfranzösische Übersetzung RHC. Hoc. I, 1078.

Nablus bei ihrer in zweiter Ehe mit Barisan dem Jüngeren von Ibelin verheirateten Mutter gelebt, so mußte sie jetzt nach Transjordanien umziehen, wo man selbst ihre Mutter am Kontakt mit ihr hinderte[20]. Wilhelm von Tyrus nennt Rainald von Châtillon als den Drahtzieher der Verlobung Humfreds IV.[21], aber es wird allgemein angenommen, daß Agnes die Hand mit im Spiele hatte, weil sie Nutzen aus der Sache zog, da Toron später an sie fiel.

Hamilton meint, daß der König Toron zwischen 1180 und 1185 an Agnes verlehnte[22]. Das Datum läßt sich aber enger eingrenzen. Im November 1181 gab es in Toron einen Kastellan, im April 1182 verfügte der König über gewisse Einkünfte, die er *ex tota terra Toroni* innehatte (RRH n° 606. 615). Damals war Toron also noch im Kronbesitz. Als aber am 16. September 1184 der muslimische Reisende Ibn Jubair auf seiner Reise von Damaskus nach Akkon Toron berührte, schrieb er, es gehöre »der Sau, die man die Königin nennt und die die Mutter des Schweins, des Herrn von Akkon, ist«[23], also Agnes von Courtenay, der Mutter König Balduins IV.

Aber das Datum der Belehnung läßt sich mit einer gewissen Wahrscheinlichkeit noch weiter einengen. Die Wahl Torons für die Ausstattung der Agnes war sicher nicht rein zufällig und gewiß von ihr mit beeinflußt. Es war eine Herrschaft, die nicht allzu weit entfernt lag von der sich in der Krondomäne von Akkon bildenden Seigneurie de Joscelin ihres Bruders. Sollte Agnes nach Südwesten oder Joscelin III. nach Nordosten hin expandieren, so mußte hier ein großer Courtenayscher Besitzblock entstehen, der auch politische Bedeutung gehabt hätte. Der Besitz der Courtenays hätte nämlich dann von der Küste nördlich von Akkon gereicht bis zur Ostgrenze des Reichs im Quellgebiet des Jordan, jedenfalls wenn Châteauneuf dazugehörte (s. unten S. 76f.). Das Reich wäre durch die Courtenays in zwei Teile zerschnitten worden, einen nördlichen mit Beirut, Sidon und Tyrus und dem Rest des Reiches als südlichem. Welche Bedeutung solche Sperriegel bei inneren Auseinanderset-

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[20] WT XXI.14(15), 981 (Isabella lebt 1177 in Nablus). Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr 106 = Estoire de Eracles, 152.

[21] WT XXII.5, 1012.

[22] Hamilton, Titular Nobility, 200. Die obere Grenze ist die Auflassung Torons an den König im Oktober 1180. Hamiltons untere Grenze bleibt unklar, denn ihren Tod, der vor dem 1. Februar 1185 erfolgt war (oben Anm. 8), setzt er ja zu 1186 (201), und 203 Anm. 47 sagt er richtig, daß Agnes im September 1184 Toron schon besaß. Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, 279 Anm. 35 vermutet, Toron sei 1185 an Joscelin III. von Courtenay gefallen, doch fehlten die Beweise. Siehe jedoch unten S. 82–89.

[23] Ibn Jobair, Voyages, übers. von Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (= Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 6, Paris 1953–1956) 352.

zungen haben konnten, zeigt die Rolle, die der England in ähnlicher Weise zerteilende Besitzblock des Earl of Chester in den Midlands im Bürgerkrieg zwischen Stephan und der Kaiserinwitwe Mathilde hatte[24].

Der König muß diese Gefahr gesehen haben, als er Agnes mit Toron belehnte, und muß versucht haben, ihr vorzubeugen. Darauf deutet die wechselvolle Geschichte von Maron (Maroun er-Rass im Libanon, Palestine Grid 192/279, Levant Grid 130/122), das die Landbrücke zwischen der Seigneurie de Joscelin und Toron bildete. Es war ursprünglich ein Besitz der samaritanischen Familie Milly gewesen und von dieser mit Streubesitz in den Bergen um Tyrus und Toron an einen Vasallen der Millys unterverlehnt gewesen, 1161 aber in den Besitz der Krone gekommen (RRH n° 366). Der König übernahm auch den namenlosen Vasallen der Millys in den direkten Krondienst, so daß klar ist, daß Maron damals nicht zur Herrschaft Toron gehörte, die bereits 1157 im Besitz des RRH n° 366 selbst bezeugenden Konstablers Humfreds II. von Toron war (s. unten S. 75). Am 24. Februar 1182 gab der König Maron an Joscelin III. (RRH n° 614), wobei festzuhalten ist, daß es nicht aus der 1180 der Krondomäne einverleibten Herrschaft Toron ausgegliedert wurde[25].

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[24] H.A. Cronne, The Reign of Stephen 1135–54. Anarchy in England (London 1970) 137, 174f.

[25] Daß Maron 1186 in RRH n° 653 ein Afterlehen von Toron und noch in der Hand Humfreds IV. von Toron gewesen wäre (so Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, 110 mit Anm. 36), ist ein Mißverständis, das freilich durch die Servitienliste im Livre de Jean d'Ibelin c. 271, RHC. Lois I, 423 begünstigt wird, wo Maron als Teil der Seigneurie Toron drei Ritter zu stellen hat. Der Text von RRH n° 653 ist schwer zu verstehen, weil Maron darin scheinbar zweimal an Joscelin III. kommt. Zunächst erhält er es generell, aber nicht als ein aus der Krondomäne ausgegliedertes Lehen, also als Seigneurie, noch als Afterlehen von Toron, sondern als Vasall des Königs in der Krondomäne. Dies geht hervor aus der unscheinbaren Formulierung, Joscelin schulde den Dienst für Maron nicht, wie herkömmlich formuliert, *michi et heredibus* (oder *successoribus) meis*, sondern *michi et meis*, also dem König und den Seinen, d.h. seiner Familie, nicht seinen Nachfolgern. Man darf hier keinen Ausfall von *heredibus* in der Überlieferung annehmen (so der Editor Strehlke), weil das Wort in keiner der beiden Überlieferungen (Deutschordenskopialbuch von 1243, Vidimus von 1249) vorkommt. Es wird hier vielmehr ein einziges Mal in einer ungemein kritischen Situation gleich nach dem Staatsstreich von 1186 der Versuch unternommen, vom Krongut ein unabhängiges Hausgut der lusignanschen Königsfamilie zu scheiden. Um so klarer ist dann Joscelins Stellung als einfacher Vasall in Maron. RRH n° 653 bestimmt dann weiter: Wenn Joscelin III. die Herrschaft Toron durch ein Urteil des Hofgerichts verlieren sollte, und zwar natürlich an den 1186 als einzigen Anfechter in Betracht kommenden Humfred IV. von Toron, dann soll Joscelin als Ersatz nicht nur das Tauschgut erhalten, das Humfred seinerseits erhalten hatte, als er 1180 Toron aufgeben mußte, und das Friedrich II. 1229 in RRH n° 1003 mit 7000 Byzantinern bezifferte, sondern er sollte dafür auch Maron auf ewig »innehaben«, d.h. behalten. Joscelin erhielt also in RRH n° 653 Maron nicht zweimal, sondern nur einmal, allerdings mit verschiedenem Rechtsstatus je nach der künftigen

Rechnet man die ausdrücklich mitvergabten Pertinenzen dazu, die zwar nicht in RRH n° 614, wohl aber 1186 in RRH n° 653 aufgezählt werden, so war es ein Besitz, der Joscelins Quasi-Seigneurie im Osten bis hart an den Rand des Gebirges vorschob, das an das Quellgebiet des Jordan und an die von Safad über Châteauneuf und Beaufort im Litaniknie in den Norden des Reiches verlaufende Hauptstraße im Landesinnern angrenzt. Zugleich machte der König 1182 Gaufridus Tortus vom Kronvasallen zum Vasallen Joscelins III., was diesem die Kontrolle über Manueth (Khirbat al-Manawat, Palestine Grid 164/272) nahe der Küstenroute einbrachte (RRH n° 468.614), so daß er auch diese zu bedrohen vermochte. Am 19. März 1183, nur ein Jahr nach der Belehnung Joscelins mit Maron, machte der König diese rückgängig und entschädigte Joscelin dafür mit dem Casale Jatt bei Akkon (Palestine Grid 172/264) und einer akkonensischen Geldrente von 1000 Byzantinern jährlich (RRH n° 625)[26]. Damit schob der König einen Keil von Krongut zwischen die Besitzungen Joscelins und die ehemalige Herrschaft Toron. Dieser jähe Sinneswandel des Königs erklärt sich am ehesten mit der Vermutung, daß die Ausstattung der Agnes von Courtenay mit Toron im Frühjahr 1183 erfolgte und sachlich wie zeitlich im Zusammenhang mit der Rücknahme Marons in die Hand des Königs stand. Mit leichtem Vorbehalt setzen wir daher die Belehnung der Agnes als gleichzeitig mit RRH n° 625 und daher mit dem 19. März 1183 an. Wir betrachten die Rücknahme des Zwischengliedes Maron als den Preis, den die Courtenay dafür zu zahlen hatten, daß sie den für einen Sperriegel unentbehrlichen nordöstlichen Teil Toron erhielten.

In den gleichen Zeitraum führen auch politische Überlegungen. Wir haben oben gesehen, daß Agnes seit ihrer Eheschließung mit Rainald von Sidon um 1170 kaum noch eigene Einkünfte gehabt haben kann. Das bedingte, daß der König sie als seine Mutter unterhielt, jedenfalls nachdem sie 1175 an den Hof zurückgekehrt war. Dies war ihm bis zum Sommer 1183 ohne weiteres möglich. Dann aber zog er sich infolge seiner

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Entwicklung. Solange er die Seigneurie Toron behielt, hatte er Maron nur als reines Hauslehen in der akkonensischen Domäne, das mit der Seigneurie Toron nichts zu tun hatte. Nur wenn er Toron an Humfred IV. zurückgeben mußte, sollte er nicht nur dessen Tauschgut haben, sondern dann sollte Maron damit verbunden werden und dann eben zu einer kleinen Seigneurie aufsteigen.

[26] Die Höhe der Entschädigung deutet auf eine beträchtliche Ertragskraft von Maron, die hier wahrscheinlich noch zu niedrig angesetzt war, da Maron dem Reichsheer drei Ritter stellte (oben Anm. 25), ein Ritterlehen aber zwischen 400 und 600 Byzantinern schwankte. In der Tat wurde der Ertragswert von Maron 1244 mit 5000 Byzantinern wesentlich höher bewertet, wenngleich diesmal wahrscheinlich zu hoch; vgl. Mayer, Seigneurie de Joscelin, 215.

fortgeschrittenen Krankheit ganz von den Regierungsgeschäften zurück und setzte seinen Schwager Guido von Lusignan, den Grafen von Jaffa-Askalon, den er 1180 übereilt mit seiner Schwester Sibylle verheiratet hatte, um supponierten Absichten Raimunds III. von Tripolis zuvorzukommen, zum Regenten ein. Guido erhielt die gesamte Krondomäne. Der König behielt für sich lediglich die Stadt Jerusalem, also selbst ohne die Domäne in Judaea, und eine Jahrespension von 10000 Byzantinern[27]. Das reichte nur noch für ihn selbst. Er konnte das Problem der Ausstattung seiner Mutter von dem Moment an daher nicht mehr aufschieben, in dem er erstmals einen Rückzug auf den bloßen Königstitel und auf eine Staatspension zu erwägen begann.

Dieser Rückzugsplan kann nicht im Sommer 1183 plötzlich vom Himmel gefallen sein, da Wilhelm von Tyrus versichert, man habe den König schon länger, wenn auch erfolglos, zur Abdankung gedrängt. Eine Ausstattung der Agnes mit Toron im März 1183 würde gut in diesen Ablauf passen. Man mag einwenden, daß es im Interesse der Agnes gelegen haben müßte, eine derartige Ausstattung schon früher zu erreichen, da eigene Einkünfte besser waren als Unterhalt durch den Sohn. Aber die Krondomäne ließ sich nicht beliebig verkleinern, wenn das Reich nicht erheblichen Schaden erleiden sollte. Der König hatte jedoch schon 1176, wohl in Erfüllung der Bestimmungen von 1163 über die Nachfolge in den *bona paterna*, seine Schwester mit der Grafschaft Jaffa-Askalon ausstatten müssen, als sie zum ersten Male heiratete[28]. Es wäre verständlich, wenn der König mit der Ausstattung seiner Mutter zugewartet hätte, bis sich die Domäne an einem Punkt vergrößert hatte, was eben erst im Oktober 1180 in Toron eintrat. Warum der König dann noch immer zweieinhalb Jahre zuwartete, muß offen bleiben. Vielleicht mußten aber Widerstände im Adel überwunden werden[29], denn die *Erst*beleh-

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[27] WT XXII.26(25), 1049.

[28] WT XXI.12(13), 978.

[29] Möglicherweise zeigte der König seine Gunst im Februar 1183 auch den anderen beiden Häuptern der Hofpartei. Damals wurde die berühmte Sondersteuer für Verteidigungszwecke beschlossen. Es ist schon bemerkt worden, daß das Reich für Besteuerungszwecke in zwei Zonen geteilt wurde, eine von Beirut bis Haifa, die andere von Haifa bis Jerusalem. Begünstigte das Steuerdekret ungeachtet seiner Versicherung der Gleichheit der Besteuerung aller tatsächlich die Reichen, so muß man jetzt noch hinzunehmen, was ich 1978 noch für einen Flüchtigkeitsfehler hielt, daß Rainald von Châtillon, Herr von Transjordanien und Hebron, und vielleicht Guido von Lusignan mit dem südlichen Teil der Doppelgrafschaft Jaffa-Askalon der Besteuerung ganz entgingen. Der Courtenaysche Machtblock in Galilaea wurde besteuert, dafür aber einen Monat später um Toron vergrößert. Die mindestens als Möglichkeit diskutable, einfach durch Weglassung bewirkte massive Steuerbefreiung Rainalds und Guidos zeigt, in welchem Umfang damals ihre Partei die Macht im Staat ausübte, da den anderen Baronen die Zustimmung zu dem Dekret

nung einer Frau mit einer *fié de conquest* war zweifellos ein Novum. Die Ausstattungen der Königinnen Theodora 1158 mit Akkon und Maria Komnena 1167 mit Samaria sprechen wir nur als eine finanzielle an, nicht aber als Belehnung, und die wirkliche Ausgliederung Samarias aus der Domäne 1152 zugunsten der Königin Melisendis war ein Sonderfall, denn hier handelte es sich um die Reste der originären Rechte, die Melisendis aufgrund der von Balduin II. begründeten Samtherrschaft noch am Reich hatte[30]. Unbezweifelbar konnten Frauen aber eine *fié d'escheete* besitzen, d. h. ein ererbtes Lehen. Ob Frauen auch Lehen kaufen konnten, war im 13. Jh. umstritten, aber Jean d'Ibelin argumentierte gegen Ungenannte, daß sie dies konnten, wenn sie von legitimer Geburt, von seiten beider Eltern adliger Abkunft und verheiratet oder verwitwet waren[31]. Jeans Argument war, daß man ihnen den Kauf nicht verweigern konnte, weil sie auch ererbte Lehen innehaben durften. Bei dieser Lage ist nicht einzusehen, warum man eine Frau nicht auch erstbelehnen konnte, zumal wenn die Dienstleistung des Lehens dabei sichergestellt war.

Soweit die Belehnung der Agnes von Courtenay in der Literatur überhaupt erkannt und ihr Umfang erörtert wurde, hat man diesen mit der 1180 von Humfred IV. dem König aufgetragenen Herrschaft Toron gleichgesetzt. Diese war ein reicher Besitz, auch wenn Francesco Amadi im 16. Jh. ihren Jahresertragswert für 1240 mit 60 000 Byzantinern sicherlich zu hoch ansetzte[32]. Die Seigneurie, wie sie der bedeutende Hum-

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abgerungen werden konnte. Möglicherweise wurde mit diesem Entgegenkommen an zwei führende Barone deren Zustimmung zu der Vergrößerung des Courtenayschen Besitzblocks erkauft. Zum Steuerdekret WT XXII.24(23), 1044–1046 und Hans E. Mayer, Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: History 63 (1978) 177–180, bes. 177 Anm. 11 f.

[30] WT XVIII.22, XXI.17(18), 843, 986. Marias Ausstattung wird in der Literatur gelegentlich zu 1177 angesetzt, als sie in zweiter Ehe Barisan den Jüngeren von Ibelin heiratete, weil Wilhelm von Tyrus nur bei dieser Gelegenheit davon berichtet. Doch spricht er die Ausstattung (die Barisan von 1177 an natürlich als Gemahl kontrollierte) also *donatio propter nuptias* an. Zum Unterschied im Königreich Jerusalem zwischen *dos*, das vom Brautvater kam, und der *donatio propter nuptias*, die vom Ehemann kam, s. RRH n° 1392 von 1272. Samaria mit Nablus konnte also nur König Amalrich 1167 als *donatio propter nuptias* gegeben haben; es blieb aber bis zur Eroberung durch Saladin 1187 der Krondomäne entzogen. Zu Melisendis in Nablus WT XVII.14, 780 und Hans E. Mayer, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Stuttgart[6] 1985) 103 (noch unrichtig als Ausstattung zum Lebensunterhalt: ders., Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem: Dumbarton Oaks Papers 26 [1972] 169).

[31] Livre de Jean d'Ibelin c. 187, RHC. Lois I, 297 ff.

[32] Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi, ed. René de Mas Latrie (= Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France) 1 (Paris 1896) 186. Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, 32 Anm. 66 hat deshalb gemeint, es handle sich nicht um den Ertragswert, sondern

fred II. von Toron innehatte, hatte 1157 aus Toron, Banias und Châteauneuf (= Qal'at Hunin, Palestine Grid 201/292) bestanden (RRH n° 325). Die Stadt Banias mit ihrer oberhalb davon gelegenen Zitadelle Qal'at as Subeibe war 1164 endgültig verlorengegangen[33]. Ferner war das Gebiet der Seigneurie verkleinert worden durch die Zerstörung von Châteauneuf im Juli/August 1167[34]. Humfred II. von Toron ließ die Burg, von der aus sich die ca. 8–15 Kilometer nordnordöstlich gelegene wasserreiche Ebene von Marjayoun (Levant Grid 136/158) kontrollieren ließ, lange unaufgebaut, war aber mit dem Wiederaufbau beschäftigt, als er dort im April 1179 starb[35]. Dieses lange Zuwarten Humfreds von über zehn Jahren mit dem Wiederaufbau der Burg ist seltsam, da die militärische Abschirmung seiner Hauptburg Toron, in der er auch beigesetzt wurde, seit den Verlusten von Banias und Qual'at as Subeibe, Cave de Tyron und Châtauneuf in den Jahren 1164, 1165 und 1167 empfindliche Lücken aufwies. Der Aufbau von Châteauneuf wurde abgeschlossen durch den König, denn im Sommer 1183, als die Herrschaft Toron Humfred IV. bereits drei Jahre entglitten war, war Châteauneuf wieder funktionsfähig, da damals Gerüchte umliefen, Saladin plane die Eroberung von Toron und Châteauneuf. Tatsächlich fiel es erst 1187 in Saladins Hand[36].

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um den Kapitalwert der Seigneurie, weil sie nach der Servitienliste des Jean d'Ibelin (Livre c. 271, RHC. Lois I, 423) nur 15 Ritter zu stellen hatte, aber wir kennen keinen Parallelfall, wo man zur Andeutung des Ertragswertes diesen kapitalisiert hätte. Legt man aber einer solchen Kapitalisierung versuchsweise den zehnfachen Jahresertrag zugrunde, so hätte dieser bei 6000 Byzantinern pro Jahr gelegen, was bei einem Durchschnittswert von 600 Byzantinern pro Ritterlehen nur für zehn, bei einem Minimalwert von 400 Byzantinern zwar für 15 Ritterlehen ausgereicht, aber dem Herrn von Toron nichts mehr übrig gelassen hätte.

[33] WT XIX.10, 877 zum falschen Inkarnationsjahr 1167, aber zum richtigen Regierungsjahr des Königs Amalrich. Weil Banias schon verloren war, spricht der altfranzösische Übersetzer Wilhelms von Tyrus (RHC. Hoc. I, 1069) genauer als dieser selbst davon, Humfred habe 1180 neben Toron und Châteauneuf *la droiture de Belinas* aufgegeben.

[34] Nikita Elisséeff, Nūr ad-Dīn, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades 2 (Damas 1967) 616; Joshua Prawer, Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem 1 (Paris 1969) 436; Reinhold Röhricht, Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (Innsbruck 1898) 329 Anm. 1. Nach Baha ad-Dīn, Anecdotes et beaux traits de la vie du Sultan Youssof, RHC. Historiens orientaux (künftig: Hor.) III, 45 wurde die Burg (so auch Ibn al Athīr, Extrait du Kamel-Altevarykh, RHC. Hor. I, 551), nach Abu Shama, Livre des deux jardins, RHC. Hor. IV, 111 der Ort, wahrscheinlich also beides zerstört.

[35] WT XXI.26(27), 999: *Castellum Novum, quod ipse adhuc construebat.*

[36] WT XXII.25(24), 1048; 'Imād ad Dīn, Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin, übers. von Henri Massé (= Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 10, Paris 1972) 75f.; Baha ad-Dīn, Vie du Sultan Youssof, RHC. Hor. III, 102; Hannes Möhring, Saladin und der Dritte Kreuzzug (= Frankfurter Historische Studien 21, Frankfurt a. M. 1980) 59.

Als aber Balduin IV. seine Mutter Agnes von Courtenay mit Toron belehnte, behielt er allem Anschein nach Châteauneuf in seiner eigenen Hand. In RRH n° 625 vom 19. März 1183, mit dem der König Maron in Kronbesitz zurücknahm, schenkte er Joscelin III. von Courtenay unter anderem den Dragoman Johann von Castellum Novum = Châteauneuf[37]. Der König verkleinerte also im März 1183, als er Toron an Agnes verlieh, die Seigneurie um Châteauneuf, denn er gab damals die wirtschaftliche Nutzung in Gestalt des Dragomans (= Domänenverwalter) Johannes an ihren Bruder Joscelin, aber eben nur diese. Die Burg selbst muß er in der eigenen Hand behalten haben, denn die Alternative zu dieser Annahme, daß er nämlich Agnes zwar auch mit Châteauneuf belehnt habe, aber das Dragomanat und damit die Exploitation an Joscelin gegeben habe, ergibt keinen Sinn. Agnes hätte den teuren Unterhalt der Burg bezahlen müssen[38], die Einnahmen aber wären an ihren Bruder gegangen. Wenn der König sich aber Châteauneuf vorbehielt und nur die Einnahmen vergab, dann blieb ihm die Kontrolle über die im Landesinneren in den Norden des Reiches führende Straße, die aus dem Jordangraben kommend nach Marjayoun und weiter nach Norden führte. Er hätte damit Châteauneuf aus denselben Gründen der Krone vorbehalten, aus denen er Maron damals wieder in den Kronbesitz zurücknahm: Die Entstehung eines geschlossenen, das Reich in zwei Teile teilenden Besitzblocks der Courtenays sollte verhindert werden[39].

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[37] Ich habe (Seigneurie de Joscelin, 176 mit Anm. 17 und 18) noch angenommen, daß dies Mi'ilya = Château du Roi (Palestine Grid 175/270) sei, beeinflußt von Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, 105 Anm. 19, der unter Castellum Novum in RRH n° 614.625 Château du Roi verstand. Das ist nur zweifelsfrei für RRH n° 614: *Castellum Novum quod in montanis Achonensibus situm est.* Aber in RRH n° 625 erhielt Joscelin III. vom König unter anderem Johann *drugemannum Castelli Novi.* Da Joscelin Mi'ilya mit allen Pertinenzen bereits 1182 in RRH n° 614 erhalten hatte, bekam er damals natürlich auch schon das Dragomanat von Mi'ilya, dessen er für die wirtschaftliche Nutzung dringend bedurfte, so daß 1183 kein Anlaß mehr bestand, ihm das dortige Dragomanat zu schenken. Er hätte sonst nämlich 1182/1183 zwar die Burg Mi'ilya mit den Unterhaltskosten gehabt, der König aber die Einkünfte. In RRH n° 625, der einzigen Urkunde, in der an sich zweifelhaft sein kann, ob Mi'ilya oder Châteauneuf gemeint ist, kann daher aus sachlichen Gründen nur Châteauneuf gemeint sein, wie Riley-Smith, Some Lesser Officials in Latin Syria: English Historical Review 87 (1972) 17 selbst noch angenommen hatte.

[38] Noch 1186, als Joscelin in RRH n° 653 Châteauneuf wirklich erhielt, ließ er sich in die Belehnungsurkunde hineinschreiben, daß er, wenn er dieses Lehen durch Hofgerichtsurteil verlieren sollte, Anspruch auf Ersatz seiner auf den Ausbau der Burgen Toron und Châteauneuf gemachten Ausgaben habe.

[39] Als 1220 das Erbe Joscelins III. und der Agnes von Joscelins älterer Tochter Beatrix von Henneberg an den Deutschen Orden verkauft wurde, da behielt sich König Johann bei der Bestätigung (RRH n° 934) den Teil der Erbschaft vor, der in den Händen der Sarazenen war, und dazu gehörte auch Toron und Châteauneuf (vgl. Mayer, Seigneurie de Joscelin, 191,

Auch eine andere Überlegung ergibt, daß Châteauneuf 1183 beim König blieb. Als 1186 Joscelin in RRH n° 653 Toron, Châteauneuf und den Anspruch auf Banias erhielt, wurde seine Dienstpflicht hierfür ausdrücklich in dem Umfang festgelegt, in dem sie der 1179 verstorbene Konstabler Humfred II. von Toron gehabt hatte. Man griff also weder auf die Vorbesitzerin Agnes, noch auf deren Vorbesitzer Humfred IV. von Toron zurück. Letzteres erklärt sich weniger aus dem kurzen Zeitraum (April 1179–Oktober 1180), während dessen er das Lehen nach seinem Großvater Humfred II. inngehabt hatte, sondern eher daraus, daß man in RRH n° 653 schon ziemlich fest damit rechnete, daß Humfred IV. die Auflassung seines Erbes in Toron und Châteauneuf an den König von 1180 (und damit die späteren Belehnungen sowohl der Agnes 1183 und Joscelins III. von 1186) gerichtlich anfechten werde, denn es wurde 1186 bereits der Schadensersatz für Joscelin festgelegt, wenn er Toron und Châteauneuf durch Hofgerichtsurteil verlieren sollte. Er sollte dann nämlich Maron behalten und die 7000 Byzantiner jährlich bekommen, die Humfred IV. als Tauschgut für sein großväterliches Erbe erhalten hatte, so daß ganz eindeutig ist, aus welcher Richtung man 1186 den Angriff erwartete[40]. Daß man aber auch nicht auf die Dienstpflicht der Agnes zurückgriff, dürfte damit zusammenhängen, daß diese eben geringer gewesen war als die des Konstablers, weil sie Châteauneuf 1183 nicht erhalten hatte.

Als der König im Frühjahr 1183 Agnes von Courtenay mit Toron belehnte, muß er ein dringendes, im Problem seiner eigenen Legitimität wurzelndes Interesse daran gehabt haben, die Frage zu regeln, wer Agnes in Toron beerben werde und diese Erbfolge seiner Schwester Sibylle zuzuwenden. Wie anfangs ausgeführt, waren bei der Scheidung der Agnes von König Amalrich 1163 die Kinder Balduin IV. und Sibylle ausdrücklich als legitim erklärt worden und es war ihnen die Nachfolge in den *bona paterna* (das Königreich und die Grafschaft Jaffa-Askalon) zugesichert worden. Über die *bona materna* war nichts ausgesagt worden, weil es sie entweder nicht gab oder Agnes hier eine Erbfolge jener Kinder haben

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196, 204–207). Das bedeutete, daß der Sperriegel, den Joscelin und Agnes im Reich hatten aufbauen wollen, dem Deutschen Orden a priori verwehrt wurde, selbst wenn das Gebiet um Maron und Toron mit Châteauneuf wieder christlich werden sollte. Allerdings verzichtete Friedrich II. 1226 in RRH n° 974 auf diese Einschränkung zugunsten der Krone.

[40] Im Anschluß an ihre Scheidung von Humfred IV. und ihre unmittelbar folgende Ehe mit Konrad von Montferrat spät im Jahre 1190 gab Isabella I. von Jerusalem Toron und Châteauneuf an Humfred IV. zurück (Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 107). Damit war der in RRH n° 653 bereits vier Jahre zuvor anvisierte Fall eingetreten, und daß Joscelin III. nunmehr als Ersatz Humfreds Geldlehen von 7000 Byzantinern erhielt, ergibt sich aus RRH n° 1120 von 1244.

wollte, die sie aus ihren nun folgenden Ehen mit Hugo von Ibelin und Rainald von Sidon noch erwartete. Beide Ehen blieben aber kinderlos, und Agnes war bei ihrer Belehnung mit Toron 1183 wenigstens 46 Jahre alt, höchstens 50. Sie würde weitere Kinder nicht mehr haben, und als Erben ihres Eigenguts kamen jetzt nur noch ihre Tochter Sibylle oder ihr Bruder Joscelin III. in Betracht, denn jedermann ging wohl davon aus, daß Agnes den leprösen Sohn Balduin IV. überleben werde.

Die 1163 zugesicherte Legitimität Balduins IV. und Sibylles blieb aber nicht unbestritten. Die altfranzösische Fortsetzung des Wilhelm von Tyrus aus dem ersten Drittel des 13. Jh. berichtet sogar ausdrücklich, die Kinder seien 1163 nicht legitimiert worden[41]. Riley-Smith hat gezeigt, daß seit 1183 die Legitimität Sibylles offen angezweifelt wurde[42]. Sie war bis dahin die ernsthafteste Kandidatin für die Nachfolge Balduins IV., da der Lepröse natürlich unverheiratet blieb. Die einzige Alternative zu ihr war ihre Halbschwester Isabella, die der zweiten Ehe des Königs Amalrich mit Maria Komnena entstammte. Anläßlich der Erhebung Balduins V. zum König im November 1183 und der Einsetzung Raimunds III. von Tripolis zum Regenten im Frühjahr 1184 wies man darauf hin, daß Sibylle einer vor der Thronbesteigung ihres Vaters getrennten Ehe entstammte, während Isabella die Porphyrogeneta war[43]. Deshalb beschloß man für den Fall des vorzeitigen Todes Balduins V., die Frage, wer auf Balduin IV. folgen solle (seine ältere Schwester Sibylle oder seine jüngere Halbschwester Isabella) dem Papst, dem Kaiser und den Königen von Frankreich und England zur Entscheidung vorzulegen. Bis dahin, und das würde voraussichtlich lange dauern, würde Raimund Regent bleiben. Dieser soll angeblich, so glaubte man jedenfalls in Genua, die Legitimität gleich aller Herrscher seit Balduin II. bestritten haben, denn er soll argumentiert haben, er habe mehr Recht auf das Königreich, da seine Mutter Hodierna geboren worden sei, als Balduin II. schon König von Jerusalem war, während ihre ältere Schwester Melisendis, die Balduin II. 1131 in Jerusalem nachfolgte, noch zu der Zeit geboren worden sei, als Balduin II. noch Graf von Edessa war[44]. In Wirklichkeit traf dies auch für Hodierna zu, und von der Nonne Iveta, auf die Raimunds Argument wirklich zutraf, redete natürlich niemand, da sie keine Nachkommenschaft gehabt hatte. In dem verkehrten Argument Raimunds III. soll er Melisendis nur die Erbschaft der Grafschaft Edessa zugebilligt haben, während Jerusalem an seine Mutter Hodierna und damit später an ihn

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[41] Estoire de Eracles, RHC. Hoc. II, 6 = Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 20.

[42] Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, 108.

[43] Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 20 = Estoire de Eracles, RHC. Hoc. II, 7; Ernoul, Chronique, 117.

[44] Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia, 136f.

statt an die Nachkommen der Melisendis Balduin III., Amalrich, Balduin IV., Balduin V. und Sibylle hätte gelangen müssen. Wenn es richtig ist, daß die Scheidung Amalrichs von Agnes 1163 tatsächlich nicht wegen zu naher Blutsverwandtschaft erfolgte, sondern wegen der bigamen Natur der Ehe der beiden, dann ließ sich die Legitimität Sibylles natürlich noch leichter in Zweifel ziehen.

Die Diskussion über diesen heiklen Punkt scheint schon geraume Zeit vor 1183 eingesetzt zu haben. Man war bei den Bemühungen um eine gute Verheiratung Sibylles nämlich nicht gerade erfolgreich[45]. Im Jahre 1171 sollte sie Stephan, den Sohn des Grafen Theobald II. von Champagne heiraten, der auch ins Hl. Land kam, sein Eheversprechen aber brach und nach Europa zurückkehrte. Ob in ihm schon Zweifel geweckt wurden, ist nicht sicher, aber möglich. Als Sibylle im Oktober 1176 mit dem Markgrafen Wilhelm von Montferrat verheiratet wurde, scheint man mehrheitlich noch der Meinung gewesen zu sein, daß sie legitim sei, da sie ja jetzt die Nachfolge in einem Teil der *bona paterna*, nämlich in der Grafschaft Jaffa-Askalon, antrat. Dann hingen auch die Thronfolgerechte an ihr. Es gab aber eine Opposition, die dem von dem Regenten Raimund von Tripolis ausgehandelten Ehevertrag zugestimmt hatte, dies aber jetzt bereute, nachdem die erste Regentschaft Raimunds Mitte 1176 zu Ende gegangen war. Als 1177 der Graf von Flandern ins Hl. Land kam und ein neues Eheprojekt für Sibylle betrieb, war er vorsichtig genug, in dieses Isabella gleich mit einzubeziehen. Die beiden Söhne des Vogtes von Béthune sollten Sibylle und Isabella heiraten. Nachdem dieses Projekt gescheitert war, verhandelte man 1179 erneut über eine Ehe Sibylles, diesmal mit dem Herzog von Burgund. Er versprach zu kommen, tat es dann aber nicht. Wenn er von den Umständen der Scheidung von 1163 erfahren hatte, so bräuchte einen dieser Affront nicht zu wundern. Immerhin scheinen die Ibelins noch nicht durchgehend gegen Sibylles Legitimität eingestellt gewesen zu sein. So mochte Barisan der Jüngere unter dem Einfluß seiner Frau denken, die mit ihrer Tochter Isabella aus ihrer ersten Ehe mit König Amalrich bei Barisan in Nablus lebte. Aber zweifellos bemühte sich sein älterer Bruder Balduin von Ramla sehr um die Hand Sibylles. Er soll schon gegen ihre Verheiratung mit Wilhelm von Montferrat gewesen und gegen das Eheprojekt des Grafen von Flandern agitiert haben. Im Jahre 1179 gab es anscheinend parallel zu den Verhand-

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[45] WT XX.25, 947 (Stephan von Champagne); XXI.12(13) 978 (Wilhelm von Montferrat); XXI.13(14)–14(15), 980f. (Vogt von Béthune. Bei Isabella kann man allerdings nur an eine Verlobung gedacht haben, da sie das Heiratsalter von 12 Jahren noch nicht erreicht hatte); XXI.25(26) und 29(30), 996f., 1004 (Herzog von Burgund); Ernoul, Chronique, 33, 48, 59–60 (Balduin von Ramla); WT XXII.1, 1062f. und Ernoul, Chronique 59 (Guido von Lusignan).

lungen mit dem Herzog von Burgund auch ernsthafte Bemühungen, Sibylle mit Balduin von Ramla zu verheiraten. Auch Saladin muß in ihm den Thronfolger gesehen haben, denn er setzte nach Balduins Gefangennahme in der Schlacht bei Marjayoun 1179 ein monumentales Lösegeld für ihn fest, das in arabischen und christlichen Quellen mit 150000 oder 200000 Byzantinern beziffert wird[46]. Balduin konnte die Summe nicht aufbringen und die Begeisterung der künftigen Braut kühlte ab, als sie bemerkte, daß sie ihre Grafschaft Jaffa-Askalon für das Lösegeld hätte verpfänden müssen. Der Kaiser in Byzanz teilte dagegen Saladins Meinung, denn er brachte nun das Lösegeld für Balduin auf. König Balduin IV. hatte solche Pläne im Frühjahr 1180 ziemlich brutal durchkreuzt, als er, alarmiert über das Herannahen des Fürsten von Antiochia und des Grafen von Tripolis, die offenkundig erneut über Sibylles Verheiratung reden wollten, vollendete Tatsachen schuf, indem er sie mit Guido von Lusignan, einem Bruder seines Konstablers, verheiratete, und dies noch entgegen dem Herkommen in der Osterwoche; Agnes von Courtenay scheint dabei die Hand im Spiel gehabt zu haben. Da die Alternativkandidatin Isabella im Oktober 1180 mit Humfred IV. von Toron verlobt und im Herbst 1183 bei der Hochzeit dem Einfluß der Ibelins ganz entzogen wurde (s. oben S. 69f.), waren die Ibelins von nun an unversöhnliche Feinde Sibylles und Guidos, aber natürlich auch der Agnes, der sie es zugeschrieben haben müssen, daß sie um den Thron gebracht waren. Auch sie müssen also in das Lied eingestimmt haben, Sibylle sei illegitim.

Die Debatte über Sibylles Legitimität war höchst delikat, denn was für sie galt, galt auch für ihren Bruder, den König. Er scheint sich deshalb den Zweiflern auch entgegengestellt zu haben. Im Jahre 1176 konnte er durch die Ehe mit dem Markgrafen von Montferrat die Diskussion noch erstikken, ein Jahr später blockte er das Projekt des Grafen von Flandern ab, weil dieses die Zweifel nur nährte, indem es zwar die Verheiratung Sibylles, aber auch diejenige Isabellas anvisierte. Im Frühjahr 1180 schuf er vollendete Tatsachen, allerdings nicht im Sinne der Ibelins, die kaum über Sibylles Legitimität geredet hätten, wenn Sibylle mit Balduin von Ramla verheiratet worden wäre. Im Sommer 1183 konnte der König noch die Ernennung seines Schwagers Guido von Lusignan zum Regenten durchsetzen, als er selbst sich ganz aus den Regierungsgeschäften zurückziehen wollte (oben S. 73). Da dies die Thronfolge präjudizierte, hatte die Legitimität noch einmal gesiegt.

Den alten Familien war der Lusignan verhaßt, und nicht einmal bei der Kamarilla der Agnes scheint er sonderlich beliebt gewesen zu sein, denn,

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[46] Röhricht, Geschichte, 386 Anm. 1.

wie Kedar gezeigt hat, erzwangen ihre Parteigänger bei dem Staatsstreich von 1186, der Sibylle schließlich auf den Thron brachte, zunächst eine Scheidung von Guido (oben S. 63), die sie allerdings sofort nach ihrer Krönung dadurch zunichte machte, daß sie als nächsten Mann und damit als König denjenigen wählte, von dem sie gerade geschieden worden war, und damit saß der auch von ihren Parteigängern Ungeliebte auf dem Thron. Wenn Guidos Gegner ihn nicht wollten, dann mußten sie die Ansprüche Sibylles unterminieren. Bereits im November 1183 konnten sie den König dazu bewegen, Guido die Regentschaft zu entziehen, und Smail hat gezeigt, daß die dafür bei Wilhelm von Tyrus vorgebrachten Gründe nur ein Vorwand waren[47]. Auch die Königinmutter Agnes hielt Guido und Sibylle jetzt für so diskreditiert, daß sie an ihre Thronkandidatur nicht mehr glauben mochte, sondern einen Kompromißvorschlag vorlegte, auf den man sich zu einigen vermochte: Am 20. November 1183 wurde in völliger Abkehr von den bisherigen Gewohnheiten Sibylles Sohn aus erster Ehe mit Wilhelm von Montferrat als Balduin V. zum König gekrönt. Sibylles Ansprüche waren damit von ihrer eigenen Mutter beiseitegefegt worden, und die Unterstützung der Opposition zu dieser Lösung wurde sinnfällig dadurch demonstriert, daß das Kleinkind bei der Zeremonie von Barisan von Ibelin getragen wurde[48]. Das Kalkül des Königs und seiner Mutter muß gewesen sein, die zu dieser Zeit in aller Öffentlichkeit entbrannte Diskussion um die Legitimität Sibylles und damit Balduins IV. zu beenden. Die Hofpartei ließ Sibylle fallen, die Opposition erreichte, daß Guido von Lusignan bei normalem Gang der Dinge aus jeder Thronfolgerechnung herausfiel, weil jetzt nach Balduin IV. gleich sein Neffe Balduin V. regieren würde und tatsächlich auch regierte. Man konnte hoffen, daß das Gerede über die Vorgänge von 1163 nunmehr einschlafen werde, da niemand mehr ein Interesse daran hatte. Sibylle und Guido konnten zwar keine Sympathie für die Krönung Balduins V. entwickeln, und als einziger wurde Guido auch nicht aufgefordert, dem neuen König das *homagium* zu leisten[49]. Aber sie konnten nicht gut selbst Sibylles Illegitimität proklamieren, nur um Balduin V. zu stürzen. Die Ambitionen Raimunds III. von Tripolis wurden damals wohl schon diskutiert, jedenfalls im Frühjahr 1184 mit seiner zweiten Ernennung zum Regenten mindestens einstweilen zufriedengestellt, da ihm die Regentschaft für Balduin IV. und Balduin V. für volle zehn Jahre

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[47] WT XXII.30(29), 1057–1059; R.C. Smail, The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183–87, in: Outremer, ed. Kedar u.a. (wie Anm. 1) 159–176.

[48] Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 21 = Estoire de Eracles, 8; Ernoul, Chronique, 117f.

[49] WT XXII.30(29), 1058.

zugesagt wurde, also noch über die für 1192/1193 zu erwartende Volljährigkeit Balduins V. hinaus. Für den Fall des vorzeitigen Todes Balduins V. sollte er die Regentschaft so lange weiterführen, bis die oben S. 78 erwähnten europäischen Mächte zwischen den (dann natürlich wiederauflebenden) Ansprüchen Sibylles und Isabellas entschieden hätten. Das sicherte Raimund eine lange Regentschaft, aus der er nicht abzurufen war[50]. Für Balduin IV. aber hatte diese Regelung den bisher zu wenig beachteten Vorteil, daß die Frage der Legitimität Sibylles (und damit Balduins IV. und Balduins V.) offen blieb. Mit diesem Hinweis konnte nunmehr jede Debatte über die Frage unterbunden werden.

Trotzdem genügte dies Balduin IV. und wahrscheinlich auch seiner Mutter noch nicht. Im Frühjahr 1184 begann der König mit Sondierungen beim Patriarchen Eraklius wegen der Scheidung Sibylles von Guido[51]. Die Absicht war klar. Der König wollte den für die Barone aller Couleur untragbar gewordenen Guido endgültig aus der Anwartschaft auf den Thron entfernen, um Sibylles Hand neu vergeben zu können und damit alle Diskussionen über die für ihn selbst so gefährliche Frage nach der Rechtmäßigkeit von Sibylles Thronfolgerechten im Keime zu ersticken, ja seine eigene Legitimität aufs neue zu demonstrieren. Gelang es, für Sibylle einen allen akzeptablen Gemahl zu finden, so hatte niemand mehr Anlaß zu einer Verleumdungskampagne gegen Sibylle und auch nicht zu einer Begünstigung Isabellas, weil eine solche Favorisierung letztlich, eben weil sie Sibylles Rechte in Frage stellte, die Legitimität des Regimes Balduins IV. ebenso, wenn auch weniger offen, diskreditierte wie die Verleumdungen Sibylles. Aber es lagen anscheinend keine kirchenrechtlich relevanten Scheidungsgründe vor, und der Patriarch Eraklius war ohnehin 1184 und 1186 eine der Hauptstützen Guidos[52]. Jedenfalls scheiterte das Projekt und wurde nach der Einsetzung des Regenten Raimund III. von diesem auch nicht wiederbelebt.

Was hat das alles mit Toron als Eigengut der Agnes von Courtenay und der Erbfolge Sibylles in den *bona materna* zu tun? Wir haben gesehen, daß der Kampf gegen Guido und gegen die Legitimität Balduins IV., dessen Idoneität angesichts seiner seit dem Sommer 1183 infolge fortschreitender Erkrankung offenkundigen Amtsunfähigkeit immer mehr bezweifelt wurde, nicht offen gegen den König, sondern am Exempel seiner Schwester Sibylle geführt wurde. Balduin IV. mußte ein elementares Interesse daran haben, Sibylles Legitimität an ihrer Nachfolge in den

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[50] Riley-Smith, Feudal Nobility, 108.

[51] WT XXIII.1, 1062f.

[52] Hans E. Mayer, Kaiserrecht und Heiliges Land, in: Aus Reichsgeschichte und Nordischer Geschichte, hrsg. von Horst Fuhrmann u.a. (= Kieler Hist. Studien 16, Stuttgart 1972) 203; Kedar, Patriarch Eraclius, 191–198.

bona materna zu erweisen. Umgekehrt mußte die Opposition gegen Guido daran interessiert sein, daß dort Sibylle, weil illegitim, ihre Mutter nicht beerbe. Da die Kreierung dieser *bona materna* überhaupt erst im Frühjahr 1183 mittels der Belehnung der Agnes mit Toron erfolgte, als die Legitimitätsdiskussion durchaus schon in vollem Gang war, kann Balduin IV. die Belehnung nicht vorgenommen haben, ohne gleichzeitig auch die Nachfolge der Agnes in Toron zu regeln. Und in der Tat ergibt sich aus RRH n° 654, daß Agnes bei ihrem Tode Anfang 1185 ein Testament hinterließ.

Über den Inhalt dieses Testaments wird in RHH n° 654 nichts ausgesagt, aber der König – es war inzwischen Guido von Lusignan nach dem Staatsstreich vom September 1186 – »absolvierte« in seinem Diplom Joscelin III. von Courtenay von seinen Verpflichtungen aus diesem Testament und erließ ihm, darüber vor dem König Rechnung zu legen. Er bestätigte ihm überdies, daß er das ihm anvertraute Testament getreulich erfüllt habe. Diese Klauseln sind äußerst verdächtig, zumal RRH n° 654 zu den drei Diplomen gehört, mit denen Joscelin für seine entscheidende Unterstützung Sibylles und damit Guidos beim Staatsstreich belohnt wurde. Ist schon ominös, daß nichts über den Inhalt des Dokuments gesagt wird, so ist die Bestätigung der richtigen Vollstreckung gleichfalls verdächtig, denn wenn Joscelin aus der Vollstreckung keine Vorwürfe zu fürchten hatte, so brauchte er diese Bestätigung nicht. Gegenüber Dritten, die sich aus der Vollstreckung benachteiligt fühlten, war die Klausel rechtsunwirksam, zumal sie ohne Rechnungslegung erfolgt war. Sie konnte solche Dritte nicht daran hindern, ihre angebliche Benachteiligung dennoch gerichtshängig zu machen, und war insofern nicht mehr als ein Hinweis darauf, welche Position der König in einem solchen Prozeß einzunehmen gedachte, mit dem er in RRH n° 653 wegen Toron ausdrücklich rechnete. Es ist deshalb vielleicht nicht zufällig, daß König und Kanzlei die Bestätigung über die richtige Testamentsvollstreckung in einem anderen Diplom unterbrachte als die Bestimmung darüber, was Joscelin als Ersatz bekommen sollte, wenn in Toron der Übergang von Agnes auf Joscelin erfolgreich angefochten werden sollte. Die getrennte Beurkundung empfahl sich noch aus einem anderen Grunde. RRH n° 654 weist aus, daß Joscelin der Testamentsvollstrecker war. In der Regel ist der Vollstrecker nicht identisch mit dem Begünstigten, jedenfalls führt eine solche Klausel noch heute unter mehreren Erben meist zu unerfreulichen Auseinandersetzungen. Aber in RRH n° 653 erscheint ausgerechnet Joscelin III. als der Hauptbegünstigte aus dem Tod der Agnes, nämlich als Nachfolger in der Herrschaft Toron, jetzt auch wieder vermehrt um Châteauneuf. Dabei wird völlig totgeschwiegen, daß es sich hier um vererbbares Lehnsgut der Agnes von Courtenay handelte.

Fragt man sich, was Agnes eigentlich testamentarisch verfügen konnte,

so ist aus dem Umstand, daß die Rechnungslegung eigentlich vor dem König hätte erfolgen sollen, zu folgern, daß sich das Testament vorwiegend mit ihrem Lehnsgut, also der Seigneurie Toron, befaßte. Als Balduin IV. im März 1183 Agnes mit Toron belehnte, kann er aus mehreren Gründen nicht die Absicht gehabt haben, dort jemanden anderen als seine Schwester Sibylle als Erben zuzulassen, und schon gar nicht Joscelin III., der ja erbrechtlich die einzige Alternative zu Sibylle war. Die Rücknahme von Maron in den Kronbesitz (oben S. 72) im selben Moment, als er Toron an Agnes gab, zeigt deutlich, daß er damals die Entstehung eines das Reich zerschneidenden Besitzblocks der Geschwister Courtenay erfolgreich zu verhindern suchte. Es wäre aber sinnlos gewesen, dies 1183 zu tun, aber für die Zukunft durch die Einsetzung Joscelins als Erben das Gegenteil geradezu zu provozieren. Schon aus diesem Grunde mußte der König im März 1183 darauf dringen, daß die Erbfolge Sibylles in Toron als dem Hauptbestandteil der *bona materna* gesichert wurde. Ein Testament in dieser Frage war schon deshalb empfehlenswert, weil ja in der Debatte um die Legitimität Sibylles und Balduins IV. den beiden schon die Nachfolge in den *bona paterna* bestritten wurde. Die Nachfolge Sibylles in den *bona materna* ohne Testament wäre also bestimmt auf Widerspruch gestoßen, nicht wegen dieser *bona materna* selbst, sondern wegen der Rückwirkungen auf die weitaus bedeutendere Frage der Nachfolge in den *bona paterna* und damit auf dem Thron. Wenn Sibylle die *bona materna* erbte, dann war sie legitim, und mit ihr waren es Balduin IV. und Balduin V.

Der Aspekt eines geschlossenen Besitzes der Courtenays brauchte den König bei Sibylle nicht zu stören. Zwar war sie wie er eine halbe Courtenay, aber als Gräfin von Jaffa-Askalon waren ihre Hauptinteressen an ganz anderer Stelle des Reiches, nämlich im Südwesten, während Agnes und Joscelin ausschließlich nordöstlich von Akkon in Obergalilaea und im südlichen Libanon begütert waren. Balduin und Agnes hatten ein elementares Interesse daran, Sibylle die Nachfolge der Agnes in Toron zuzuwenden und dies auch uno actu mit der Belehnung der Agnes zu regeln. Zu dieser Zeit stand der König mit Sibylle und deren Gemahl Guido von Lusignan noch gut, da er Guido im Sommer 1183, also kurz nach der Belehnung von Agnes, zum Regenten bestellte. Das änderte sich natürlich, als der König und seine Mutter Guido im November fallen ließen und durch die Erhebung Balduins V. von der Thronfolge ausschlossen. Der Schwachpunkt dieser Regelung war, ob das Kind Balduin V. überhaupt die Volljährigkeit erreichen würde. Sollte er vorher sterben, so würden Sibylles Rechte wiederaufleben, und das war nur dann sinnvoll, wenn die Position Guidos auch für diesen Fall ruiniert war. Auch ohne Thronfolge blieb Guido als Gemahl Sibylles ja die Position als Graf von Jaffa-Askalon und die Expektanz in Toron. Die vom König projektierte Scheidung Sibylles von Guido hätte diesen dieser Stellung

natürlich beraubt. Balduin IV. war also, auch während er diesen Plan betrieb, an der Nachfolge Sibylles in Toron interessiert, da sie für seine eigene Legitimität sprach und Guido nicht begünstigte. Zudem blieb es dann bei der Verhinderung der Entstehung eines geschlossenen Courtenayschen Sperriegels in Obergalilaea.

Erst als sich zeigte, daß er die Scheidung nicht durchsetzen konnte, wurde der König anderen Sinnes, denn jetzt zielte er auf die völlige Vernichtung des Ehepaares. Er ließ den Grafen, der alle Möglichkeiten zu einem Scheidungsprozeß dadurch durchkreuzt hatte, daß er Sibylle von Jerusalem nach Askalon geholt hatte, vor das Königsgericht vorladen[53]. Als sich Guido mit Krankheit entschuldigte, wählte der König die stärkste Form der Vorladung, die sich überhaupt denken ließ: Er begab sich selbst, obwohl todkrank, nach Askalon, um den Grafen persönlich vor das Gericht zu laden. Er fand die Stadttore verschlossen, die ihm auch auf dreimalige Aufforderung nicht geöffnet wurden. Auf der Rückreise nach Akkon setzte er dann in Jaffa bereits einen Prokurator ein, was ja nichts anderes heißt, als daß er einen Teil der Doppelgrafschaft noch vor dem Prozeß konfiszierte, den er ihm allerdings mit der Vorladung angeboten hatte, so daß der Graf, feudalrechtlich gesehen, im Unrecht war und auf die Hilfe des Adels nicht mehr hoffen konnte. Durch den Tod des Königs am 15. April 1185 verlief die Lehenskonfiskation ohnehin im Sande.

Wer ohne Scheidung Guido aus Jaffa vertrieb, vertrieb dort auch Sibylle, die sich mit ihrem Widerstand gegen die Scheidung ganz offen in Gegensatz zu ihrem königlichen Bruder gestellt hatte und auch beim Staatsstreich von 1186 in listiger Weise an Guido festhielt (oben S. 81). Es wäre denkbar, daß der König in seinem jetzt gesteigerten Haß auf Guido seine Schwester und damit Guido auch aus der Erbfolge in Sibylles *bona materna,* also aus der Expektanz auf Toron, verdrängen wollte, weil die völlige Ausschaltung Guidos jetzt den Vorrang haben mußte vor den Bemühungen, das Zusammenwachsen Torons und der Seigneurie de Joscelin in einer Hand zu verhindern, denn nach wie vor kam als Erbe Torons nur Joscelin III. in Betracht, wenn Sibylle nicht zum Zuge kam. Die politischen Alternativen waren für den König ohne jede Attraktivität. Erbte Sibylle Toron, so war sie legitim und mit ihr Balduin IV., aber ihr Thronfolgeanspruch und mit ihr der des unscheidbar mit ihr verheirateten Guido war dann für den Fall des vorzeitigen Ablebens Balduins V., das jedermann befürchtete, äußerst stabil und auch durch die europäische Schiedskommission kaum zu erschüttern. Erbte sie Toron nicht, so war die verhaßte Thronfolge Guidos vermieden und die beiden Courtenayschen Territorien blieben getrennt, aber dann war Sibylle illegitim und mit ihr ihr Bruder.

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[53] WT XXIII.1, 1063.

Was Balduin IV. und Agnes für das kleinere Übel hielten, läßt sich kaum mehr sagen. Daß Balduin Guido aus Jaffa-Askalon vertreiben wollte, spricht eher dafür, daß es das Letztere war. Aber darauf kam es seit dem Frühjahr 1184 weniger an als darauf, was dem Regenten Raimund III. von Tripolis nützlicher erschien. Und das dürfte die Ausschaltung Sibylles aus Toron gewesen sein. Gerade dann, wenn es richtig sein sollte, daß Raimund selbst Ambitionen auf den Thron hatte[54], mußte ihm an der Demonstration gelegen sein, daß Sibylle illegitim war, und das ließ sich am Beispiel von Toron trefflich zeigen, jedenfalls viel besser als in Jaffa-Askalon, wo ihr die Nachfolge ja 1163 garantiert worden war, und zwar offenbar gesondert von der Frage der Legitimität, so daß diese zwar schon seit 1176 in Zweifel gezogen wurde, aber vor dem Frühjahr 1184 niemand ihre Position in Jaffa-Askalon angriff.

Etwas anderes kommt hinzu. Raimund III. und Joscelin III. waren ganz sicherlich verfeindet, aber ich habe schon anderwärts angedeutet, daß sie sich bei der Etablierung der Regentschaft Raimunds im Frühjahr 1184 in einem Rapprochement zusammenfanden[55]. Der Graf stellte harte Bedingungen für die Regentschaft: Er sollte auf zehn Jahre unabsetzbar sein und die ehemalige Herrschaft Beirut als Bezahlung haben. Aber er mußte sich dazu verstehen, der Hofpartei Konzessionen zu machen. Joscelin III. blieb in seinem Amt als Seneschalk des Reiches. Die königlichen Burgen, deren Verwaltung ja an sich dem Regenten zustand, wurden innenpolitisch dadurch neutralisiert, daß man sie in die Obhut der Ritterorden gab. Hatte dies noch den Charakter eines Kompromisses, so machte Raimund der Hofpartei eine wirkliche Konzession: Die Obhut und die Erziehung des jungen Königs Balduin V. wurde in die Hände seines Großonkels Joscelin III. gelegt. Dabei ließ sich unmöglich übersehen, wie sehr durch die Kontrolle über die Person des minderjährigen Königs Balduin IV. die unkonstitutionelle Machtausübung des Milo von Plancy im Jahre 1174 gefördert worden war; er hatte die Barone einfach am Zutritt beim König gehindert[56].

Auf diese Regelung konnte sich Raimund nur einlassen, wenn er glaubte, sich auf Joscelin verlassen zu können, d.h. mit ihm politische Abmachungen hatte. Und das war offenbar der Fall. Als nämlich Baldu-

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[54] In den Quellen wird Raimund diese Absicht häufig zugeschrieben: Ibn Jobair, Voyages, 362; WT XXII.1.10(9), 1007, 1019; Lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus 51, 57, 65; Das Itinerarium peregrinorum, ed. Hans E. Mayer (= Schriften der MGH 18, Stuttgart 1962) 253; Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia, 137; Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 19f. = Estoire de Eracles, RHC. Hor. II, 4, 6; Ibn al-Athīr, Kamel-Altevarikh, RHC. Hor. I, 674. Vgl. auch oben S. 78f.

[55] Hans E. Mayer, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Stuttgart[6] 1985) 121f.

[56] WT XXI.3, 963.

in V. im Spätsommer 1186 starb, galt es für Raimund, die Thronfolge Sibylles zu verhindern oder zu verzögern. Da öfters schon ein königliches Begräbnis der Anlaß für eine entschlossene Regelung der Nachfolge gewesen war (1118, 1163), hätte Raimund sich unbedingt nach Jerusalem begeben oder wenigstens sich die Krondomäne sichern müssen. Er tat beides nicht. Während er auf den Rat Joscelins ahnungslos nach Tiberias ging, sorgte Joscelin III. nicht nur mit den alten Parteigängern der Agnes in Jerusalem für das Begräbnis Balduins V., sondern bemächtigte sich auch Akkons, ja sogar Beiruts, das dem Regenten gehörte. Er sorgte dafür, daß Sibylle und Guido nach Jerusalem kamen, um dort durch die Krönung vollendete Tatsachen zu schaffen. All das wurde schon im 13. Jh. als offener Verrat an Raimund bezeichnet[57]. Die absolute anfängliche Untätigkeit Raimunds ist nur so zu erklären, daß er mit Joscelin für den Fall einer durch den Tod Balduins V. ausgelösten Thronkrise feste Abmachungen hatte, die Joscelin jetzt brach. Diese Abmachungen müssen zurückgegangen sein in das Frühjahr 1184, als Raimund Regent wurde, denn wenn er sich so weit mit Joscelin geeinigt hatte, daß er glaubte, nach dem Tode Balduins V. untätig bleiben zu können (was ihm natürlich später, wenn er den Thron beanspruchen würde, die Behauptung erlauben würde, er habe sich nicht dazu gedrängt), so konnte er 1184 unbedenklich der Übertragung der Aufsicht über Balduin V. an Joscelin zustimmen. Es ist klar, daß er Joscelin auch persönliche Versprechungen hatte machen müssen. Dazu wird gehört haben, daß er Joscelin die Nachfolge in Toron versprach, natürlich auf Kosten Sibylles und Guidos, die Raimund ohnehin auszuschalten gedachte. Solche Versprechungen waren um so notwendiger, als Guido schon 1183 seine künftige Thronfolge mit den liberalsten Versprechungen an seine Parteigänger gefördert haben soll[58].

Wir halten es also für nahezu sicher, daß der König Balduin IV. seine Mutter Agnes im März 1183 mit Toron belehnte und bei dieser Gelegenheit auf die Errichtung eines damals auch im Interesse der Agnes liegenden Testaments drang, welches Sibylle zur Erbin in Toron einsetzte und als Erbin in den *bona materna* überhaupt. Bei dieser Voraussetzung halten wir es ebenso für wahrscheinlich, daß Joscelin III., der dieses Testament nach dem Tode seiner Schwester vollstrecken sollte, eben dies, soweit Toron betroffen war, nicht tat, sondern Toron durch den Regenten vakant halten ließ, bis sich Joscelin nach dem Staatsstreich von 1186 mit Guido und Sibylle auch in Toron einigte, nachdem er dies zuvor schon in

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[57] Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 30f. = Estoire de Eracles, RHC. Hor. II, 25f.; Ernoul, Chronique, 129f.

[58] WT XXII.26(25), 1049.

Cabor, einem weiteren Teil der *bona materna*, getan hatte. Cabor (Kabul, Palestine Grid 170/252), ca. 15 Kilometer südöstlich von Akkon, war Hauptort eines 1175 einer gleichnamigen Familie gehörenden Lehens von drei Dörfern (neben Cabor noch Coquet oder Coquil = Kaukab, Palestine Grid 174/248, und [einem anderen!] Toron = Tell Keisan, Palestine Grid 164/253) in der Krondomäne von Akkon (RRH n° 525). Im 13. Jh. war es strittig zwischen den Templern, die es noch von Joscelin III. erhalten hatten, und den Johannitern, in deren Besitz es 1238 und 1253 erscheint; 1262 überließen es die Templer endgültig den Johannitern[59]. Dazwischen, am 15. März 1243, betrieben auch die Erben Joscelins III. die Rekuperation. Bei den Johannitern hatten sie, wie die Besitzgeschichte zeigt, damit keinen Erfolg, wohl aber bei den Templern, die an diesem Tage Jakob von Amigdala, dem Gemahl der jüngeren Tochter Joscelins III., die zwei in ihrem Besitz befindlichen, hier wichtigen Urkunden über Cabor auslieferten: Im Jahre 1183 bestätigte König Balduin IV., daß seine Mutter Agnes die beiden Casalien Cabor und Coquil gekauft hatte[60]. So ist es erklärlich, daß die hier ausgekaufte Familie de Cabor von Kronvasallen zu Vasallen der Erben Joscelins absank (RRH n° 777.828.829 von 1200 und 1208). Ohne Zweifel hatte Agnes Tell Keisan auch mitgekauft, denn am 1. Februar 1185 verkauften Guido von Lusignan und seine Frau Sibylle das gesamte Lehen nunmehr an Joscelin III[61]. Das wird zwar in dem darüber noch erhaltenen Regest der 1243 ausgelieferten Urkunde als Schenkung dargestellt, aber daß es ein Verkauf gewesen war, ergibt sich aus RRH n° 654, wo der Kaufpreis mit

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[59] Regest einer verlorenen Urkunde in der Collection Peiresc der Bibliothèque Inguimbertine in Carpentras, gedruckt bei Peter W. Edbury, The ›Cartulaire de Manosque‹: a Grant to the Templars in Latin Syria and a Charter of King Hugh I of Cyprus: Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 51 (1978) 174 f. In der Besitzgeschichte Cabors bei Edbury 178 fehlt die in diesem Zusammenhang wichtige Urkunde über den Verkauf Cabors an Joscelin III. von 1185 (s. unten Anm. 60 f.).

[60] RRH n° 1110a. Hiervon gibt es zwei Fassungen, aus dem 16. Jh. im Inventaire Manosque (im Druck in der Edition von Rudolf Hiestand, der dieses Stück dankenswerterweise schon vor Jahren für eine bei mir angefertigte Staatsexamensarbeit über die Seigneurie de Joscelin zur Verfügung stellte) fol. 321^{r} und von 1742 im Inventaire Raybaud, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, Inventaire de pièces de Terre Sainte de l'Ordre de l'Hôpital: Revue de l'Orient latin 3 (1895) 86 n° 262. Die Fassungen weisen, teilweise offenkundig bedingt durch schwere Lesbarkeit der Originale, Unterschiede auf. Bei der Urkunde von 1183 läßt Manosque den Namen von Cabor ganz weg und verliest Coquil, das vielleicht von Raybaud aus Coquet (so RRH n° 525) verlesen wurde, zu Suth; außerdem fehlt in Manosque das Datum.

[61] Hier fehlt der gesamte Inhalt bei Raybaud, wo nur gesagt wird, es sei eine Schenkung Guidos und Sibylles für Joscelin vom 1. Februar 1185 gewesen. Der Inhalt mit den drei richtig gelesenen Ortsnamen nur in Manosque.

5000 Byzantinern beziffert wird. Das bedeutet, daß Agnes von Courtenay am 1. Februar 1185 tot war und daß ihre Tochter Sibylle, nicht etwa ihr Bruder Joscelin, sie beerbt hatte, natürlich nicht nur in Cabor, sondern auch in der Seigneurie Toron.

Guido und Sibylle bescheinigten Joscelin also wider besseres Wissen in RRH n° 654, daß er das Testament der Agnes richtig vollstreckt habe. Nur so wird aus politischen Gründen die an sich kuriose Klausel verständlich, wenn Guido die korrekte Vollstreckung eines Testaments bescheinigte, durch die seine Gemahlin und er praktisch enterbt worden waren. Jetzt, wo sie den Thron hatten, konnten sie auf die Herrschaft Toron relativ leicht verzichten, und Joscelin wurde durch die Klausel dagegen abgesichert, daß Guido später nach der Konsolidierung seiner Herrschaft die Frage von Toron erneut aufrollen würde. Am selben Tage belehnte Guido in RRH n° 653 Joscelin nunmehr mit dem Erbe, auf das Sibylle und er 1186 in RRH n° 654 implizit verzichtet hatten und von dem sie Cabor gleich nach dem Tod der Agnes verkauft hatten. Nach außen hin erschien Joscelin als der Erbe der Agnes. Bei dieser Sachlage ist es weder erstaunlich, daß vom Inhalt des Testaments in RRH n° 654 nicht die Rede war, noch daß dieses Testament in Joscelins Archiv nicht aufbewahrt wurde, obgleich er dort die Belehnung mit Toron aufbewahrte. Guido milderte die unangenehmen Folgen seines Verzichts dadurch, daß er, wiederum am selben Tage, in RRH n° 655 eine Heirat zwischen Joscelins älterer Tochter und seinem Bruder Wilhelm von Valence verabredete. Dabei sollte Joscelin eine Mitgift bereitstellen, die ganz überwiegend aus den *bona materna* bestand, die Agnes an Sibylle vermacht hatte und auf die diese 1185 und 1186 verzichtet hatte: Toron, Châteauneuf und Cabor. Joscelin behielt dabei, wenn er wollte und Wilhelm mit einem Geldlehen von 4000 Byzantinern jährlich abfand, auf Lebenszeit ein Nießbrauchsrecht an diesen Besitzungen.

Alle diese Kalküle wurden von Saladin durchkreuzt, als 1187 in der Schlacht bei Hattin das ganze Reich unter seinen Schlägen zusammenbrach. Ein kompliziertes Spiel um hohe Einsätze, das bis 1186 stets diktiert gewesen war von der Sorge um die Legitimität der Dynastie, war zu Ende.

X

*Henry II of England and the Holy Land**

LOOKING at certain aspects of fifteen years of English history with an 'Eastern eye', so to speak, my hope is to present some new interpretations of some well known facts. For these facts I shall rely mainly on the great chronicles produced in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries in England as well as in the crusader states. But for my argument, the main sources will be King Henry II's will of 1182, which is an indisputable document, and the writings of Gerald of Wales, which are always delightful to read, but often hard to believe.

I shall start with the end. In 1187 the army of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem suffered a catastrophic defeat in the battle of Hattin. This was above all due to grave tactical mistakes which could easily have been avoided. It is, of course, an open question whether defeat could have been avoided if these mistakes had not occurred. But once they had been committed, the battle could not be won. The explanation of the crusader chronicles that the mistakes were due to a desire to aid a damsel in distress is not convincing. Medieval war councils were not composed of troubadours. A better explanation will have to be found, and I venture to suggest that English money had much to do with it. To develop this point, it is necessary to review Henry II's financial support of the Holy Land. But it should be said at once that the consequences of the battle were almost completely disastrous: the army was massacred, Jerusalem was captured in October 1187 and almost the whole kingdom fell into the hands of Saladin. Only the port city of Tyre and three castles held out, and it took the gigantic effort of the Third Crusade, very much Richard I's personal crusade, to recover it on a more restricted basis and without the capital of Jerusalem.

In Henry II's personality two characteristic traits stand out above others: he was parsimonious and he was cautious. Both determined his attitude towards the crusade. Needless to say he was also very rich. He made innumerable promises to take the cross, but until 1188 he carefully wriggled out of all of them, so much so that Louis VII of France as early as 1168 expressed open disbelief in Henry's sincerity.[1]

* Based on the James Ford Special Lecture delivered in the University of Oxford on 12 May 1980.

1. *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W. J. Miller and C. N. L. Brooke (Edinburgh/Oxford, 1955–79), ii. 569 (no. 272).

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Henry's perpetual avenue of escape was to put up money, more money and still more money instead of going himself. He put up incredible amounts of money for the 'business of the cross', as it was called, but he did not allow it to be spent. And this is the secret of much of European crusading politics in the 1170s and 1180s.

Henry's financial support of the Holy Land went back to 1166 when he levied his first crusading tax which is not relevant to the subject of this article and of which hardly anything is known except the ordinance proclaiming it.[1] When Thomas Becket was murdered in 1170, Henry had to postpone all crusading plans, if he had ever seriously entertained them. In 1172 he entered into very large obligations in order to be reconciled with the Church with regard to Becket's murder. In the agreement of Avranches he promised to take the cross by the following Christmas for three years and, in fact, to leave for the East by the summer of 1173 unless excused by the Pope.[2] By that time, however, his sons and his queen were in their first rebellion against him. His reasons for not going were indeed compelling, and the Pope dutifully commuted his promise to the foundation of three religious houses. He founded one, but he reformed two others.[3] In the years following the rebellion of his sons, the continuous tensions with France also prevented him from even remotely contemplating a crusade. To be sure, in 1177 he concluded the Treaty of Nonancourt with France which set down the conditions for a joint crusade. But the treaty was from beginning to end an expression of the mutual distrust between the two kings. No crusade could be brought about in such a climate. Apart from France, there were his unruly sons. Even though his queen had been removed from the scene by imprisonment, they stirred up trouble for him continually before as well as after the Young King's death in 1183.

But ever since his reconciliation with the Church in 1172, Henry put up money for the crusade lavishly. In Avranches he obliged himself to provide for the defence of Jerusalem enough money to

1. Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 73 (London, 1879–80), i. 198–9. See also A. Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August König von Frankreich* (Leipzig/Paris, 1906), ii. 7–9; R. C. Smail, 'Latin Syria and the West, 1149–1187', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, xix (1969), 12; B. Kedar, 'The general tax of 1183 in the crusading kingdom of Jerusalem: innovation or adaptation?', *ante*, lxxxix (1974), 340.

2. *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard, Rolls Series 67 (London, 1875–85), vii. 516, no. 772; 520, no. 774. In the king's own letter to the bishop of Exeter (*ibid.* vii. 518, no. 773 = John of Salisbury, *Letters*, ii. 753 [no. 309]), the king's promise to go on crusade is not mentioned, whereas the upkeep of 200 knights for one year to defend the Holy Land is. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 51 (London, 1868–71), ii. 36–37.

3. A. L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087–1216*, Oxford History of England, 2nd ed. (London, 1955), p. 229. For a more generous view of Henry's support of monastic houses in conjunction with his penance, see E. M. Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxviii (1977), 113–32.

maintain 200 knights for one year in the Holy Land according to the estimate of the Knights Templar. Nothing is heard of these knights. They were not needed for garrison duty, but warfare in the East was not stepped up in 1173 or 1174, even though 200 knights would have swelled the maximum knightly fighting force of Jerusalem by roughly 16 per cent. William of Tyre[1] recorded Becket's murder at some length, but does not breathe a word about Henry's financial assistance or about his knights, although he had mentioned the comparable maintenance of 100 knights for a year by Henry's grandfather Fulk of Anjou in 1120.[2] It is therefore doubtful whether Henry ever actually created that force. It can hardly be doubted that its maintenance was agreed upon in direct relation to his personal crusade. He was to provide the money from Pentecost 1172 on, and he himself was to go to the East in the summer of 1173 where he would have found his money to provide for the 200 knights. The bargain held promises for both sides. It guaranteed that if Henry went, he would not merely make an uneventful pilgrimage as his son-in-law Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony had done in 1172. On the other hand, if Henry II actually had gone, he would have had to maintain his knights anyway, a problem which later caused considerable headaches to Richard I and cost England more than just a pretty penny. As long as the promise of 200 knights was linked with Henry's personal departure, it did not cost him anything beyond what he would have to spend anyway. But it looked magnificent in the agreement of Avranches, it was noted with respect in the English chronicles,[3] and it was a case of 'one-upmanship' with Henry promising 100 per cent more than his grandfather Fulk of Anjou had done. With his own promise of a crusade commuted, the main reason for the maintenance of the knights was removed or at least Henry so could argue. But even if he did not actually provide the knights (and I do not think that he did), we must not doubt that he put up the money necessary for this purpose. But if the force was not created, the money was not spent, at least not for the purpose it had been earmarked for. It could conceivably have been spent for other defence purposes in the East. Henry's pile of money has, of course, often been mentioned by historians, but the authors have not been very explicit on this point.[4] One gets the general impression that he made very large payments continuously to the East and that much money of his was

1. William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, xx. 21, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux i (Paris, 1844), p. 979.

2. William of Tyre, xiv. 2, p. 608.

3. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 49 (London, 1867), i. 32; Roger of Hoveden, ii. 36; Ralph of Diceto, *Historical Works*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series 68 (London, 1876), i. 352.

4. Cartellieri, ii. 10; Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1952–4), ii. 454; J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1969–70), i. 569, n. 4; J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 57, 116, 187.

available in 1187, but nowhere is it said that he very tightly controlled this money and very definitely kept the lid on this pot for fifteen years. The general presumption is that there was spending from this fund in the 1170s and 1180s: it is nowhere openly stated, but it is also nowhere openly denied. The problem, although an important factor in politics, has more or less escaped attention, and the questions about it have not been asked.

Indeed, Henry did much more by way of financial support than what the agreement of Avranches obliged him to do. From 1172 on he transferred annual amounts to Jerusalem. These payments earned him the epithet of *praecipuus terrae Palestinae sustentator*,[1] the chief support of the Holy Land. This compliment did not come from an idolizer, but from Gerald of Wales who was otherwise so vitriolically critical of Henry's private life and of his public conduct with regard to the crusade. The Eastern chronicles (*infra*, p. 736, n. 2) of the early thirteenth century expressly say that after the murder of Becket Henry sent large amounts of money each year with each passage. It is not odd at all that William of Tyre should totally fail to mention this, although he was the kingdom's chancellor. By the time Henry's money was finally spent, William was dead, and his chronicle stops just at the point where the great Eastern embassy of 1184/1185 went to Europe in a determined effort to unfreeze Henry's Eastern account. All the evidence points to Henry accumulating money in the East without permitting anyone to spend it. About a dormant account of such magnitude William may have had misgivings, but in any case there was no need to mention it, because the money was lying idle. It is revealing that his continuators in the Old French vernacular fail to mention it in 1172, but do so in 1187 when it was actually disbursed (*infra*, p. 738, n. 2). They also expressly say that the money was put into the custody of the Templars and the Hospitallers in the East in order that Henry might find plenty of money for his crusade, when he finally arrived. This means that until then it was frozen.

By 1187 Henry's Eastern account was said to have reached 30,000 marks of silver, 30 per cent of what Richard I found in Henry's English treasure in 1189.[2] The inheritance of Henry I at the death of his father was not more than 5,000 pounds of silver,[3] equalling 7,500 marks. This made him a very rich man. To quote another figure: when the future King John was lavishly provided for in 1189, he received six entire counties of England, the annual income of which has been reckoned at 4,000 pounds.[4] If the figure of 30,000 marks in

1. Gerald of Wales, *Expugnatio Hibernica*, in *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer *et al.*, Rolls Series 21 (London, 1861–91), v. 304.

2. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. H. E. Mayer, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 18 (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 269; Roger of Hoveden, iii. 8.

3. Poole, p. 99.

4. Poole, p. 348; W. Stubbs, preface to Roger of Hoveden, iii. pp. xxv–xxvi, n. 4.

1187 can be relied upon, Henry would have sent on average 2,000 marks a year since 1172, an amount not outside his financial capacities. Unfortunately, neither the amount nor the intended purpose of the money are proofs of Henry's sincerity with regard to the crusade. His motivations must also be looked for in European politics. Whenever he was accused, as was the case many times, of stalling in the business of the cross, he could point to his Eastern account. Also, it was traditionally to the King of France that the Franks in the East looked for support and to whom they appealed. By piling up more and more money in the East Henry increasingly stole the show from the French king. He could less and less be ignored in European crusade politics. Everybody had to take him into account: the Pope, the Emperor, the French king, the Franks in the East and even the Count of Flanders who had little to do with him. Hence the guessing game whether he would or would not go on crusade was a general preoccupation for over fifteen years. It must be remembered that Henry's political ambitions went far beyond England and France; his Sicilian projects are well documented.[1] The money was a beautiful instrument for keeping himself in a prominent position in European politics. Spending the money would have robbed him of the means of keeping the world in suspense. It would simply have been unwise to permit the depletion of his treasure. This situation was, of course, known to his contemporaries. This is why Henry drew such contradictory statements from the pen of Gerald of Wales. On the one hand he called him the chief supporter of the Holy Land for the money he sent there; on the other, he accused him of behaving like a dog in the manger in that he did not go on crusade himself, but also prevented others from going.[2]

As we shall see, Gerald of Wales was fully aware of Henry's Eastern treasure and of its peculiar nature. And if the archdeacon of Brecon was, there is no reason to assume that others were not. Henry's money attracted the attention particularly of those who wished to spend it, and they were not only to be found in the Holy Land. In 1177 the Count of Flanders arrived in the Holy Land where he had been expected for a long time;[3] indeed the count had planned his trip already for 1176. But Henry II had intervened. Once again he had pointed out that he himself intended to go next year. He also promised that if the count would defer his crusade for a year, he would underwrite his expenses. His real reason for trying to prevent Philip of Flanders from going was that he was afraid that Philip wanted to create himself king of Jerusalem.[4] It must be remembered that King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem was a leper and, like placing bets on Henry's crusade, supplanting the leper king was also a favourite

1. Poole, p. 331. 2. Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*, in *Opera* viii. 251.
3. William of Tyre, xxi. 14, p. 1027.
4. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, i. 116, 133; William of Tyre, xxi. 14, p. 1029.

game played in the East as well as in Europe for a good number of years. Philip complied with Henry's wishes, but he presented him with a bill. Before setting out in 1177 Philip actually touched Henry for money which, he claimed, the king had promised for the soul of the count's brother Matthew, count of Boulogne, but with the restriction that it be used to maintain knights for the defence of Jerusalem.[1] Henry's annual transfers, it seems, were not always to atone for Becket's murder, although in the East they were exclusively linked to this. The King of England had good reasons to devote some money to the salvation of the soul of a count of Boulogne. Since the days of King Stephen the Crown held in England the immense 'Honour of Boulogne', still referred to as a separate unit in Magna Carta.[2] It had been granted by the Conqueror to Count Eustace II of Boulogne who is seen in the Bayeux Tapestry fighting next to the Conqueror.[3] Eustace II had three sons: Eustace III, count of Boulogne (whose only child married King Stephen), King Baldwin I of Jerusalem and, most famous of all, Godfrey of Bouillon, first ruler of crusader Jerusalem. As late as 1205 the counts of Boulogne stubbornly maintained their claim to the English Honour of Boulogne.[4] Henry faced a delicate problem. Not only did Philip of Flanders openly request the money which Henry had earmarked for both the late Count of Boulogne and the defence of Jerusalem, but his embassy of May 1177 also presented Henry with information that the King of France had petitioned the Count of Flanders to marry Matthew's two daughters into the French royal family. Henry was alarmed and sent ambassadors, Rannulf Glanville among them, to Flanders to make the count take a personal oath at his own suggestion that he would not act in this matter without Henry's approval.[5] It goes without saying that the ambassadors had to bring a promise of money for Philip's crusade, or else their other mission would have failed completely, since Philip had no intention of keeping the promise he made and still married the two girls in 1177 without Henry's permission – although not to the candidates proposed by the French king.[6] Probably before he thus offended Henry, he had been in England to take his leave, but he did not quite go alone. Henry's very close friend William de Mandeville, earl of Essex, went with him, and the king sent with him 1,000 marks to the Templars and the Hospitallers to swell his Eastern account.[7]

In the East Mandeville acted as close adviser to Philip of Flanders, as William of Tyre assures us.[8] The count's political behaviour there

1. Roger of Hoveden, ii. 119.
2. J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 328, c. 43.
3. *The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. F. Stenton (London, 1957), pls. 68, 69.
4. Poole, p. 440.
5. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, i. 116, 133; Roger of Hoveden, ii. 119.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, i. 159.
8. William of Tyre, xxi. 15, p. 1029.

was bizarre and exasperating, to use very mild language.[1] I cannot here describe the series of surprising turns by which he first torpedoed a planned expedition into Egypt with Byzantine help and then wanted to do it without the Byzantines; he was also most enigmatic about the fate of Egypt after an eventual conquest. But it is clear that he wanted to set up a king of Egypt other than himself. Whoever he was thinking of, it could not have been the leper king of Jerusalem. The question arises inevitably as to whose interests he was promoting. Even if I went into details, I could only ask the question; I could not answer it. But Philip was wooed by Jerusalem beyond all description. And it was not his position which gave him this degree of influence. Count Thierry of Flanders had been in the Holy Land four times, but he had not even remotely approached Philip's degree of influence. Could it be that Philip was promoting English interests? Could it be that he had access to Henry's Eastern money or was, at least, empowered to negotiate terms under which Henry would consent to its expenditure? I can only point out that 1,000 marks of English silver had arrived with Philip, that he had been in a conference with Henry before departing, that Henry had sent along one of his closest advisers, the Earl of Essex, that at about the time when the count left for the East, in September 1177, Henry had concluded with France the Treaty of Nonancourt arranging for a joint crusade of the two kings, and that the years 1176 and 1177, when the crusade of the count of Flanders was first discussed and then undertaken, saw the zenith of Henry's Mediterranean designs. We shall never solve the puzzle of Philip's odd behaviour in the East. But Henry's dealings with him had been typical of his attitude toward the crusades of others. He had first tried to dissuade or delay him. When this failed, he promised financial support. We shall meet this pattern twice again.

By 1182 Henry's Eastern account had grown to such magnitude that measures had to be taken to ensure its proper management. Henry did so in the will he made at Waltham in March 1182.[2] His lavish gifts have been duly noted with the exception of one clause which is vital for my argument. By far the largest bequest went to the Holy Land. He gave 5,000 marks of silver each to the Templars and Hospitallers. This could be used at their discretion and wherever they saw fit, but, if not directly, it was to serve the Holy Land indirectly. In

1. William of Tyre, xxi. 14–19, pp. 1027–37.

2. *Recueil des actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France (Paris, 1920), II. 219, no. 612, based on the texts of Gervase of Canterbury and Rymer's *Foedera*. The decisive clause is on p. 220: '*Et ad communem defensionem terrae Ierosolimitanae v milia marcas argenti, per manum et visum magistrorum Templi et Hospitalis Ierusalem habendas, praeter pecuniam illam, quam prius praedictis domibus Templi et Hospitalis commiseram custodiendam, quam similiter dono ad defensionem ipsius terrae Ierosolimitanae, nisi eam in vita mea repetere voluero.*'

addition he gave to the orders jointly another 5,000 marks as a restricted fund for the defence of Jerusalem. To various religious corporations in the East he willed another 5,000 marks. Thus, depending on how the knightly orders used the 10,000 marks willed to them directly, Henry left between 10,000 and 20,000 marks to the Holy Land. This makes the 30,000 marks, which are said to have been in his Eastern account in 1187, a credible figure. The 20,000 marks constituted almost half of Henry's total bequests. But there was a rider attached to the 5,000 marks which were willed jointly to the knightly orders for the defence of Jerusalem. They were expressly to be paid in addition to what Henry had already committed to their custody, unless he should wish to recover all of it during his lifetime. For our purpose this is the essential clause of the will. It meant that his executors were not allowed to charge the 5,000 marks against the earlier payments. But it also meant that Henry reserved the right to recall all his money from the East at any time during his life. Should money be dispensed from his treasure without his consent, the Templars and Hospitallers would have been liable for damages. If they did not pay them he could seize a corresponding amount of their properties, or his executors could reduce the 5,000 marks willed to each of the orders directly. The will of Waltham is an eloquent testimony to the shrewd businessman Henry II was, and it sealed Henry's Eastern treasure more tightly than ever before.

This was undoubtedly necessary. As the money grew, it became more and more the target of potential spenders. It also became the object of stories which grew in telling. A few weeks after the will had been made, the kings of France and England met at La Grange Saint-Arnould and received an embassy from the Holy Land presenting the customary laments as well as the customary requests for help. Walter Map[1] later had a story to tell about it. When the bishop of Acre asked for money, the king of France (by now Philip Augustus, still a boy, but financially conservative all his life) referred the matter to Henry, asking him to speak first. The King of England spoke thus: 'I have resolved to visit the Sepulchre of Christ at a suitable opportunity. For the time being I wish to help according to my resources. For it is clear that only a desperate situation could have brought such high-ranking ambassadors here. For the present I shall transmit through the bishop 60,000 marks.' Walter adds: 'And this he did within a month without oppressing anybody, while others first take from their clergy what they then give. The King of France stood as if struck by an arrow and the princes were silent. None of them dared to promise anything after such mighty words had been spoken.' The 60,000 marks are, of course, greatly exaggerated, but the story itself makes sense. The French king first wanted to see what Henry would do, and Henry

1. Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series, part XIV, Oxford, 1914), pp. 240–1.

repeated his eternal promise that some day he would go on crusade. Then, as on each occasion when the business of the cross was placed before him, he promised a good deal of money and undoubtedly also sent a good amount. After he had made a big promise, everybody else felt that enough had been done and kept silent. Even if invented, this story succinctly describes a situation prevailing over many years. It was not only Gerald of Wales who thought of Henry as the mainstay of the Holy Land.

For the Holy Land the situation was unpleasant. The king of Jerusalem was a leper, the magnates were internally divided, and the diplomatic situation was alarming. Saladin was master of Egypt and Damascus, and in 1183 gained control of Aleppo. At the same time the old alliance between Jerusalem and Byzantium had collapsed after the massacre of the Latins in Constantinople in 1182. In 1177 a special tax had been voted in Jerusalem, kindly labelled a collection.[1] From its yield a fixed annual amount was to be paid for repair work on the crumbling walls of Jerusalem. The bill, it is seen, had to be underwritten by Jerusalem, not by Henry II whose money still lay frozen. But the pressure on him would mount if it could be shown that things had come to such a state that special taxes had to be levied in the East, while he had a large amount of money sitting there idle. However, the will of Waltham shows clearly that this had no effect on Henry. He kept promising a crusade, he kept sending money, but it remained frozen.

While the tax for the repair work in Jerusalem has gone almost unnoticed, the special defence tax levied there in 1183 has received wide attention because the complete text of the ordinance was preserved by William of Tyre.[2] In principle, it was to fall on everyone irrespective of language, nation, faith or sex; it was restricted to defence purposes and was not to constitute a precedent for the future. Elsewhere I have argued that in spite of this, the ordinance contained important loopholes for the rich. But it was a beautiful piece of parchment to present in Europe to show what extraordinary efforts the East had made and how Europe was now doubly obliged to help. Nothing is heard of the yield of the tax or how it was employed. Certainly, there was nothing left of it in 1187, because we hear nothing of money coming from this source, while much is heard about the money coming from Henry's Eastern account. However, Jerusalem was eager to report the tax in Europe, because in 1185 a new crusading tax was agreed upon by the kings of England and France which was to be levied for three years at a total rate of sixpence in the pound on moveable property and one per cent on income and

1. William of Tyre, xxi. 25, pp. 1048–9.

2. William of Tyre, xxii. 23, pp. 1110–12; Kedar, *ubi supra*, pp. 339–45; H. E. Mayer, 'Latins, Muslims and Greeks in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem', *History* lxiii (1978), 177–9.

land. The evidence for the tax is scanty; certainly we hear nothing of it being collected and it has, in general, evoked much debate among historians. From the discussion, we may retain no more than that a tax was decreed which apparently was not collected.[1] No doubt the Holy Land tax of 1183 had put Henry under pressure. The situation was becoming awkward, but at no time did he entertain any plans to ward off criticism by disbursements from his money in the East. If the Anglo-French tax of 1185 was not merely a fine show, it pointed in the contrary direction – showing Henry as answering all appeals for a crusade with the promise of still more money which would go into his frozen account.

In 1183 a major crisis had fallen on Henry II, once more caused by his sons. The young Henry petitioned for all of Normandy so that he could provide for his knights. The Old King countered by offering him only a pension – from which he might be cut off any day – together with stipends for 100 knights who would thus become the Old King's retainers. Young Henry stormed into France swearing that he would now go on crusade. His allowance was cut off immediately.[2] During the complex troubles of the following year, the Young King indeed took a vow at Limoges to take the cross and later revealed to his father that he had actually taken it secretly some years back. If he could not have Normandy, he was going to drain his father's Eastern treasure. It was a well calculated piece of blackmail and genuinely alarmed the Old King, who strongly urged his son not to go. He even threw himself at the feet of Young Henry enquiring whether he had taken the vow out of indignation or poverty (in which case the vow could have been undone) or for religious reasons. Young Henry would not give way to his father and said that he had taken the vow only for the remission of the sins he had committed against the Old King. Dramatically, he added that since he saw his father weep and remonstrate, he would kill himself unless his father would desist from preventing him from going on crusade. Being in the middle of a major family crisis, the Old King had to give in. He tried to save the situation by now making a promise that he would underwrite the Young King's expenses. He said: 'God's will be done and yours. I shall be your provider and shall aid you in the acquisition of a company and by lavish outlays, so that I may never hear of anybody who was able to serve God more abundantly in the land of Jerusalem.'[3] This would ensure him of a measure of control and, had it come to it, Henry II would have seen to it that his financing would not have been forgotten. But within a few weeks the Young King succumbed to intestinal disorders. Dying, he requested William

1. F. A. Cazel Jr, 'The Tax of 1185 in Aid of the Holy Land', *Speculum* xxx (1955), 385–92, also summing up the discussion.
2. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, i. 289, 291; Roger of Hoveden, ii. 266–7.
3. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, i. 297–8; Roger of Hoveden, ii. 276–7.

Marshal, then still a knight errant and tournament champion, to fulfil his vow in his stead. William went, bringing back from the East the fine silk stuffs in which he was to be buried in 1219.[1] But Henry II had forgotten all about his promises. William Marshal had to borrow from friends. From the king he received only 100 pounds of Anjou, the equivalent of 25 pounds sterling, and even for this Henry took William's two finest horses.[2]

Once more Henry's Eastern account had escaped being touched. William Marshal's crusade left no traces in the Eastern sources, but he must have told the Young King's story in Jerusalem and it must have exasperated the Jerusalemites. In June 1184 a new embassy left the Holy Land to implore aid from the West.[3] The envoys were of the highest rank, the patriarch Eraclius of Jerusalem and the masters of the Templars and Hospitallers. Since the middle of the century no patriarch of Jerusalem had been in Europe, not even to attend the Third Lateran Council. The impressive embassy received much attention and used every conceivable means to persuade and stir the West into action. In November they were at Verona where they met the Pope and the Emperor. As the Emperor was in the middle of a large-scale revision of his Italian policy, having arranged for the betrothal of his son and successor to Constance of Sicily, he could not go immediately but indicated that he was willing to negotiate a crusade for 1186 with the German princes.[4] Very timely, there also arrived in Verona an embassy from Henry II which solicited papal help on a delicate matter, the reconciliation of the Emperor to his arch-enemy and Henry's son-in-law Duke Henry the Lion of Saxony, now in English exile.[5] He was now allowed to return after earlier attempts by Henry II had failed. He came in 1185, and it seems that in 1186 he was already plotting again against the Emperor.[6] One is astonished to see Barbarossa extending clemency to the duke, whose plotting was predictable. But the Emperor was contemplating a crusade for 1186. Could it be that even he was thinking of the English money and was eager to please Henry II? Certainly, when Henry's Eastern treasure had been exhausted in 1187 and Barbarossa actually decided to go on crusade in 1188, he was much less leniently disposed towards Henry the Lion. He gave him the options of either joining

1. *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal, comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, régent d'Angleterre de 1216 à 1219*, ed. P. Meyer (Paris, 1891–4), ii. 294–5; S. Painter, *William Marshall. Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England* (Baltimore, 1933), pp. 56, 283–4.

2. *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, i. 261–2; Painter, p. 55.

3. For the date see J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100–1310)* (Paris, 1904), p. 92. The details about the embassy are given in Cartellieri, ii. 18–25.

4. B. Gebhardt, *Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 9th ed. (Stuttgart, 1970), i. 410.

5. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, i. 323–4; Roger of Hoveden, ii. 289.

6. A. L. Poole, 'Die Welfen in der Verbannung', *Deutsches Archiv*, ii (1938), 138–41; Gebhardt, i. 408. Karl Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe* (München, 1979), p. 219, expresses reservations on this matter.

him or signing a final resignation concerning his former possessions or else going again for three years to England – which he did.

From Verona the embassy travelled to Paris in January 1185. The patriarch offered Philip Augustus the keys of the city of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. This was an offer to take over the rule of Jerusalem; and it is, indeed, my opinion that the patriarch was aiming at the removal of King Baldwin IV and of the whole dynasty.[1] Philip Augustus refused to accept the insignia and quickly shipped the embassy to England where they now stayed from January to the middle of April. They bothered Henry to no end. But it was the final result of his enormous hoard in the East that the pressure on him was steadily mounting. Once he had arrived in England, the patriarch's object, apart from the probable settlement of the Jerusalem succession, was clearly to have access finally to Henry's money. He began his moves very cleverly with a pilgrimage to the tomb of Thomas Becket.[2] According to Herbert of Bosham,[3] who was almost the only person in the world to credit the otherwise much abused patriarch with a saintly life, the patriarch explained that he had learnt about Becket's death within two weeks by the vision of a monk who had died in the Holy Land. The whole pilgrimage as well as the story were definite moves to bring pressure on Henry whose large-scale transfers had begun with the atonement for Becket's murder. Full thirteen years had elapsed since then, but what had Henry really done? He had talked much and had kept sending money to the East where, under the terms of the will of Waltham, it was as safe as in Henry's English Exchequer. The situation was preposterous. One half of Henry's Eastern money was sitting in the Temple in Jerusalem in front of which the murderers of Becket were entombed as a sign of permanent reproach with an appropriate funeral inscription: 'Here lie the wretched who martyred the blessed Thomas archbishop of Canterbury'.[4]

At Reading, where the patriarch had his first meeting with the king, he offered him the same keys he had offered earlier without success to the King of France. He also offered him the banner of the kingdom and, according to Gerald of Wales,[5] in very clear words the *regni dominium*. Henry returned the insignia immediately and said that he would have to have the counsel of his barons. He called a large assembly to meet at Clerkenwell in March. At Clerkenwell the patriarch preached the cross, and many of the English clergy and nobility took it. To evade criticism, Henry had given a general

1. H. E. Mayer, 'Kaiserrecht und Heiliges Land', in *Aus Reichsgeschichte und Nordischer Geschichte* [= Festschrift Karl Jordan], Kieler Historische Studien 16 (Stuttgart, 1972), 201–6.

2. Gervase of Canterbury, i. 325.

3. Herbert of Bosham, *Vita s. Thomae*, in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, iii. 514–17.

4. Roger of Hoveden, ii. 17.

5. Gerald of Wales, v. 361 = viii. 203.

permission to his tenants-in-chief to take the cross if they were so inclined. Some of them later, under King Richard, found it very expensive to buy themselves out of this vow. As for himself, Henry handled the assembly with great skill. He did not simply ask the assembly's advice as to whether or not he should go on crusade. He put the question more carefully: should he go or should he rather continue to rule over England? The implication was, of course, that if he went he would take over the rule of Jerusalem. Henry was in my opinion truly stating the issue, but to such a question the answer was a foregone conclusion. The assembly reminded him of his coronation oath and asked him to stay at home. Concerning a crusade of his sons, the opinion was that nothing should be decided as they were not present.[1]

Henry informed the patriarch of the decision and once more offered money. Gervase of Canterbury[2] has it that he offered 50,000 marks. Only 3,000 seem to have been sent.[3] But this time Henry's old ruse failed to work. The patriarch dismissed the offer as being irrelevant, and careful attention should be paid to his speech as recorded by Gerald of Wales[4] not later than 1189: 'We want a prince, not money. From everywhere we receive money, but no prince.' And then he shot his final arrow: 'We want a prince who needs money, not money which needs a prince.' This was truly the heart of a matter which had grown since 1172 to the amount of 30,000 marks of silver. The kingdom of Jerusalem was in such straits that it needed and wanted another ruler. In particular it wanted an English prince to come and spend Henry's money, not English money waiting idly for Henry or one of his sons. The patriarch then made a last attempt begging that, at least, Henry should send one of his sons; if no other, then his youngest son John. The assembly had not definitely closed the door on such a possibility. John was only eighteen and had not yet been knighted, but this did not trouble the patriarch. Any of Henry's sons would have been acceptable to Jerusalem, because his coming would finally have unfrozen Henry's account; this was known since Henry II had promised to finance the Young King's crusade in 1183. John even implored his father to let him go. But Henry clearly saw the consequences and had no intention of seeing his Eastern money spent. He quickly shipped John off to Ireland, where he stayed until December 1185 – by which time the storm had blown over.[5]

In April 1185 the king went with the patriarch to Normandy, and while they were waiting for suitable winds at Dover, the patriarch who had seen, in Gerald's revealing words, that he could not bring

1. Ralph of Diceto, ii. 33–34. 2. Gervase of Canterbury, i. 325.
3. *Ex chronico anonymi Laudunensis canonici*, Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, new ed. by L. Delisle, xviii (Paris, 1879), 705.
4. Gerald of Wales, v. 362–3 = viii. 208. 5. Roger of Hoveden, ii. 303–5.

forth 'honey from rock nor oil from stone',[1] upbraided the king for his ingratitude, reminded him of his bad behaviour to Becket and prophesied a quick fall from his eminence owing to his obstinacy.[2] It was to no avail, even if it had been considered an expression of God's disapproval of Henry that a rare earthquake shook England and badly damaged Lincoln cathedral.[3] In France the patriarch received some more promises of money from the kings of England and France, but again he dismissed this as being insufficient and returned home to the East (where he is found in the autumn of 1186).[4] Even the small contingent of English crusaders which arrived in the spring of 1186 returned home immediately when they found a truce prevailing.[5]

The mission of patriarch Eraclius had been a complete failure. He impressed only Herbert of Bosham favourably. We can dismiss as unfounded the reports of the Eastern chronicles that he was openly living with a mistress known as Madame la Patriarchesse.[6] But an Englishman who was vehemently opposed to the crusade even in the enthusiastic climate of 1187, when Jerusalem had been conquered by the infidel and when Henry II finally took the cross, an Englishman who violently disliked Henry by whom he had been forced into exile, nevertheless sided in this matter with Henry and against the patriarch. This was Ralph Niger[7] in his anti-crusade treatise. He had seen the patriarch, certainly in France, and he describes him in an utterly unpleasant fashion. He had come displaying much gold and silver and enshrouded in aromatic perfumes which made vestments smell and confused the brain. He had come seeking aid against Saladin, but he was unwilling to give from his own wealth. Such pompous behaviour may have been part of the patriarch's tactics. Perhaps he wished to demonstrate that it was not money which was needed, but a man to spend it. But the example of Ralph Niger clearly shows that such pomp and magnificence impressed people unfavourably because it gave them the impression that Jerusalem was not in need.

The patriarch's mission, however, was not without consequences. It had been the final proof that Henry would not come, nor would he send one of his sons. To be sure, after Jerusalem had fallen he took the cross and then he meant business. But before such a catastrophic

1. Gerald of Wales, v. 363 = viii. 210.
2. Gerald of Wales, v. 363 = viii. 210.
3. Roger of Hoveden, ii. 303.
4. Reinhold Röhricht, *R[egesta] R[egni] H[ierosolymitani]* (Innsbruck, 1893), no. 653. *RRH*, no. 650 is a forgery; see H. E. Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel und ein akkonensisches Fälscheratelier des 13. Jahrhunderts*, Bibliothek des Deutschen Historischen Instituts in Rom 38 (Tübingen, 1972), pp. 147–53.
5. Roger of Hoveden, ii. 316.
6. *L'Estoire de Eracles*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens occidentaux ii (Paris, 1859), 60; *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. M. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), p. 86.
7. Ralph Niger, *De re militari et triplici via peregrinationis Ierosolimitane (1187/88)*, ed. L. Schmugge, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 6 (Berlin, 1977), pp. 187, 193.

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event he would not come, and it was precisely such an event which Jerusalem hoped his money would help to prevent. After a delay of fifteen years, Jerusalem was ready in 1187 to go ahead and spend Henry's money even without his permission. The first part of it was used to increase the kingdom's army for the battle of Hattin in 1187. In retrospect it is easy to see that this was a decisive defeat for the kingdom. About 1,000 of the 1,200 knights assembled had been killed or captured. There was not enough manpower left to defend castles and cities, as was vital for survival. But before the battle things looked different. Saladin was not invincible; the Franks had inflicted a severe defeat on him in 1177, although his position had then been weaker. It was clear that the king and the master of the Templars counted on winning the battle. When the other parts of Henry's money were disbursed, the situation was extreme: Jerusalem had been lost. Inasmuch as Jerusalem was a common Christian cause,[1] nobody, including Henry II, could object to these expenditures. The expenses for the army of Hattin, however, were made in a grave, but not an extreme situation. These expenses must be looked at not in the light of the lost battle, but in the light of a kingdom in danger but hoping to weather the storm. But since the risk always incurred in a pitched battle was difficult to calculate and since this risk had been deliberately incurred, Henry could very well object to this first part of the expenditure. Spending the rest of his treasure later was dictated by sheer necessity. But that part of it was spent before the battle is clear evidence that the patriarch's long mission to Europe had convinced the Latin East that there was no longer any hope of the coming of Henry II.

Still it cannot have been easy, and therefore demonstrates even more clearly the extent to which the Franks had become annoyed with Henry, to persuade the master of the Templars to open his part of Henry's Eastern account. There was the threat of the will of Waltham. There was a good likelihood that Henry would recall his money upon learning that part of it had been spent, because since 1172 his policy had consistently been that this growing account should remain frozen, pending his arrival. As soon as this stipulation was disregarded without a penalty, there would be no end to the spending. Opening his Eastern purse presented Henry with the alternative of either embarking on a major crusade effort, so that his money should be spent according to his intentions, or to recall it. In both cases he would have lost the political influence this money gave him; but in the second case he would, at least, have recovered most of it. For the rest he could have held the Templars liable.

It was, indeed, a serious decision for the Templar master to make;

1. R. C. Smail, 'The international status of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem', *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), pp. 23–31.

and apparently, the master of the Hospitallers, who held the other half of the English money, was at the time not prepared to join him. It is clear that this was the first time that Henry's money was touched. It was also a sensational event, because people had been waiting for it for fifteen years on both sides of the sea, and therefore it was much noted. The very well informed anonymous Chronicle of the Holy Land (formerly falsely ascribed to Ralph of Coggeshall and based upon the report of an eye-witness who was then badly wounded by an arrow in his nose) reports expressly: 'They opened the treasure of the lord king of England and gave stipends to all who could carry a bow or a lance into battle.'[1] It was clear to him that it was an extraordinary event. That it was the part managed by the Templars is recorded by the French continuations of William of Tyre.[2] It is also borne out by subsequent events. The money was probably used to hire not so much knights as footsoldiers, after the *arrière-ban* requiring every able-bodied Frank to serve had been proclaimed on the advice of the Templar master who made Henry's money available. Some 9,000 foot seem to have been present, of which we can be sure that England paid for some 4,000,[3] since in time of need Jerusalem could call before the *arrière-ban* on about 5,000 *serjenz* without foreign aid.[4]

The tactical mistake committed by the King of Jerusalem has often been noted. In normal warfare the Franks retreated into their walled castles and towns and waited for the enemy's army to dissolve. Even if the army was called out, they tried to avoid pitched battle. Instead, the army was kept together in a good position to constitute an ever present threat to the enemy.[5] This time the king allowed himself to be lured out of such a good position near Saffurieh, where there was an abundant water supply, and to be caught in the heat of July on the Horns of Hattin in arid and waterless country. Tiberias on the Lake of Galilee had come under siege and the Lady of Tiberias had requested military aid from the king. The entire baronage had advised the king not to leave Saffurieh (including the Count of Tripolis who was married to the damsel in distress at Tiberias). The sources tell a very probable story that the king's mind was changed during the night by the Templar master in favour of advancing from Saffurieh towards Tiberias.[6] However, a dramatic and incredible note is added by the story that the master argued that a lady could not be left alone and that he gave his advice out of a personal dislike of the Count of Tripolis

1. *De expugnatione Terrae Sanctae per Saladinum libellus*, ed. Hans Prutz, *Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Danzig, 1876), p. 87.
2. *L'Estoire de Eracles*, ii. 46; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 157.
3. Runciman, ii. 489–90.
4. R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097–1193)*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, new series 3 (Cambridge, 1956), p. 91.
5. Smail, pp. 24–25.
6. Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem (1100–1291)* (Innsbruck, 1898), pp. 432–3.

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who had led the party opposed to the advance. With him he had, indeed, an old feud. But King Guy would have been a fool to be so gallant. The Count of Tripolis had pointed out with great urgency that in advancing they might be caught cut off from all springs and that this would be the end of the army. The matter is much simpler. The opening of Henry's treasure gave the Templar master a disproportionate influence on the king. But what counted more was the predictable wrath of Henry II when he learnt about the opening. It could be justified, and Henry's wrath cooled, only by a spectacular success such as could not be achieved if the army simply sat it out at Saffurieh, as would have been quite normal. Both the king and the master were practically compelled to achieve a striking success. It is not merely speculation that Henry's predictable reaction shaped the decision, because already at the time when the army was assembled, precautions had been taken to pacify Henry when the King of Jerusalem ordered that the soldiers hired with English money should fight under the English flag.[1] The hoped-for success was to be presented to Henry as being due largely to his money, but first there had to be success at practically all costs.

When it did not work, the kingdom dropped into Saladin's lap like a ripe apple. Towns and castles fell one after another. In October 1187 it was Jerusalem's turn. Apart from three castles, only the port city of Tyre held out. The bad news spread quickly. Before 6 August 1187 the second-in-command of the Knights Templar (the master had been captured) circulated a letter to the Pope, his brethren in the West, to all Christians and to the Count of Flanders describing the disaster of Hattin.[2] But apparently he did not dare write to Henry directly, since Roger of Hoveden[3] inserted into his chronicle the version addressed to the Templars. The letter did not mention Henry's money. Only after Jerusalem had been lost and there was a first success to report – that is the defence of Tyre against Saladin in December 1187 – did the same man write to the King of England another letter inserted into Roger's chronicle.[4] If we are to believe the English chronicles, Richard of Poitou and Henry II learnt about Hattin in November 1187 through a letter despatched from Rome by Peter of Blois.[5] Richard immediately took the cross. When Henry learnt about this, he is said to have been speechless for four days.[6] When Richard arrived, Henry first censured him for having taken the cross without his permission and then promised, as he had promised Young Henry, that he would finance his crusade.[7] By this time

1. *Chronique d'Ernoul*, p. 157.
2. *RRH*, no. 660.
3. *Gesta regis Henrici II*, ii. 13; Roger of Hoveden, ii. 324.
4. *RRH*, no. 669; *Gesta regis Henrici II*, ii. 40; Roger of Hoveden, ii. 346.
5. Cartellieri, ii. 43–44, 267–8.
6. Gervase of Canterbury, i. 389.
7. William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reign of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, Rolls Series 82 (London, 1884–9), i. 271.

Henry's Eastern account had been completely exhausted, although he did not yet know about it. He had not learnt about the fall of Jerusalem, even less so about the defence of Tyre – and this was where the rest of the money was spent. To a letter written to him shortly before Jerusalem's fall in October by the patriarch of Antioch, he replied that he and his son would bring help personally and more quickly than people thought.[1] This means that he still believed his Eastern money to exist; when he finally took the cross in 1188, he knew that quick help was no longer possible because he was now a poor man in the East. He first had to levy the enormous Saladin's Tithe before he would be able to go, and he allowed a year for this operation.

When Jerusalem capitulated it was agreed that people should be allowed to buy their retreat at fixed rates. Saladin neither wanted a massacre which would only stir up emotions, nor did he want a Christian population in Jerusalem. But he was always in need of money. After a marvellous piece of Oriental bazaar bargaining[2] which cannot be described here in detail, a price was set for people who could pay, while of the poor, 7,000 men (or a correspondingly higher number of women and children) were to be redeemed for a lump payment of 30,000 besants which were paid by the Hospitallers from their part of Henry's money. The treasure was still not exhausted: either the Hospitallers had transferred part of it in time to Tyre, or else they took it there when they were allowed to depart from Jerusalem, since everyone who escaped from Jerusalem was allowed to take with him whatever he could carry. In any case the defence of Tyre by the marquis Conrad of Montferrat was also financed by Henry's money. In September 1188, the marquis wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury applauding the Hospitallers for having given what remained of Henry's money for this purpose, and 8,000 besants from their own funds on top of it.[3] The accusation of wholesale embeżzlement against the Templars was slanderous, because they had offered at least a substantial part of the English money they held for hiring mercenaries for the battle of Hattin.

By the time this letter arrived in England, Henry knew that he was now poor in the East. There was also no point in crying over spilled milk. With his characteristic energy he now fully embraced the business of the cross and rebuilt his political position in the East from the wreckage. His agents were already busy with hitherto unknown energy throughout England and his Continental domains collecting the Saladin's Tithe ordered in January 1188. His subjects were loudly lamenting, collectors enriched themselves, yet the tax is reported to

1. *RRH*, nos. 664, 673; *Gesta regis Henrici II*, ii. 36, 38; Roger of Hoveden, ii. 340, 342.
2. *L'Estoire de Eracles*, ii. 88–95; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, pp. 218–26.
3. *RRH*, no. 676; Ralph of Diceto, ii. 60.

have yielded 70,000 pounds.[1] Doubtless there was some exaggeration, but to judge from the loud laments of the clergy the yield was indeed great. Henry did not live to see Jerusalem. He came to his last rest at Fontevraud in July 1189. His son Richard found other ingenious ways of squeezing money out of England. When in 1192 all had been said and done, Henry's Eastern account, which had an unedifying history, had, against the king's will, contributed to the disaster of Hattin. But it had also and doubtless with the king's subsequent approval, ransomed 7,000 poor people in Jerusalem and had largely financed the defence of Tyre, the only port left in the Holy Land. If Henry II had committed any sins by stalling in the business of the cross and by having kept his money frozen in the Holy Land, the record of his son Richard cleansed him of them. Richard's bravery, but also decidedly the English money which Henry and Richard kept squeezing out of England after 1188, made possible the almost incredible success of the Treaty of Jaffa of 1192, which prolonged the life of the crusader states for another century.

1. Gervase of Canterbury, i. 422.

XI

The Origins of the County of Jaffa*

It is generally assumed that Jaffa was first separated from the royal domain of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and assigned to a vassal in about 1118, namely to Hugh II of Le Puiset, Viscount of Chartres (Hugh I of Jaffa).[1] This assumption is predominantly based on the report in the chronicle of Archbishop William of Tyre, but it is in conflict with the charter evidence. Since the county of Jaffa was one of the most important lordships of the kingdom, the problem is worth reexamination.

The charter evidence shows, as we shall see, that there was a constable of Jaffa as early as 1115.[2] This office must be regarded in the light of a theory developed by Jean d'Ibelin, one of the most renowned of the many excellent feudal lawyers of the Latin East, that in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem there were four baronies and several other

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[1] Dating the event 'under King Baldwin II', S. Paoli: *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, I, Lucca, 1733, pp. 452–453, 468; E.G. Rey (ed.): *Les familles d'Outremer de Ducange*, Paris, 1869, p. 338; R. Röhricht: *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem*, Innsbruck, 1898, p. 199; J.L. La Monte: *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932, p. 13, n. 3; R. Grousset: *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, II, Paris, 1935, p. 27; H.E. Mayer: *The Crusades*, Oxford, 1972, p. 87. Dating the event to 1118, L. de Mas Latrie: Les comtes de Jaffa et d'Ascalon, *Revue des questions historiques* 26 (1879), p. 186; J.L. La Monte: The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades, *Speculum* 17 (1940), p. 104; S. Runciman: *A History of the Crusades*, II, Cambridge, 1952, p. 190; J. Richard: *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1953, pp. 74, 83 = idem, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, trans. J. Shirley, Amsterdam, 1979, pp. 74, 87 (partly 'about 1118', partly 'after 1118'); H.E. Mayer: *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Stuttgart, 1977, pp. 149–150.

[2] It is, perhaps, appropriate to explain a few Crusader offices mentioned in this paper. The constable was the king's (or a great baron's) chief military officer. The marshal was in all respects the lieutenant of the constable. The senechal (plural senechaux) was the chief financial and judicial officer of the king or the great barons. Theoretically he was the first in rank among the grand officers, but in Jerusalem the constable generally superseded him in political influence. The viscounts were the principal local and regional administrators of the king or the great barons, acting as financial agents and as chairmen of the lower courts. The castellans were appointed and removable commanders of individual castles (or citadels in cities and, therefore, military commanders of those cities) belonging to the king or a lord. The *magistri* were multi-purpose functionaries without a titled office but holding the academic degree of Master of Arts. The chaplains conducted the religious services for the king and the seigneurs but also frequently drew up the charters of the latter.

seigniories.[3] It must, however, be noted that there is no evidence of either constitutional theory or political practice, apart from Jean's lawbook, which would point to four baronies having ever existed. Certainly, the use of the word *baro* ('baron') in the charters, and even their distinction from more simple *homines regis* ('vassals of the king'), does not yield any indication that Jean's four baronies existed as a special category in the social hierarchy of the Latin Kingdom.[4]

According to Jean, the four baronies were: (1) the county of Jaffa–Ascalon together with the lordship of Ramla; (2) the principality of Galilee; (3) the lordship of Sidon, Caesarea and Bethsan; (4) either the county of Tripoli or the lordship of Transjordan and Hebron. With regard to the fourth case, Jean said, opinion was divided as to which of the two constituted a barony. The characteristics of a barony were, according to Jean, that it furnished 100 knights to the royal army and (because of this substantial military service) had a constable and a marshal, i.e. the two chief military officers.

In the county of Tripoli we find a marshal in 1142 but two constables officiating simultaneously as early as 1106. In the principality of Galilee we meet with both a constable and a marshal in 1121. For Caesarea there is no evidence of either office, although senechaux are attested already in 1129 and 1131. Neither a constable nor a marshal is mentioned for Bethsan, while in Sidon a constable is found in 1158, a marshal in 1228. In Transjordan and its later subsidiary Hebron there is no evidence for either a constable or a marshal. Though the archives of the lords of Transjordan are no longer extant, chance has preserved a few charters by lords of Transjordan or their family. In none of them is a constable or a marshal named, although they give us evidence for castellans, viscounts, chaplains, *magistri* and even senechaux.[5] If the mighty lords of Transjordan had such a highly developed range of seignorial offices, it is hard to believe that they did not also have a constable and a marshal, or at least one of these offices. However, this is what Jean d'Ibelin says.[6]

In the county of Jaffa a marshal is met with in 1133 (*RRH*, No. 147). However, a constable of Jaffa, to which Ascalon was not added until after its conquest in 1153, occurs rather early in 1115 (*RRH*, No. 80). He is no other than the famous Barisan-le-Vieux, the founder of the house of Ibelin. He is described as constable of Jaffa from 1115 to 1130 and he styles himself so in 1126.[7] He had been appointed before 1115;

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[3] *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* c. 269, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (henceforth *RHC*). *Lois*, I, Paris, 1841, pp. 417–418.

[4] J. Riley-Smith: *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277*, London, 1973, pp. 16–20.

[5] R. Röhricht: *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani*, 1 vol. and *Additamentum*, Innsbruck, 1893–1904 (henceforth *RRH*), Nos. 212, 48, 92, 93, 126, 139; J. Delaville Le Roulx: Chartes de Terre Sainte, *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 11 (1905–1908), p. 181, No. I; *RRH*, Nos. 986, 279, 454, 551, 596, 628.

[6] *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* c. 269, *RHC, Lois*, I, p. 418.

[7] *RRH*, Nos. 80, 90, 102a, 112 (by Barisan himself), 113, 134, 137a; cf. *RRH*, No. 120. *RRH*, No. 100, is a forgery; see H.E. Mayer: Carving up Crusaders: The early Ibelins and Ramlas, in B.Z. Kedar *et al.* (eds.): *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, Jerusalem, 1982, pp. 109–114.

RRH, No. 80, a royal confirmation of the possessions of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat, records that before this date he, as constable of Jaffa, had made a donation to Josaphat. William of Tyre also lists him as constable of Jaffa. He is last mentioned alive in 1150 and must have died shortly thereafter.[8]

It has always been assumed that Barisan was the constable of Counts Hugh I and Hugh II of Jaffa;[9] indeed, this follows from *RRH*, Nos. 102a, 113 and 134. But if Hugh I did not receive Jaffa until 1118, whose constable was Barisan in 1115 in *RRH*, No. 80? It is unlikely that a royal constable would have been called constable of Jaffa, even if one allows for the fact that originally Jaffa was one of the most important places of the kingdom. Up to the conquest of Acre in 1104 the open roadsteads of Jaffa furnished the only port of the kingdom, since Caesarea after its conquest in 1101 apparently never became viable as a port. While the importance of Jaffa might have warranted the appointment of a special royal constable, his task could equally well have been performed by a royal castellan such as can be shown to have existed in Jaffa. The kingdom had at any time only one constable who was styled *constabularius regis* (constable of the king); the constable of Jaffa would be the only exception to this rule. And while we have seen that in Tripoli two constables held office simultaneously, this was exceptional and surely could not have been a practical arrangement, as it was bound to lead to conflicts of competence which were most undesirable in the office of the chief officer of the army.

Let us look then at the scanty evidence for the early history of Crusader Jaffa. It was conquered in either the summer or the autumn of 1099. Godefrey of Bouillon took it under his administration, repaired its fortifications and established a hospital there.[10] On

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[8] William of Tyre: *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* XII, 13, *RHC. Historiens occidentaux* (henceforth *hoc*), I, Paris, 1884, p. 532; *RRH*, No. 262; cf. H.E. Mayer: Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), p. 155; idem (above, n. 7), pp. 102–103.

[9] Of the literature cited in n. 1: Rey, p. 352; Mas Latrie, p. 187; La Monte, *Le Puiset*, pp. 116–117; Runciman, II, p. 192; Richard, *Royaume*, pp. 84, 91 = *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 87, 95; Mayer, *Bistümer*, *passim* (see index under Barisan-le-Vieux). See also W.H. Rüdt de Collenberg: Les premiers Ibelins, *Le Moyen Age* 71 (1965), p. 452; J. Prawer: *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, I, Paris, 1969, p. 580; Riley-Smith (above, n. 4), p. 21; Mayer (above, n. 7), p. 102.

[10] H. Hagenmeyer: Chronologie de la première croisade, *Revue de l'Orient latin* 7 (1899), pp. 468–470, Nos. 392–394 (mid-June 1099); cf. Balderic of Dol: *Historia Ierosolymitana, RHC Hoc.* IV, Paris, 1879, p. 110, variant No. 6 from MS. G (conquest by Eustace III of Boulogne assisted by Bishop Robert of Ramla after mid-August 1099). For the repair work, see Ekkehard of Aura: *Hierosolymita* c. 19, *RHC Hoc* V, Paris, 1895, p. 26; Albert of Aachen: *Historia Hierosolymitana* VII, 12 *RHC Hoc* IV, p. 515; *Gesta triumphalia Pisanorum in captione Jerusalem, RHC Hoc* V, p. 368; H. Hagenmeyer: Chronologie de la première croisade, *Revue de l'Orient latin* 8 (1900–1901), p. 318, No. 443. For the hospital, see Albert of Aachen (above), VII, 18, p. 519. I cannot concur in the judgment of J. Riley-Smith: The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine 1095–1100, *English Historical Review* 98 (1983), p. 726, that Wicher the German was possibly Godefrey of Bouillon's castellan in Jaffa, since his only connections with Jaffa are that he is said to have killed a lion near the town and that he was buried there (Albert of Aachen [above], VII, 71, p. 553).

2 February 1100 Godefrey ceded one quarter of Jaffa to the Holy Sepulchre. At Easter 1100 he seems to have given the remaining three quarters of Jaffa to the Patriarch Daimbert of Jerusalem but retained the usufruct for life. Before Godefrey died on 18 July 1100 he confirmed these concessions in his will; however, this was entirely disregarded by his vassals, who brought his brother Baldwin I from Edessa and established him as King of Jerusalem.[11] When Baldwin came to Jaffa in November 1100 on his march to Jerusalem to claim the rulership, the population cheered him and allowed him to proceed as if he were already their king.[12]

There can be no doubt that during at least part of Baldwin's long reign (1100–1118) Jaffa belonged to the royal domain; in 1110 the king confirmed to the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem his gift of a good oven as well as of lands and houses in the city of Jaffa (*RRH*, No. 57). Since the gift also included possessions in Acre, it must have been made after the conquest of Acre in 1104. Other charters unfortunately add little to this picture. In 1115, according to *RRH*, No. 80, the Abbey of Josaphat possessed four *carrucatae* of land in Jaffa and two in Acre (one *carrucata* is about 35 hectares). In 1120 this was confirmed by King Baldwin II, who stated that King Baldwin I had given, among other property in Beirut as well as in a suburb of Acre, four *carrucatae* of arable land in the territory of Jaffa.[13] The original charter by Baldwin I donating this land is lost. The donation cannot be dated either by the conquest of Acre in 1104, because the land was not in the city but in a suburb, or by the conquest of Beirut of 1110, since for reasons I have explained elsewhere the Beirut gift must have been made in a separate charter.[14] While theoretically the gift in Jaffa could have been made at any time between the accession of Baldwin I late in 1100 and the confirmation of 1115, it can be shown that actually it was a donation to the church of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat before it received monastic status in 1110/1111.[15] It follows then from the charter evidence discussed here that Jaffa remained a royal possession at least until the conquest of Acre. Actually it remained in the royal domain beyond this year.

In August 1105 a certain Litardus of Cambrai is found with other followers of Baldwin I in the royal army. But when on 27 August 1105 the king rode into the third battle of Ramla, he left Litardus, *quia prudens et fidelis erat* (since he was prudent and faithful), with 300 men in Jaffa to defend it against assaults by land or by sea.[16] Litardus was thus the king's military commander of Jaffa; one may well doubt that he was appointed *ad hoc* because Jaffa needed a permanent royal official, a castellan in other words, to see to its security.

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[11] Mayer (above, n. 1, *Bistümer*), pp. 11–24, 37–43.

[12] Fulcher of Chartres: *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913, II, 3, pp. 367–368; William of Tyre (above, n. 8), X, 6, p. 410.

[13] *RRH*, No. 90. This was reduced in *RRH*, Nos. 134, 291, as well as in the papal charters, *JL* Nos. 9847, 10003α, *Registre d'Alexandre IV*, No. 129, to two *carrucatae*.

[14] Mayer (above, n. 1, *Bistümer*), pp. 322, 360.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 320–321, 360.

[16] Albert of Aachen (above, n. 10), IX, 48–49, pp. 621–622.

However, castellans could be changed. One year later, in 1106, we find that the garrison of Ramla, upon an invasion by the Egyptians, rode to Jaffa in order to advise Roger of Rozoy-sur-Serre in the diocese of Laon, *qui urbi Japhet praeerat* (who was in command of the city of Jaffa), that the Egyptians had occupied the vicinity of Ramla. At first it was decided to take them on in battle, but finally the advice of a certain knight called Gerard, *qui partem reditus civitatis Japhet pro militari obsequio obtinebat* (who held part of the revenues of the city of Jaffa in return for military service), prevailed and they all retreated to Jaffa.[17] Roger was a knight who may have gone on the Crusade as a follower of the count of Flanders. In any event he marched with the count from Marash to Artasia and fought there with the Turks. At Easter 1102 he was, together with other noblemen, with the king in Jerusalem and remained there after the ceremonies. Most of the nobles listed then were participants in the Crusade of 1101. As for Roger, it is not clear whether he was still in the Holy Land or had returned with the Crusaders of 1101. Roger then took part in the second battle of Ramla in 1102 and fled from the battlefield to Jaffa.[18] Theoretically he may have been a royal or seignorial castellan of Jaffa, but the former is most likely. The Gerard mentioned above, who had a money fief in Jaffa, seems at this time to have still been a royal vassal, since Albert of Aachen describes him as *eques de domo regis* (a knight from the royal household). If this was so, then Litardus of Cambrai was also a royal castellan. It is therefore reasonably certain that Jaffa still belonged to the royal domain in 1106.

However, Roger's position had changed by 1115. At this date the king confirmed in *RRH*, No. 80, the possessions of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat. Before this *Rogerius de Roseth* had given a peasant *in monte Beterico* with his belongings to Josaphat *concedente supra dicto Bariano* (with the approval of the above-mentioned Barisan). This refers back to *Barianus constabularius Ioppe* (Barisan constable of Jaffa), i.e. to Barisan-le-Vieux, who had also made a gift to Josaphat now confirmed by the king. While Roger's gift had been made before 1115, it was made after the status of Josaphat had been changed to that of a monastery in 1110/1111 because it occurs in the part of the royal diploma that refers to this period.[19] If Barisan's consent had been given to Roger's donation, the latter must have been Barisan's vassal and no longer a royal official.

Unfortunately, there is no indication whether Roger's office had come to an end because the king had decided to appoint someone else or because Jaffa had been given

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[17] *Ibid.*, X, 10, 12, pp. 635–637. Riley-Smith (above, n. 10), p. 729, n. 4, following older authors, suggests that alternatively Roger may have come from Rozay in Thiérache which is, however, identical with Rozoy-sur-Serre, Dépt. Aisne, arrond. Laon.

[18] Albert of Aachen (above, n. 10), III, 28–29, IX, 1, 4, pp. 358–359, 591, 593; Riley-Smith (above, n. 10), p. 729. See however C. Cahen: *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche*, Paris, 1940, p. 209, n. 11, who argues that he was a companion of Baldwin of Boulogne rather than of the Count of Flanders.

[19] Mayer (above, n. 1, *Bistümer*), pp. 320–321. Contrary to the opinion of Riley-Smith (above, n. 10), p. 729, Roger's possessions *in monte Beterico* were not in Khirbat at-Tira south of Nablus; cf. Mayer (above, n. 1, *Bistümer*), pp. 347–348.

as a fief. Let us therefore look at the evidence in William of Tyre's chronicle concerning the first grant of Jaffa as a fief.[20] According to William, Hugh II of Le Puiset (Hugh I of Jaffa) went on a pilgrimage together with his wife Mabilia in the days of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem (1118–1131). Actually, he joined the Crusaders whom Boemund I of Antioch enlisted in France in 1106 for his attempt against the Balkans in 1107/1108.[21] In Apulia (before or after the Balkan war) his wife gave birth to a son called Hugh, the later Hugh II of Jaffa and future rebel against King Fulk of Jerusalem. Because the infant was too tender to travel, he was left in Apulia with Boemund I of Antioch, whom William called a *consanguineus* (blood relative) of Hugh I of Jaffa. In fact Boemund was not related to Hugh I but rather to his wife Mabilia, who was a daughter of Boemund's half-sister and the count of Roucy (Dépt. Aisne, arrond. Laon). From the Balkans Hugh I travelled on to the Holy Land, where before 1110 he made a donation to the Hospital of Jerusalem which was then confirmed by the king (*RRH*, No. 57).[22]

William says that Hugh I arrived under a King Baldwin who was related to him according to the flesh (*secundum carnem propinquum*). Immediately upon Hugh's arrival (*statim post introitum suum*) he received from the king, as a hereditary fief for him and his heirs, the city of Jaffa with its appurtenances.

William clearly states that Hugh I of Jaffa arrived under King Baldwin II. He believes that Hugh received Jaffa under the same king because only Baldwin II was related directly to Hugh, as their mothers were sisters, whereas King Baldwin I was not related to him according to the flesh but only remotely through three marriages. But if the king under whom Hugh I of Jaffa arrived was Baldwin II, there is a conflict with *RRH*, No. 57. The charter shows that Hugh I was present in the Holy Land before 1110, while Baldwin II did not become king until 1118.

The most important clause in William's report is that Hugh I received Jaffa *statim post introitum suum*. If one accepts at face value William's statement that Hugh arrived under Baldwin II but interprets the clause in question to mean that he received Jaffa immediately following his arrival, classical grammar would require that William write *statim post introitum eius*. However, this grammatical rule was certainly not strictly observed in the Middle Ages, even by good stylists. William of Tyre himself writes of Hugh II of Jaffa that during his three-year exile *de reditibus possessionum suarum omne eius debitum... persolveretur* (of the revenues of his [reflexively used possessive pronoun] possessions all his [not reflexively used possessive pronoun] debts be paid). Here both *suarum* and *eius* refer to Hugh II. There would also be a chronological

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[20] William of Tyre (above, n. 8), XIV, 15, pp. 627–628.

[21] La Monte (above, n. 1, *Le Puiset*), p. 102; R.B. Yewdale: *Bohemond I, Prince of Antioch*, Princeton, 1924, pp. 121–122.

[22] In 1108 Roger of Rozoy is listed without any office among the witnesses of *RRH*, No. 52. If this indicates that his royal office had expired because Jaffa had been given to Hugh I, the date of *RRH*, No. 52, confirms 1108 as the time of Hugh I's arrival in the Latin East.

difficulty, pointed out already by La Monte.[23] In 1120 Hugh I's son Hugh II was *nondum miles*, 'not yet a knight' (*RRH*, No. 90) and therefore less than 15 years old. In 1123 he married the widow of Eustace Grenier, Lord of Caesarea and Sidon, who died on 15 June 1123.[24] However, according to William of Tyre, Hugh I went straight from Apulia to the Holy Land after the birth of Hugh II. Had this happened under Baldwin II, who was made king at Easter 1118, the earliest date for the birth of Hugh II would be the autumn of 1117 when shipping to the East came to a halt, thus detaining his father in Apulia until at least the spring of 1118. In this case Hugh II would have been no more than six years old when he was married, a clear impossibility. In addition, there would be no solution for the problem that the charters show Hugh I to have been in the Holy Land by 1110, while William says that he did not arrive until 1118 or later.

When Mas Latrie studied the counts of Jaffa, he clearly saw this impasse but extracted himself from it in an arbitrary fashion by simply dismissing the charter evidence. He refused to believe that the *Hugo de Puzath* (= Le Puiset) mentioned in *RRH*, No. 57, both as a donor and as a witness was identical with Hugh I of Jaffa.[25] But it is evident that Mas Latrie was driven to this solution because the charter contradicted his case, built exclusively on William of Tyre, that Jaffa was not granted to Hugh as a fief before 1118. Few scholars shared Mas Latrie's position,[26] though the date of 1118 was not challenged.

The alternative interpretation of William's account is that of La Monte, namely that Hugh I arrived between 1107 and 1110 but that the king did not give him Jaffa until *statim post introitum suum*, i.e. immediately after the king's accession to the throne at Easter 1118.[27] This year would have afforded an occasion for Baldwin II to bestow Jaffa on Hugh I; at Easter 1118 Baldwin II is said to have subjected Nablus, Samaria (Sebaste?), Jaffa, Haifa, Hebron, Acre, Sidon, Tiberias and other places in the kingdom to his rule (*suo subiecit imperio*) and to have granted the revenues of some of them to his vassals while assigning others to the royal domain.[28] If this report by Albert of Aachen is correct at all, this was perhaps no more than an examination of the titles of his vassals to land and money fiefs, such as Baldwin I had attempted to undertake in 1100.[29] Alternatively, however, it may have been a basic separation of royal domain and baronial fiefs. In either case such an act was a political necessity. It has been shown that the accession of Baldwin II was a very difficult one which brought the country to the brink of a civil war.[30] The dispute over Baldwin I's accession took place in two

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[23] La Monte (above, n. 1, *Le Puiset*), pp. 103–104.

[24] Fulcher of Chartres (above, n. 12), III, 22, pp. 674–675; William of Tyre (above, n. 8), XIV, 15, p. 628; *RRH*, Nos. 102a, 104.

[25] Mas Latrie (above, n. 1), pp. 185–186, following Paoli (above, n. 1), I, p. 452.

[26] Apart from Paoli, *ibid.*, only Röhricht in *RRH*, No. 57, n. 1, agrees with Mas Latrie.

[27] La Monte (above, n. 1, *Le Puiset*), p. 104, actually takes the same position as Rey (above, n. 1), p. 339, although, strangely enough, La Monte, p. 103, says that this position explains the difficulties away.

[28] Albert of Aachen (above, n. 10), XII, 30, pp. 709–710.

[29] *Ibid.*, VII, 37, 43–44, pp. 532, 536–537; cf. Mayer (above, n. 1, *Bistümer*), p. 150.

[30] On the following events, see H.E. Mayer: Etudes sur l'histoire de Baudouin 1er roi de Jérusalem, in

successive phases. In the first, immediately following the old king's funeral, the legitimists favouring Eustace III of Boulogne carried the day and reached a decision to send an embassy to Eustace to offer him the crown. This embassy must have consisted of Eustace's principal supporters in the East and must have removed them from the scene, because at Easter, when the embassy had apparently already left, the remaining nobility and clergy suddenly raised Baldwin II to the throne and had him anointed, although not crowned. The ambassadors were unaware of this act and clearly did not expect it; when they had persuaded Eustace with some difficulty to accept the crown and had come with him as far as Apulia, they learnt for the first time what had happened in Jerusalem and were furious. They argued that the event was illegal and could not possibly stand, and even William of Tyre concurred in their judgment. Civil war was avoided by Eustace III turning back to Boulogne. When he was anointed, Baldwin II must have known that this act carried with it the distinct danger of civil war and must have prepared for it. The obvious thing to do was an examination such as Albert of Aachen describes, which would have resulted in the dispossession of Eustace's followers; this may explain why in Apulia they seem to have been much more disturbed by the news than was Eustace III. It would also have been of paramount importance for Baldwin II to create vassals loyal to him rather than to the Boulogne family. Who, in this case, would have been a more obvious candidate on whom to settle a large fief than his own cousin Hugh I of Jaffa?

But can *statim post introitum suum* be construed to mean, as La Monte believed, immediately after the accession of Baldwin II? One must examine not only whether *suum* (his) refers to the king or to Hugh but also the meaning of *introitus*. In William of Tyre's parlance the latter means, in the majority of cases I have found, simply physical entry into the kingdom.[31]

However, William said of King Baldwin II that he seemed to have gained the throne in a somewhat irregular fashion: *Videtur tamen minus regularem habuisse introitum*

Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, N.S. V), Paris, 1984, pp. 73–88.

[31] When Hugh II of Jaffa was exiled after his revolt for three years, he was given assurances that after this time in *regnum iterum... ei liceret introire* (he should be allowed to enter the kingdom again). Of Manasses of Hierges it is said that Queen Melisende appointed him constable *statim post eius introitum* (immediately upon his arrival). Of Thierry Count of Flanders, William writes that *cuius introitus in regno* (his arrival in the kingdom) was very useful and necessary. A legate sent by Pope Alexander III who wished *tanquam legatus in regnum introire* (to enter the kingdom in his capacity as legate) requested that he be informed by the king, the clergy and the nobility how they felt *de ingressu eius* (concerning his entry). When on one occasion the Count of Tripoli wanted to travel south to Tiberias, the king was persuaded by his advisers *comitem sinistra intentione in regnum velle introire* (that the count wanted to enter the kingdom with a sinister design). William of Tyre (above, n. 8), XIV, 17, XVII, 13, XVIII, 16, XVIII, 29, XXII, 9, pp. 630–631, 780, 846, 870, 1078. Cf. William's dating of events from the Latin conquest, *ab introitu (ingressu) Latinorum* (from the entry of the Latins into the Holy Land), *ibid.*, IX, 17, XI, 16, XI, 27, XX, 3, XXII, 16, pp. 389, 480, 501, 944, 1094. I owe these references to the kindness of Prof. Robert Huygens of the University of Leiden, a member of the Crusaders study group of the Hebrew University's Institute for Advanced Studies.

(Nevertheless he seems to have had a somewhat irregular introduction [to the kingship]). In his opinion, it was certain that those who promoted Baldwin's accession thereby fraudulently excluded the legitimate heir of the kingdom from the rightful succession.[32] In this case *introitus* clearly refers to accession to the throne, although it should be remembered that even here a physical entry into the kingdom was involved. Baldwin II, hitherto Count of Edessa, had arrived in Jerusalem on the day of Baldwin I's funeral and just in time to participate in the debate on the old king's succession which led in a matter of weeks to his own accession. It is therefore difficult to interpret *statim post introitum suum* in William's account about the grant of Jaffa to Hugh I as referring to the accession of the king, apart from the fact that there would be then an insolvable dichotomy within William's own story. On the one hand Hugh I would have arrived under Baldwin II, i.e. after the latter's accession; on the other hand he would have received Jaffa immediately upon the king's elevation. This would be possible only if by chance Hugh I arrived precisely at the time of Baldwin II's accession, which was indeed my assumption when I first wrestled with this problem.[33]

It is quite clear that there must be a mistake somewhere in the source material and that, to correct it, it is not plausible that Hugh I arrived under Baldwin I but was enfeoffed under Baldwin II, as La Monte proposed. The difficulties can only be solved if it is assumed that the mistake was that of William of Tyre and that the chronicler confused Baldwin I and Baldwin II on both occasions. Only if Hugh I arrived between 1108 and 1110 can William's report be reconciled with *RRH*, No. 57. And only then would one arrive at a defensible age for Hugh II of Jaffa on his marriage in 1123, as he would have been born shortly before his father's journey to the East, i.e. between 1106 and 1110, and would consequently have been between 13 and 17 years old when he was married.

There would be no obstacle to the assumptions that Hugh I was given Jaffa (1) after 1106 (Roger of Rozoy still royal castellan of Jaffa; Hugh I of Jaffa not yet in the Holy Land); (2) before 1115 (Roger of Rozoy is already vassal of the constable Barisan of Jaffa); (3) after 1108 (earliest date for Hugh I's arrival in the East); (4) before 1110 (latest date for the same event). In fact only thus does other evidence, hitherto unnoticed, fall into place. We know from William of Tyre's story that after the death of Hugh I of Jaffa, the king married his widow (whether she was Mabilia or Adalasia of Corbeil, who had formerly been married to Hugh I's brother Evrard III of Le Puiset)[34] to Albert, a brother of Count Godefrey of Namur. Together with Hugh's widow, Albert received Jaffa. Both of them died within a short time. Upon their demise Hugh's son Hugh II of Jaffa came from Apulia to the East, claiming and obtaining Jaffa as his paternal inheritance. This had occurred by 31 January 1120, because in *RRH*, No. 90, he is then listed as *Hugo de Ioppe filius Hugonis de Puteolo nondum miles* (Hugh of

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[32] *Ibid.*, XII, 3, p. 515.

[33] Mayer (above, n. 1, *Bistümer*), pp. 149–150.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 299 (*RRH*, No. 36c).

Jaffa [= Hugh II], the son of Hugh of Le Puiset [= Hugh I], not yet a knight). Hugh I seems to have been dead by mid-1112, thus leaving a maximum (if Hugh II received Jaffa only late in 1119 or in January 1120) of seven and a half years for Albert's interlude. This is more plausible than the very short one year and a quarter (or less if Hugh II was enfeoffed earlier than stated above and as Hugh I died before Albert's installation) imposed by La Monte's retaining 1118 as the year of the grant of Jaffa to Hugh I. On 20 June 1112 King Baldwin I issued a charter which includes among the witnesses *Signum Alberti*, 'the sign [= signature] of Albert' (*RRH*, No. 68a). Given that this Albert appears among the king's trusted followers and two years after the last reference to Hugh I of Jaffa as being alive, and given also that Albert (who did not survive Hugh I very long) appears only here, we must almost certainly identify him with Albert of Namur who held Jaffa from the king.

We must still examine one problem: between 1106(?) and 1120 Hugh I of Jaffa is mentioned four times only as *Hugo de Puzath* or *Hugo de Puteolo*.[35] Likewise Albert in *RRH*, No. 68a, is not called 'of Jaffa'. However, Hugh II of Jaffa is never mentioned by his family name of Le Puiset but is from the beginning (*RRH*, No. 90) called after his fief of Jaffa, even where he is given no title such as *dominus, comes, consul* or *princeps* of Jaffa. Are we to conclude from this that there was a difference in status between Hugh I and Albert on the one hand and Hugh II on the other? A conceivable, though not demonstrable, explanation would be that Baldwin I bestowed on Hugh I and on Albert only the revenues of Jaffa as a money fief. This would certainly contradict William's statement that Hugh I received *civitatem Ioppen cum pertinentiis suis* (the city of Jaffa with its appurtenances). However, it would explain why neither Hugh I nor Albert are known as lords of Jaffa in charter evidence and it would tally with the fact that in 1106 the king had given only a money fief in Jaffa to Gerard. While this explanation is tempting, it must be pointed out that Eustace Grenier, Lord of Caesarea and Sidon, who according to William of Tyre certainly received Sidon in 1110, was never called in the charters anything but *Eustachius Granarius* without any lordship attached to his name. Yet it would be difficult to assume that he received the two cities only as a money fief, since Fulcher of Chartres already revealed that he possessed the two cities.[36] In view of the example of Eustace Grenier it would seem that Hugh I and Albert held Jaffa as a land fief, as William of Tyre says.

We therefore arrive at the following reconstruction of Jaffa's early Crusader history. It was a royal possession until at least 1106 when Gerard *de domo regis* held a money fief there. Since Hugh I was still in the Balkans in 1107, we must assume that Jaffa remained royal until Hugh arrived in the Holy Land between 1108 and 1110. He then received Jaffa as a fief but was dead by the middle of 1112, when Albert of Namur is seen serving the king and must therefore already have succeeded Hugh I both as a husband and as a vassal for Jaffa. If Jaffa had been granted as a fief to Hugh by 1110,

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[35] *RRH*, Nos. 36c, 57, 90.

[36] William of Tyre (above, n. 8), XI, 14, p. 478; Fulcher of Chartres (above, n. 12), II, 16, pp. 660–661.

then, of course, the *Barianus constabularius Ioppe* in *RRH*, No. 80, who had made a donation to Josaphat between 1110/1111 and 1115, was not the royal constable but the constable of the lord of Jaffa. This would be an additional confirmation that Jaffa, contrary to accepted opinion, was first granted as a fief a considerable time before 1118. Given the great role which Barisan-le-Vieux was to play in the affairs of the county of Jaffa as well as in the history of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in general, it may well be that this constableship became the example on which other great crown vassals modelled their appointment of a constable.

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The Double County of Jaffa and Ascalon: One Fief or Two?

AT THE beginning of 1983 Dr Peter Edbury published a paper on John of Ibelin's title to the county of Jaffa and Ascalon in which he disagreed with a paper of mine on the Jerusalem regency 1253-58.[1] In his paper he suggested that the double county of Jaffa and Ascalon may have been regarded as two distinct and separable lordships, *viz.* a county of Jaffa and a county of Ascalon. Edbury is to a certain extent in need of this hypothesis. It is true that in the early 1240s Jaffa and Ascalon went different ways. Jaffa had been in the hands of Walter IV of Brienne since *c.* 1235. Ascalon was reconquered by Richard of Cornwall in 1241 and handed over to the imperial administration in the Holy Land. In 1243 Emperor Frederick II installed the Knights of St John there who actually held Ascalon from 1244 to 1247 when it was permanently lost. But before June 1247 Henry I of Cyprus had given the county of Jaffa *and* Ascalon to John of Ibelin. Whereas I felt that Henry made this grant in his capacity as regent of Jerusalem (and, consequently, from the royal domain) and that it was of dubious legality, Edbury has tried to show that the grant came from Henry's inheritance and that it was perfectly legal and that there was certainly no need for John of Jaffa to worry over his title to Jaffa. This is not the time and the place to discuss this central point of Edbury's paper and such discussion must be reserved for another occasion.

But Edbury would not deny that John was clearly worried. On 26 March 1253 he obtained a papal confirmation of the grant which Henry I of Cyprus had made to him of the county of Jaffa and Ascalon. This was most unusual. As Edbury pointed out, the grant is the only one we know of its kind in the Latin East. The pope himself said in his confirmation that he was doing something out of the ordinary. Since Edbury argues that there was no challenge to John's title to Jaffa he must necessarily find the reason for the papal confirmation in Ascalon. But since the double county is normally regarded as a unitary fief, the claim to Ascalon should be assumed to have come to John of Jaffa in the same unchallengeable way as Jaffa did. But then there would have been no point at all to the papal confirmation. If, on the other hand, the double county was thought of as two distinct and separable lordships then the two parts could go different ways and a contest could develop over John's title to the county of Ascalon without affecting the solidity of his title to Jaffa. Edbury comes to the conclusion that while Henry I in his grant to John treated Ascalon as a part of a unitary fief of Jaffa-Ascalon, Emperor Frederick II treated it as a part of the royal domain –unlike Jaffa– when he gave it to the Hospitallers in 1243.[2] This would easily explain a struggle concerning Ascalon between John of Jaffa and the Hospitallers which had been under way since 1252 and in which there was an attempt at settlement in 1256 or 1257.

Edbury cites me in support of the theory that Jaffa and Ascalon were regarded as two distinct fiefs. I am alleged to have said that when the double county was first created for the future King Amalric of Jerusalem, he received the two halves at different dates. This is not so. I said something entirely different: Amalric had received the county of Jaffa in 1151, before the conquest of Ascalon (1153), but then in 1152 he had lost it; later, at some point in the year 1154, he was granted both Ascalon and Jaffa *together*.[3]

It may, however, easily be inferred from what I wrote in 1972 that at the time I thought that the double county consisted of two separable units, a 'county of Jaffa' and a 'county of Ascalon' because I used this distinction and these expressions twice in that paper.[4] Yet such an inference would not be correct because I expressly said that in Amalric's days the double county most likely came to be regarded as one fief and to be called 'county of Ascalon' until people remembered that the 'county of Jaffa' had existed long before the creation of the 'county of Ascalon'. I based myself on the observation that Amalric appears in charters from 1155 on only as 'count of Ascalon' although he also held Jaffa, whereas his successors used the fuller title of 'count of Jaffa *and* Ascalon'. But this completely ignored common parlance as reflected in the chronicles. Undoubtedly my terminology also suffered from a lack of precision. There was, of course, a 'county of Jaffa' before Ascalon was joined to it. It had, in fact, been first created as a fief in 1108/10. When Ascalon was added to it in 1154 the double county was regarded as one fief, as will be shown by a new review of Amalric's title. But this fief consisted of two administrative subdivisions which, for lack of a better term, I shall now call the 'viscounty of Jaffa' and the 'viscounty of Ascalon'. In 1972 I should have used this expression rather than that of 'county' when speaking of not more than the northern and southern part of the double county. It is generally admitted that the viscounts were the chief administrative officers of the barons but we do not speak of viscounties because in most lordships there was only one viscount residing in the same town or fortress which gave its name to the whole lordship. To speak of a viscounty, therefore, normally does not make much sense, and one should not forget that the term *vicecomitatus* is not attested to in the sources of the Latin East. But there were separate viscounts for Jaffa and Ascalon.[5] My position of 1972, then, cannot be quoted in support of splitting the double county into two fiefs from the beginning. On the contrary, as I showed in 1977, Count Hugh II of Jaffa and his constable, Barisan-le-Vieux, as early as 1123 and 1126 were trying hard to establish, by various donations, the presumption that Ascalon should go to Count Hugh after a conquest which was being discussed then.[6] This was the first attempt to weld Jaffa and Ascalon together and it could point only to a unitary fief, not to two separable ones.

It may be useful to investigate the status of the double county once more and more fully than either Edbury or I have done so far. From 1155 on Amalric styled himself exclusively 'count of Ascalon' and did not receive any other title from the royal chancery and hardly from anybody else, although he demonstrably also held Jaffa because, with the title of a count of Ascalon, he made a grant in Jaffa to Pisa. There is only one exception to this rule. In a charter of his mother Melisende dated 1159 he is called *Iopensium comes*.[7] William of Tyre, however, never knew Amalric just as 'count of Ascalon'. He spoke of him as 'count of Jaffa' up to and including the point at which he received Ascalon.[8] Later on he called him 'count of Jaffa and Ascalon', but he also described him simply as 'count of Jaffa' at the period he held Jaffa as well as Ascalon.[9] To other chroniclers Amalric was only known as 'count of Jaffa'.[10]

When Amalric became king of Jerusalem the double county returned to the royal domain (1163).[11] As the price for his elevation to the kingship Amalric had to divorce his first wife, Agnes of Courtenay. But she retained her title as countess. While the chronicles speak of her occasionally simply as Countess Agnes, she is referred to in a charter issued by her next husband, Hugh of Ibelin, as countess of Jaffa.[12] This title must have included Ascalon because it had done so in her divorced husband's days as count.

When Amalric's daughter Sibyl married William of Montferrat in 1176 the couple received *Ioppen et Ascalonam urbes maritimas cum pertinentiis suis et universo comitatu.*[13] William of Tyre evidently considered the double county as one fief only and therefore used the singular *universo comitatu*. It is with Sibyl and William that the fuller title of a 'count of Jaffa and

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Ascalon' makes its appearance. In 1177, during his brief tenure of less than a year William was styled thus twice by the royal chancery.[14] But the Anglo-Norman *jongleur* Ambroise who was in the Holy Land during the Third Crusade and others knew him only as *sire de Jasphe* or count of Jaffa.[15] For Ambroise Jaffa and Ascalon went together as one fief. Since the king of Jerusalem was then a leper who could not marry it was generally expected that Sibyl and her husband would succeed him. When William came to Genoa in August 1176 on his way to the East, the Genoese tried to solicit the support of the future king. He solemnly promised them that he would aid them in the East to recover any possessions withheld from them. But he made important restrictions in order not to get into trouble in the East. He was not going to go to war on behalf of Genoa, and he refused to aid them with regard to anything withheld by the king and to anything *de comitatu Iope et pertinentiis eius.*[16] He clearly had no intention to help the Genoese to recover anything in his own county. Since we know from William of Tyre that he came to the East with a firm contract as to his future position he must have known in August 1176 that he was to receive the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon but he thought it to be quite sufficient to refer to this future fief of his as *comitatus Iope.* Again, the double county was considered as one fief only.

After William's death in the summer of 1177, Sibyl's hand was unsuccessfully offered under the same conditions to the duke of Burgundy.[17] Jaffa and Ascalon were to stay together. In 1180 Sibyl's second husband Guy of Lusignan received the double county by virtue of his marriage. Like Sibyl he used the fuller title. The charters refer to both almost exclusively as countess and count of 'Jaffa and Ascalon'.[18] But there were exceptions when the shorter title was used. However, as in William's promise to the Genoese and as opposed to the practice in Amalric's days, the shorter title was now that of 'count of Jaffa', not 'count of Ascalon'. In 1178 the royal chancery called Sibyl simply 'countess of Jaffa', and in 1183 Guy appears as 'count of Jaffa' in a charter of Humphrey IV of Toron.[19] These isolated charter references gain much weight, however, by the observation that overwhelmingly the chroniclers spoke of Sibyl and Guy as countess and count of Jaffa only, although they also held Ascalon, and this goes for eastern and western chronicles and for twelfth and thirteenth-century reports alike.[20] One is really hard put to find chronicle references to them as countess and count of Jaffa and Ascalon. I have found exactly one true reference of this sort for each of them.[21]

In July 1191, as part of a major settlement between Guy of Lusignan and Conrad of Montferrat, both pretenders to the throne, the county of Jaffa as well as the lordship of Caesarea was given to Guy's brother, Geoffrey of Lusignan, as a hereditary fief.[22] From 26 October 1191 to 10 February 1192 we find him three times referred to in charters of his royal brother as 'count of Jaffa' whereas previously he had simply been 'Geoffrey of Lusignan'.[23] But his claim to Jaffa certainly included Ascalon. On this Ambroise is explicit.[24] Because of Geoffrey's title in the charters Edbury admits that Geoffrey had seisin in Jaffa when it was reoccupied shortly after the settlement of July 1191.[25] One agrees with this but then one must assume that he also obtained seisin in Ascalon when Richard I reoccupied and began to rebuild it in January 1192. It remained in Christian hands until it had to be dismantled and vacated under the terms of the peace treaty of Jaffa of September 1192. There is no way of seeing how Geoffrey could have been refused seisin in Ascalon if the grant of 1191 had expressly included it. And that this had been the case is also shown by an episode of September 1191, i.e. *after* the grant of Jaffa to Geoffrey but *before* the reconquest of Ascalon: Richard I of England refused to believe rumours that Saladin was destroying Ascalon and sent Geoffrey of Lusignan and William of Etang to reconnoitre the situation.[26] The choice of Geoffrey was an obvious one. He was looking after his own interests there. Even more interesting is the way in which Richard of Holy Trinity in London reported the grant to Geoffrey in his Latin

translation of Ambroise. Having found in the French poem a grant of Jaffa *and* Ascalon, Richard rendered this into Latin the way people generally understood it in his days, namely as the county of Jaffa, but then went on to say that this county comprised both Jaffa and Ascalon.[27]

Also very revealing is the seal of Sibyl of Jaffa-Ascalon which Edbury does not discuss although I elaborated on it at considerable length in 1978 and specifically in relationship with the problem discussed here, *i.e.* whether the double county was one fief or two.[28] It is the only seal from the double county of which we possess a pictorial representation and it is unique in that it is the only seal from the Latin East showing a city or fortress on both sides, obviously one representing Jaffa, the other one Ascalon. Consequently there is no room for the customary representation of the person owning the seal. The legend reads: + SIGILLVM AMAL REGIS FILIE on one side and +IOPP ET ASCALE COMITISSA on the other. Although Sibyl's name is not mentioned there can be no doubt that this was her seal. I explained in the lenghty footnote which I devoted to this seal in 1978 that it must be interpreted as a *Realunion* showing that Jaffa and Ascalon were one fief. This again was imprecise terminology because the matter at the time had little importance for me. There is a difference between a *Realunion* and one fief consisting of two administrative subdivisions, although it is minimal and in practical terms *nil*. In a *Realunion* there are in theory two distinct units – two distinct fiefs, as it were in our case – but they are inseparably linked. For a *Realunion* to differ from a truly single unit in practical terms there must be complicating circumstances such as in the case of Schleswig-Holstein. Since such complications do not exist in the case of Jaffa-Ascalon, it is advisable not to impute to twelfth and thirteenth-century minds such very fine legal points and to drop the term *Realunion* altogether and to speak of a single fief with two 'viscounties' as administrative subdivisions as opposed to a *Personalunion* of two fiefs united in one hand but separable at any time, an institution which existed in fact in the Latin East, although not in name. If there was a *Personalunion* of two lordships separate seals were used for each of them as we can see from two charters of 1271.[29] Both charters were issued by John, lord of Tyre and Toron, the son of Philip of Montfort. The first charter concerned Tyre, the second one Toron. According to the text they were sealed one with John's Tyre seal, the other one with his Toron seal, and the drawing extant of the seal from the Tyre charter indeed shows only the city of Tyre. In the middle of the thirteenth century Count John of Jaffa and Ascalon had only one seal for the double county because he sealed two charters concerning Ascalon *en mes dreis coins de ma conté de Japhe et d'Escalone.*[30] This again shows that the double county formed one unitary fief. Since John was also lord of Ramla and said so in the two charters we must infer from the announcement of his Jaffa-Ascalon seal that he had another one for Ramla, yet another indication that Jaffa-Ascalon where one seal sufficed was one fief only. In my discussion of the seal of Sibyl of Jaffa-Ascalon I did toy with the idea that there might have been a certain body of medieval opinion that the double county consisted, as Edbury now again suggests, of two separable fiefs. But all things considered I came to the conclusion that it was a single fief.

Geoffrey of Lusignan to our knowledge was the last person to be styled count of Jaffa for half a century if exception is made for Walter IV of Brienne.[31] We can therefore skip here the history of the double county until 1246/47 when Henry I of Cyprus granted it to John of Ibelin who thereby became John of Jaffa. To most people he was simply the 'count of Jaffa and lord of Ramla'. He was thus styled by Henry I of Cyprus in 1248, by the clergy and barons of the kingdom of Jerusalem in a letter of 1254 to Henry III of England, by the pope six times in 1253, and by the Genoese in 1261.[32] It is clear that his title as 'count of Jaffa' also included his claim to Ascalon not only because of the evidence already adduced for previous counts of Jaffa and Ascalon but especially (a) because the pope confirmed to John the grant of Henry I of Cyprus of the 'county of Jaffa *and* Ascalon' on 26 March 1253 but addressed the letter only to

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John, the 'count of Jaffa and lord of Ramla' and (b) because Henry I gave John the same restricted title in 1248 *after* he had expressly given him the 'county of Jaffa *and* Ascalon'.[33]

The Master of the Hospitallers in 1256 and 1257 felt that it was sufficient to refer to John simply as 'count of Jaffa', leaving out even his title as lord of Ramla, when he dealt with John concerning the dispute over the Order's compensation for Ascalon.[34] The omission of John's title of Ascalon is all the more revealing because the Master's charters presuppose that the Order recognized this title as otherwise the Hospitallers could not have pressed their claims against John. For the Order it was clear that John's title to Jaffa included that to Ascalon and that the double county was one fief only. The same brief title of 'count of Jaffa' only was used by the chancery of Henry III of England in 1252, by the popes Alexander IV and Urban IV from 1256 to 1264 and by the notary of the papal legate Thomas of Bethlehem in 1261.[35] In the chronicles we have the same picture. The chroniclers knew John only as 'count of Jaffa' although he had certainly been given the county of Jaffa and Ascalon and had a claim to the latter which was tied to his claim to the former.[36]

John himself was quite content in 1247 with the title of 'count of Jaffa and lord of Ramla'. This does not mean that at the time he did not lay any claim to Ascalon because it was in Muslim hands and considered a fief separate from Jaffa. Should he have been more papal then the pope who in one and the same charter called him 'count of Jaffa and lord of Ramla' but confirmed to him the 'county of Jaffa *and* Ascalon'? Should he have included his title to Ascalon when no one from London to Acre felt it necessary to do so and after people –with the exception of countess Sibyl and her two husbands– had for a century been satisfied that a reference to a count of Jaffa meant a reference to a count of Jaffa-Ascalon? Edbury must split the double county into two parts not only to be able to explain why Frederick II could make a gift of Ascalon in 1243 to the Hospitallers,[37] but also to be able to show that John's claim to Jaffa was unassailable in law while the one to Ascalon was not and could be independently attacked. But the papal confirmation of 1253 is in the way because it establishes the fact that John had been given the county of Jaffa *and* Ascalon. Edbury therefore stresses that John himself changed his title over the years. Whereas he first used the title of 'count of Jaffa and lord of Ramla' he later switched to the fuller title of 'count of Jaffa and Ascalon and lord of Ramla' when he was at odds with the Hospitallers over Ascalon.[38] Edbury explains this by assuming that John first forbore to adopt the fuller title because he had never been seised of Ascalon. The natural inference from this argument must be that the second part of the grant of Jaffa *and* Ascalon to John was dormant and could not be reflected in the title until John had seisin of Ascalon. This is astonishing because the four charters in which the fuller title is used all concern the same Ascalon problem. And in one of them it is expressly said that the settlement was to take effect only if Ascalon should return to Christian hands under an official truce and if John or his heirs should be seised of it.[39] This can only be interpreted to the effect that John was *not* seised of Ascalon when he used the fuller title and it is easy to see where this leaves Edbury's argument.

The explanation is much simpler. As has been shown the title of a 'count of Jaffa' even in John's days so much included a claim to Ascalon that John did not have to use the fuller title unless he specifically needed it. And when he came to his settlement with the Hospitallers he did because he was dealing with a specific Ascalon problem which he also wanted to solve only in the southern part of the double county.[40] In it he promised that he would assign, when the time came, 650 *charruées* of land in fourteen named villages to the Hospitallers. He made all kinds of supplementary promises as to how he would meet his obligations if these fourteen villages were not in the Ascalon part of the double county (*dou demaine de ma seignorie d'Escalone*) or if the land in them should not suffice. In this case John had to make up for the

difference *en mon demaine, en casaus de ma seignorie d'Escalone* or assign a corresponding money rent *seur toutes les rentes de ma seignorie d'Escalone*. John here made a clear distinction between his *seignorie d'Escalone* and his *seignorie de Japhe*. The latter is not mentioned but is the logical consequence of the former which is mentioned. I pointed out that there was a compelling reason for this artificial division.[41] John wanted to make sure that he would have to pay only from the Ascalon part of the double county since the whole dispute concerned only this southern part. By the legal distinction between his 'lordship of Ascalon' and 'of Jaffa' John protected the northern part from having to pay the costs of a settlement in the southern part if Ascalon would not return to John's possession. But when John sealed the charter with his (one) seal of his *conté de Japhe et d'Escalone* he himself established a serious obstacle to the theory that the instrument demonstrates that John thought of Jaffa and Ascalon as two fiefs. Also, if *le conté* consisted of a *seignorie d'Escalone* (and a corresponding *seignorie de Japhe*) the reference was almost certainly only to the administrative subdivisions of the double county which I have called here the two 'viscounties'.

Edbury also adduced John of Jaffa's own lawbook to show that the double county was thought of as consisting of two separable fiefs. This again is astonishing because I had used the same three passages as proof of the contrary.[42] Having re-examined them I do not see any reason to change my position. They concern John of Jaffa's theory of the exclusive group of 'les quatre baronnies', of which he made the double county a member, the right to hold a court of burgesses, and military services. In all three cases it is true that both Jaffa and Ascalon are mentioned as being parts of the whole and in the second case it is expressly said that the count had a court of burgesses in Jaffa as well as in Ascalon whereas in the third case Jaffa owed twenty-five knights to the royal army as did Ascalon. But all this cannot serve as evidence for two separable fiefs. With regard to military service but especially with regard to the right to hold lower courts this very clearly merely reflects the administrative subdivision into two 'viscounties' as evidenced already for the twelfth century by two separate viscounts for Jaffa and Ascalon. If there were two viscounts there had to be two lower courts, since to preside over a *cour des bourgeois* was one of the viscount's most essential functions.

One could, of course, assume that the very fact that there were separate viscounts for the two parts of the double county is in itself an indication that from early times on it was considered as being two fiefs. But a look at what John of Jaffa in his lawbook says about other fiefs will show that he thought of nothing but administrative subdivisions when he made his statements. For, surely, the principality of Galilee was regarded as one unitary fief, yet the prince had *cours des bourgeois* both in Tiberias and in Safad, just like the lord of Transjordan had one in Montréal and another one in Kerak. With regard to military service there was no breakdown for Transjordan where 40 knights were owed for both Kerak and Montréal together while for Galilee the military subdivision differed from the judicial and administrative one in that the prince owed 60 knights from his cisjordanian territories and 40 knights from his transjordanian lands.

But even apart from these considerations John of Jaffa's terminology in his lawbook removes all doubts as to the nature of the double county. It was in his view one fief. Among 'les quatre baronnies' John counted *le conté* (singular, not *les contés*) *de Japhe et d'Escalone*, concerning the right to hold court he said that *la conté de Japhe et d'Escalone* had it, and concerning military service he was just as precise and spoke of *la baronie de la conté de Japhe et d'Escalone*. I fail to see how this can be used, as Edbury did, in support of the theory that the double county consisted really of two counties.

The conclusions from the evidence are very clear. In the charters the title in question first expanded from 'count of Ascalon' to 'count of Jaffa and Ascalon' but then shrank to 'count of

Jaffa' with four exceptions under John of Jaffa when problems were at stake which pertained only to the Ascalon part of the double county at the exclusion of the Jaffa part. At all times these titles even in their restricted form included both Jaffa and Ascalon and there are no indications that they referred either, and in their fuller form, to two distinct and separable units or, in their restricted form, to only one of these units. Any such inference from the expansion and contraction of the title would be flatly contradicted by a look at common parlance as reflected in the chronicles. Here the county of Jaffa always meant the county of Jaffa-Ascalon and was clearly considered as a unitary fief.

The case against the double county having been considered as two separable fiefs is overwhelming. In favour of such a theory one could at best adduce that John of Jaffa spoke of his *seignorie d'Escalone* when he settled with the Hospitallers, but since he opposed it to his *conté de Japhe et d'Escalone* we are led to believe that the *seignorie* here referred to no more than what I have called in this paper the 'viscounty'. And if Countess Sibyl stressed the unity of Jaffa-Ascalon on her seal by showing one of these two cities on each side, this might lead to the idea which had indeed occurred to me in 1978 that there might have been a body of opinion to the contrary so that the unity had to be stressed.[43] At this time I was still under the impression of my own superficial investigation of 1972 of the title of the counts of the double county which I had not carried beyond the original expansion from 'count of Ascalon' to 'count of Jaffa and Ascalon'.[44] In view of the later shrinking of the title and in view of the constant use of the restricted form by the chroniclers this cannot be maintained. It is much simpler to assume that since the double county, unlike most other lordships, had two centres of equal importance they were both shown on the seal, especially since Sibyl had included both of them in her title.

NOTES

1 H.E. Mayer, 'Ibelin *versus* Ibelin: The Struggle for the Regency of Jerusalem 1253-1258', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxxii (1978), 25-57. P.W. Edbury, 'John of Ibelin's title to the county of Jaffa and Ascalon', *EHR*, xcviii (1983), 115-133.

2 Edbury, 'John of Ibelin's title', p. 127.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 127, n.5. H.E. Mayer, 'Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxvi (1972), 175-6, 182.

4 Mayer, 'Melisende', pp. 176, 182.

5 Renaud viscount of Jaffa *RRH*, nos. 303, 308 of 1155; Sejoretus viscount of Jaffa *RRH*, no. 709 of 1193; Gilbert viscount of Ascalon *RRH*, nos. 303, 308 of 1155; William Rufus viscount of Ascalon *RRH*, no. 553 of 1177 (cf. *RRH*, nos. 589, 983); another William viscount of Ascalon *RRH*, no. 589 of 1179; Seignoret viscount of Ascalon *RRH*, no. 627 of 1183.

6 H.E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* (Schriften der MGH, xxvi; Stuttgart, 1977), 151-6.

7 *RRH*, no. 324 for Pisa of 1157. *RRH*, no. 359 of 1159.

8 William of Tyre, 'Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum', *RHC Oc.*, i, 884, 782, 813 (in chronological order).

9 Count of Jaffa and Ascalon, *ibid.*, pp. 863, 883. Count of Jaffa, *ibid.*, p. 610 for the time of his marriage to Agnes of Courtenay dated by Robert of Torigny in 1157; p. 871 for 1161.

10 'Auctarium Aquicinense', *MGHS*, vi, 397 = 'Continuatio Aquicinctina' (to Sigebert of Gembloux), *ibid.*, vi, 410; 'Regni Ierosolimitani brevis historia', ed. L.T. Belgrano, *Annali Genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, i; Genoa, 1890), 130; *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas-Latrie (Paris, 1871), 15, 16.

11 This is the *communis opinio* and I believe it should be retained although the Old French translator of William of Tyre seems to have been of another opinion. In William of Tyre, pp. 610-11, we are told that Agnes of Courtenay married Amalric count of Jaffa, *unde natus est Balduinus Hierosolymorum rex sextus*. But the Old French text says: *d'aus deus nasqui li quens Baudoins li sisiesmes roi de Iherusalem*. Since his father is qualified as *li quens de Jafe, qui puis fu rois de Jerusalem*, the translator must have felt that Baldwin first became count of Jaffa-Ascalon before he became king. But since we have no other evidence pointing in the same direction, the possibility should not be pursued, especially in view of the fact that Amalric had not been created count of Jaffa until he had been dubbed a knight (and come of age) in 1151 (William of Tyre, p. 884) when he was 15 years old, having been born in 1136 for in 1143 he was seven years old (*ibid.*, p. 702). Baldwin IV, however, was only 13 years old when he became king.

12 William of Tyre, pp. 889 *sq.*, 1004, 1023 (the last reference missing in the Old French translation *ibid.*); *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, ed. M.R. Morgan (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, xiv; Paris, 1982), 20 = 'Estoire de Eracles', *RHC Oc.*, ii, 7. *RRH*, no. 410a to be dated 1163-9 and preserved as French abstract only.

13 William of Tyre, p. 1025. 'Ernoul', p. 48, says the same thing: Baldwin IV gave the couple *le conté de Jaffe et d'Escalonne*.

14 *RRH*, nos. 552, 553a.

15 Ambroise, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris, 1897), vv. 2430 *sq.*; *Gesta regis Henrici II*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS, 49), i (London, 1867), 331 = Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS, 51), i (London, 1868), 275; 'Gesta regis Henrici II', i, 342 = Roger of Hoveden, ii (London, 1869), 308; 'Gesta regis Henrici II', i, 343, 358, 361; Roger of Hoveden, ii, 320; Sicard of Cremona, 'Cronica', *MGHS*, xxxi, 173 = Salimbene de Adam, 'Cronica', *MGHS*, xxxii, 2 = (Albert de Milioli), 'Cronica imperatorum', *MGHS*, xxxi, 643: William of Montferrat possesses *comitatum Iopensem*; Alberic of Troisfontaines, 'Chronica', *MGHS*, xxiii, 868.

16 *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova*, ed. C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo (Fonti per la storia d'Italia, ii; Rome, 1938), 234, no. 105.

17 William of Tyre, p. 1049.

18 Sibyl: *RRH*, nos. 545, 553, 570 issued by Sibyl herself, *RRH*, no. 587 issued by the king, *RRH*, nos. 546, 589 issued by Baldwin of Ramla and William Rufus, former viscount of Ascalon. Cf. *RRH*, nos. 603/604, 614, 625 by the king and no. 627 by her husband Guy in which cases she appears jointly with her husband and is styled *earumdem (urbium) comitissa* which amounts to the same title as the one above. Guy: *RRH*, no. 627 issued by Guy himself, *RRH*, nos. 601, 603/604, 613, 614, 617, 618, 624, 625 by the king. The royal chancery also used this title in the charter by Baldwin V for St. Samuel de Montjoie. H.E. Mayer, 'Sankt Samuel auf dem Freudenberge und sein Besitz nach einem unbekannten Diplom König Balduins V.', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, xliv (1964), 71. The same title is used in *RRH*, nos. 619, 824, 1110a by Walter of Caesarea, the patriarch of Jerusalem and the Master of the Hospitallers. Cf. also the forgeries *RRH*, nos. 496, 548.

19 *RRH*, nos. 559a, 628. Cf. the forgery *RRH*, no. 576.

[20] Sibyl: 'Anonymi Chronicon Terrae Sanctae', ed. H. Prutz, *Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, i (Danzig, 1876), 3; 'Gesta regis Henrici II', i, 343; Guido de Bazoches, *Ex cronosgraphie libro septimo*, ed. A. Cartellieri and W. Fricke (Jena, 1910), 2 = Alberic of Troisfontaines, p. 859; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, pp. 31, 33 = 'Estoire de Eracles', pp. 26-9 = 'Ernoul', pp. 130-4, but see also 'Ernoul', pp. 58, 59, 115; 'Les Gestes des Chiprois', § 38, *RHC Arm.*, ii, 658: Baldwin IV gives Sibyl and Guy *la conteé de Jaffe*; 'Continuatio Aquicinctina', p. 424; 'Annales de Terre Sainte', ed. R. Röhricht and G. Raynaud, *AOL*, iib (1884), 433. Guy: William of Tyre, pp. 1122, 1127-8, 1133, although he was aware that in 1184 Guy still held Ascalon; 'Chronicon Terrae Sanctae', p. 2; 'Brevis historia', pp. 137, 138; *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, ed. M. Salloch (Leipzig, 1934), 51, 58; cf. *ibid.*, p. 65: Sibyl divorces Guy in order to obtain the throne but insists that Guy is to retain the *comitatus Iopensis*; 'Gesta regis Henrici II', i, 343: Baldwin IV gives *comitatum de Iaphes* to Guy and Sibyl; cf. above 'Gestes des Chiprois'; Roger of Hoveden, i, 275; Guido de Bazoches, p. 2 = Alberic of Troisfontaines, p. 859; Ralph of Diceto, *Historical Works*, ed. W. Stubbs (RS, 68), ii (London, 1876), 47; Robert of Auxerre, 'Chronicon', *MGHS*, xxvi, 248; *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, pp. 17-8 = 'Estoire de Eracles', pp. 1-3; 'Ernoul', pp. 60, 134; 'Continuatio Aquicinctina', p. 424; Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. H.G. Hewlett (RS, 74), i (London, 1886), 138 = Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H.R. Luard (RS, 57), ii (London, 1874), 325. I have not endeavoured to be complete in this footnote.

[21] Sibyl: Once in 'Ernoul', p. 48. Guy: Once in William of Tyre, p. 1116 (= Roger of Wendover, i. 132 = Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ii, 321).

[22] 'Gesta regis Henrici II', ii (London, 1867), 184, 227 = Roger of Hoveden, iii (London, 1870), 125, 174.

[23] *RRH*, nos. 683, 706, 702, 698, 701 in correct chronological order. Cf. H.E. Mayer, 'Die Kanzlei Richards I. von England auf dem Dritten Kreuzzug', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, lxxxv (1977), 32 *sq.* and M.L. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Kieler Historische Studien, xxi; Stuttgart, [1974]), 55.

[24] Ambroise, vv. 5060-3.

[25] Edbury, 'John of Ibelin's title', p. 120.

[26] Ambroise, vv. 6974-80.

[27] 'Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi', ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* (RS, 38), i (London, 1864), 235: *comitatus Ioppensis, scilicet Ioppa et Ascalon.*

[28] H.E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, N.F., lxxxiii; Munich, 1978), 43, n.132.

[29] *RRH*, nos. 1286, 1372 (and *Additamentum*, no. 1286).

[30] *RRH*, nos. 1245, 1246.

[31] Edbury, 'John of Ibelin's title', p. 123, denies that he was count of Jaffa. Discussion of this problem as well as that of the emperor's grant to the Hospitallers must await the fuller discussion of Edbury's paper on the title of John of Ibelin to the county of Jaffa.

[32] *RRH*, nos. 1156, 1221. *Registres d'Innocent IV*, nos. 6455-8, 6463, 6465. *RRH*, no 1297a.

[33] Potthast no. 14927 = *Reg. d'Innocent IV* no. 6465. *RRH*, no. 1156.

[34] *RRH*, no. 1247. R. Hiestand, 'Zwei unbekannte Diplome der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem aus Lucca', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 1 (1970, published 1971), 42, n.33a.

[35] *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry III A.D. 1247-1258* (London, 1908), 158 = Thomas Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiuscunque generis acta*, ed. A. Clarke and F. Holbrooke, i, 1 (London, 1816), 282. *Registres d'Alexandre IV* nos. 1492, 2174 *sq. Registres d'Urbain IV. Registre ordinaire* nos. 473, 867. *RRH*, no. 1298.

[36] 'Estoire de Eracles', pp. 441, 443, 455; 'Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr dite du manuscrit de Rothelin', *RHC Oc.*, ii, 632 *sq.*; Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly (Société de l'histoire de France; Paris, 1868), 56, 151, 185 (ed. 1874: §§ 158, 160, 424-6, 516); 'Gestes des Chiprois', §§ 136, 173, 181, 196, 228, pp. 683, 708, 711, 719, 734 = Amadi, 'Chronique', ed. R. de Mas Latrie, *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi* (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, i; Paris, 1891), 133, 160, 164, 173, 195; Amadi, p. 196; 'Gestes des Chiprois', §§ 268, 269, 282, pp. 742, 743, 746; *ibid.*, § 319, p. 756 = Amadi, p. 206; 'Annales de Terre Sainte', pp. 446, 448.

[37] Edbury, 'John of Ibelin's title', p. 127.

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 125, 126, 127.

[39] *RRH*, no. 1246: *quant mei ou mes heirs ou autres por nos serons saisis en trive d'Escalone.*

[40] *Ibid.* The reader must be warned that the only complete text of this charter is found in S. Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro Militare Ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, i (Lucca, 1733), 150, no. 128. J. Delaville Le Roulx in his *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, ii (Paris, 1897), 837, no. 2853, only reprinted Paoli and, in doing so, ommitted a whole page of Paoli's text.

[41] Mayer, 'Ibelin *versus* Ibelin', p. 45 *sq.*

[42] 'Livre de Jean d'Ibelin', *RHC Lois*, i (Paris, 1841), 417, 419, 422. Edbury, 'John of Ibelin's title', p. 127, n.5. Mayer, 'Siegelwesen', p. 43, n.132.

[43] Mayer, *ibid.*

[44] Mayer, 'Melisende', p. 176.

XIII

John of Jaffa, His Opponents, and His Fiefs*

In 1983 Dr. Peter Edbury published a paper on John of Ibelin's title to the county of Jaffa and Ascalon in which he took to task a paper of mine published in 1978 on the struggle for the Jerusalem regency between 1253 and 1258.[1] Admittedly, the problems we both had to deal with are very complex because the evidence is fragmentary and the questions of feudal law involved are difficult to assess. Before turning to a discussion of Edbury's theories, I should point out that even for me as a duelist his paper is a step forward towards a clarification of certain problems of thirteenth century feudal tenure in the kingdom of Jerusalem. It also forces me to give up certain positions I had taken in 1978. I do not find this a hardship, but I will put up a defense where I cannot share a learned opponent's views at all or where I feel that his solution creates as many problems as it solves.

Edbury's paper consists of two parts. In the second part and partly on the basis of his preceding discussion of John of Ibelin's title to Jaffa he argues against my main points; namely that there was a feud within the Ibelin family between the famous feudal lawyer John of Ibelin (also known as John of Jaffa) who, following family tradition, championed the interests of the feudal class, and his cousin John of Arsur (also known as John of Foggia) to whom I had imputed a centralist mentality. It had been my opinion that this rift dated back as far as 1228 and was reflected in the frequent change of the regency of Jerusalem between the two men in the period 1253–58 and also manifested itself during an attempt by John of Arsur at administrative reform in 1251. In the first and much longer part of his article Edbury investigates in detail the titles of John of Ibelin to his feudal holdings, that is, the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon and the lordship of Ramla. Leaving aside Ramla for the moment, Edbury draws the following conclusions with regard to Jaffa-Ascalon: (1) John's title to Jaffa was secure and could not be challenged by the regent John of Arsur. (2) The claim to Ascalon was contested between John of Ibelin and the Hospitallers and John's obvious worries over at least one of his titles must, therefore, have concerned Ascalon rather than Jaffa. (3) The double county of Jaffa-Ascalon had been divided into two different feudal holdings by the early 1240s and those were in different hands. (4) It is possible that Jaffa and Ascalon had been regarded from the middle of the twelfth century as being two distinct and separable feudal units rather than an inseparable one.

Edbury's central point is that John of Ibelin's title to Jaffa was unassailable in law and unchallenged in practice and that his title to Ascalon could be, and was, independently attacked.[2] While the question of the validity

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* I should like to express my gratitude to the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem where I was a Fellow during the winter of 1983/84 for having provided the opportunity to write this study.

of John's title to Jaffa may seem to have little bearing on the main topic of my paper, Edbury links his theme to his criticism of me by pointing out that if John's title to Jaffa was beyond reproach, relations between him and John of Arsur could not have been soured on that account.[3] He then proceeds to present additional arguments against my opinion that there was an old antagonism between the two Johns.[4] I shall first deal with these supplementary arguments and then turn to Edbury's main topic. The two genealogical trees appended at the end of my paper may be helpful throughout the discussion.

Edbury admits that in the War of St. Sabas (1256–58) the two Johns were political opponents. He does not, however, offer any explanation for the frequent changes in the regent's office since 1253, although a glance at the following list of office holders will immediately suggest that the rift was older than 1256:

1253–54	John of Arsur (lieutenant before 1247–48 and again from 1249 for regent Henry I of Cyprus)
1254	possibly Philip Chamberlain
1254–56	John of Ibelin (henceforth referred to in this paper as John of Jaffa)
1256–58	John of Arsur
1258–61	Queen Plaisance of Cyprus (installed through the efforts of John of Jaffa)

In terms of practical politics this list strongly indicates a rivalry between the two Johns because the regency was an influential and lucrative office which neither of the two men would have been willing to relinquish voluntarily. An explanation for these surprising changes in the office has never been attempted, so I gave it a try. The list suggests to me that there was a rift between the two Johns as early as 1254, two years before the War of St. Sabas began. If this is so, it is permissible to look back even further.

There seems to be a hint at family division in a quarrel between Balian of Ibelin and John of Arsur during the siege of Beirut in 1232, when the Old Lord of Beirut selected not his eldest son Balian but John of Arsur to run the imperial blockade and penetrate the castle. Balian loudly complained of having been bypassed, as did his remaining brothers but the father argued that he had more need for the others outside the city than within. Edbury believes that the emphasis in this story told by Philip of Novara[5] is on Baldwin's disappointment, not on John's expendability. I fail to see this because the father sent John and explained that he needed the other four elsewhere rather than on this murderous mission. It seems to be that the emphasis is clearly on the expendability of John, if one of the sons had to be risked.

After the lifting of the siege of Beirut, John and the Beirut garrison joined the anti-imperial army of his father and of King Henry I of Cyprus at Sidon while his brother Balian came with troops from Tripolis and both of them received various fiefs from King Henry. I don't see that this means that the brothers were in harmony, as Edbury interprets the passage.[6] The text tells us nothing about their relationship at the time. It only reveals that John was at this point firmly in the Ibelin camp as he had been earlier in the year when the blockade was being run. As I pointed out in 1978 this was unavoidable if John wished to have any political future at all because the emperor had illegally confiscated his father's fief and John would have been politically finished if he had not opposed this along with the whole nobility of the Latin East.[7]

I must again point out that John of Arsur was also known as John of Foggia because in 1228 emperor Frederick II had promised him Foggia in the Capitanata in an obvious attempt to split the Ibelin camp in two. The sobriquet stands in need of a better explanation than that given by Edbury if it is to

be discarded as evidence of imperialist leanings of John of Arsur. It is not to be seen why the emperor should have attempted to bribe John whom he retained in his service from 1228 to 1229 if he had not hoped for success, although he certainly never had any serious intention of surrendering Foggia, one of his favorite residences, to him. It is not just anyone who tells us this story. It is Philip of Novara, a devoted supporter of the Ibelin family.[8] He had every reason to conceal it unless John of Foggia was the family's black sheep, and any centralist would have been just that for the Ibelin clan. Edbury believes that Philip told the story only to show to what lengths Frederick was prepared to go to split the family. Edbury is putting himself into Philip's shoes here and is, in fact, telling us why *he* would have written the story, not why Philip wrote it. But this is not the only instance when Philip of Novara uses the name John of Foggia. He gives it to him four times and it is indeed the only name he has for him.[9] I am only strengthened in my conviction that the name hinted at centralist and pro-Hohenstaufen leanings if Edbury now reveals that as late as 1252 it stuck to him even in Europe because he is listed under this name as one of the recipients of an encyclical letter by Henry III of England.[10] It is methodologically not permissible to explain this away, as Edbury does, by assuming that in the actual text of the letter he may have been addressed as John of Arsur if this address is not preserved. If the Patent Roll says, as it does, that the king's letter was also sent to John of Foggia, we must assume that it had been addressed to him in this way.

I had stated that in 1241 John of Arsur was to be found in Tyre ('Sur'), hence in the heart of the anti-Ibelin imperialist camp.[11] Edbury dismisses this lightly, "*pace* Mayer," as textual error. 'Sur' in the text of the *Gestes de Chiprois*, he suggests, should read 'Arsur'. While this suggestion is as old as the sixteenth century, it does alter the text of the chronicle without any foundation in manuscript evidence. Unless, as in other cases, the emendation is unavoidable, this again is poor methodology. It is unavoidable when it is said by Philip of Novara that John of Foggia was later on lord of 'Sur'. Here we must correct to 'Arsur' because John was only lord of Arsur, never of Tyre.[12] But if Philip of Novara tells us that in 1241 John was not in Acre because he was in 'Sur', the correction is not unavoidable and cannot be made by analogy. The first printed edition of the *Gestes des Chiprois* is based on a nineteenth-century copy (Paris, BN, Ms. nouv. acq. franç. 6680) of a fourteenth-century manuscript (now lost) but was at least collated with this manuscript. Therefore today's only basis for the text is the *editio princeps* and if it says that John was in 'Sur' rather than in Acre I must insist that this is Tyre.

Quite apart from this methodological observation which protests against such a gentlemanly treatment of a text by imputing to it errors which cannot be proven, I had made an argument why the 'emendation' is not correct. Since Edbury ignores the argument and conveniently solves his difficulties by assuming 'textual error', I must here repeat it. The *Gestes des Chiprois* first inform us that in 1241 John of Arsur began to fortify Arsur. On the next page they report that in the same year John of Foggia was in 'Sur' when the imperialists tried to take Acre by surprise.[13] The first one to interpret this to mean that he was in Arsur rather than in Tyre was Amadi in the sixteenth century. Richter, Paris, and Kohler also made the correction. La Monte referred to Kohler and considered it the correction of an obvious error. The reasoning behind this 'emendation', revealed explicitly only by Edbury, is that John, according to the *Gestes*, was busy in that year fortifying Arsur.[14] But this did not require him to be there permanently. What is worse is that the passage about the fortification of Arsur was not originally contained in the *Mémoires* of Philip of Novara but was sup-

plied in the fourteenth century from the late thirteenth-century *Annales de Terre Sainte* by the compiler of the *Gestes des Chiprois.*[15] In other words, when Philip penned his *Mémoires* he did *not* state, previously to telling us that John was away in 'Sur', that he had begun to fortify Arsur. It is quite clear that any reader of his *Mémoires* as he wrote them would have interpreted 'Sur' to mean Tyre, as it generally does.

Edbury interprets John of Arsur's absence from Acre as a clear indication that he would have defended it against the imperialist attack of 1241 had he been present. I cannot find this in the text. Philip of Novara says that when the attack came, all prominent members of the Ibelin clan, except for Philip of Montfort, were absent from the city. Then he tells us where they were, one by one: Balian was in Beirut, his brothers Guy and Baldwin were on Cyprus, his brother Hugh as well as the young Lord of Caesarea were already dead, John of Foggia was in 'Sur' and their cousin Odo of Montbéliard who, as constable and lieutenant could have opposed the imperialists, happened to be in Caesarea together with the Templars and part of the nobility. The implication is, indeed, that the Ibelin clan would have defended its base in Acre against the imperialists. This is so obvious that there was no need for Philip to point it out. Clearly he wished to stress the importance of the Ibelin clan by expressly pointing out that the imperial representative deliberately chose a moment for his attack when the Ibelins were out of town. In order to drive home his point Philip had to tell the reader where they actually were. In this case he had to include the whereabouts of John of Foggia, simply because he was an Ibelin. Otherwise his enumeration would have been incomplete and open to the doubt of those who knew that John of Arsur was an Ibelin but did not know that he had centralist leanings. More than that the Ibelin clan, but not necessarily John of Foggia, would have defended Acre cannot be read into the text and there is nothing to prevent us from taking it literally, that is, that John was in the imperialist stronghold of Tyre. Edbury points out that in 1243 John joined the rest of his family and the other nobility in capturing Tyre.[16] I had overlooked this but it does not change the picture because by 1243 the imperial position in Palestine was hopelessly ruined and surely John, as in 1232, was not to remain on the wrong boat. This does not mean that he was not a centralist at heart.

Edbury denies that John owed his lordship of Arsur to a condescending attitude of his brothers who 'let him have it'; I now agree with him.[17] I had disregarded the fact that the title came to him through his mother and that therefore we do not know when he received it (except that he had it in 1241) nor why he got it since he was not the eldest son who by law should have held the title. But I must stress again how run-down Arsur was, having been destroyed from 1187 to at least 1217 and apparently beyond this year because John did not begin to fortify it until 1241. Apparently his three older brothers were not interested in it and allowed it to go to him. This may have been condescending or not but as I cannot prove it, I had better rescind this argument.

Matters are quite different with the administrative reform which John of Arsur as lieutenant of the kingdom tried to put into effect in 1251. I had expressed the opinion that it was a proposal as progressive as it was revolutionary and that, if carried out, it would have strengthened the crown at the expense of the nobility because it would have made it more difficult to plead *essoins* in the case of feudal summons of all kinds. Worst of all, the proposal would have considerably limited, if not abolished, the possibility for the feudal lawyers to twist the law by the deliberate misinterpretation of precedent cases. I insist that it was a definite attempt at centralist legislation and that John deliberately tried to push it through behind the

backs of the two leading Ibelins, the lord of Beirut and the count of Jaffa-Ascalon. Edbury dismisses this lightly. He denies that John of Arsur tried to exploit the absence of the two Ibelins and believes that the reform was stymied by the innate conservatism of the baronial lawyers and that it is debatable whether it would have effected the nobility along the lines I had suggested.[18] For Edbury, the reform proposal was not revolutionary, nor particularly dangerous for the nobility. It was not killed because of such a potential threat but merely because the nobility was opposed to changes as such.

This is hard to understand. As for the revolutionary character of the proposal, I am in excellent company. Prawer comes very much to the same conclusions because they are inescapable.[19] Even at first sight it must be assumed that the proposal was beneficial to the crown because it was killed by the nobility. One cannot imagine that the nobles would have killed a proposal useful for them simply because they were conservatives. A brief review of facts and events will serve to demonstrate my opinion once again:

(1) In February 1251 John of Arsur convened a joint meeting of the Haute Cour and the Cour des Bourgeois to debate his proposal. This in itself must be considered as an indication that an important measure was to be discussed because there had been a stormy precedent for such a procedure in 1231. Also the presence of the bourgeois for whom the project was advantageous brought a certain pressure on the nobility. Edbury chooses not to reply to this argument.

(2) The proposal was that a written register should be kept in both courts for the recording of all court decisions, a procedure that would have pleased the bourgeoisie and nobility with regard to the lower court. It would give security to their transactions concerning so-called *héritages*, non-feudal tenures in the cities, which were as much a feature of the possessions of the nobility as of the bourgeois. It was in the interest of the crown to control the sales of *héritages* since nobles had the disconcerting habit of claiming that fiefs, the sale of which had to take place in the Haute Cour and was procedurally difficult, were *héritages*. This enabled them to be sold without restrictions in the Cour des Bourgeois. The crown's interest in the Haute Cour proceedings is even more obvious.

(3) The proposal was in the end defeated for the Haute Cour and carried for the Cour des Bourgeois, giving the most advantages to the nobility.

(4) This result was achieved after a long debate in which the leader of the opposition, Philip of Montfort, explained that he was in favor of the proposal as long as there was certainty that the *recort de la court*, that is, the memory of the court assembled as to the nature and the validity of its own precedent decisions remained a stronger means of proof than the written evidence. This made the register almost useless for the crown.

(5) Even this result was achieved only by interrupting the debate on the grounds that part of the nobility assembled had followed Saint Louis to Caesarea. When it was resumed it seems to have concerned only the register of the Cour des Bourgeois, the other half of the proposal having silently been dropped.

(6) The interruption of the debate was forced by arguing that the return of the liegemen who had gone to Caesarea had to be awaited before a decision could be taken. This means that there was an agreement that there should be a broad debate involving as many vassals as possible.

(7) As late as the fourteenth century the participants in the meeting, both nobility and bourgeoisie, were known and carefully recorded, and there had been many

of them. The two leading figures of the Ibelin clan, John II of Beirut and John of Jaffa, were not present.

On the surface Edbury's statement that this shows only that they were absent is true, but in view of point 6 above this absence is revealing. Given the fact that the source expressly records the opposition by the nobility, I still feel that John of Arsur deliberately timed the meeting so that the principal representatives of the main feudal clan of the kingdom should not be present. He certainly did not schedule the debate so that they could attend. In view of the nobility's hostility to the proposal, John of Arsur, an experienced administrator, must have timed the meeting so as to have every conceivable support. From his nephew and his cousin he did apparently not expect it.

Edbury disputes that the majority of the participants were adherents of John of Arsur and takes them simply to be customary attendants of the Haute Cour in Acre, as in 1257 when John of Arsur concluded a treaty with Ancona in which a good number of these men reappeared.[20] But in 1257 most of them not only attended the meeting of the Haute Cour deciding on the treaty but also witnessed John's charter for Ancona, and for this purpose he was free to call on his supporters. Kings and politicians of lower rank had an entourage on which they called for such functions. We see these vassals rise and fall in rank in the witness lists and we see them disappear and reappear as they fell into disgrace or were restored to favor. To deny this, as Edbury does when he implies that such lists have no particular significance, amounts to foregoing one of the more important means to interpret our source material. Moreover, my argument certainly was not limited to pointing to the reappearance of the participants of the 1251 debate in the charter for Ancona. I referred to *RRH* no. 1220 of 1254 where we see John again surrounding himself with a group of people who had all participated in the 1251 debate. I could equally well have referred to *RRH* no. 1200 of 1252. I pointed to those who changed their allegiance between John of Jaffa and John of Arsur as expediency advised (Stephen of Sauvigny, Gerard of Picquigny). I noted the old imperialists among the debaters of 1251 (John Aleman, lord of Caesarea, Peter, lord of Scandalion, Raoul Aleman). I pointed out that not only Odo de la Fierté who took part in 1251 must have been from the lieutenant John of Arsur's camp because he was his viscount in Acre but that also John Grif was a supporter of John of Arsur because he rose to be viscount of Acre when John had become regent. He seems to have been replaced when the regency passed to John of Jaffa.[21] All this was apparently lost on Edbury, however, and consequently on his readers. He picked the one charter for Ancona from my source material, found it to be insufficient, as it surely would have been if it had been the only shred of evidence, and suddenly and conveniently John of Arsur's party of 1251 had disappeared.

Some of the main points of my paper are not as thoughtless as they may appear to Edbury's readers. His main challenge is to my interpretation of how John of Jaffa acquired the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon. The facts, at first sight, seem to be simple enough. Before June 1247 King Henry I of Cyprus, regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem since 1246, had given the double county to John of Jaffa, the future author of the famous *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* and one of the most astute of the feudal jurists of the East. Henry died on 18 January 1253. On 26 March 1253 Henry's grant was confirmed by Pope Innocent IV, and it is only from this confirmation that we learn about the original grant.[22] Edbury and I agree that in 1253 John of Jaffa saw the grant endangered and therefore sent to the Curia to have it confirmed. We disagree as to the cause of John's worries. I felt that Henry's grant was of "dubious

legality." This seemed to be self-evident from the papal confirmation because it was highly unusual. Edbury points out that we know of no other papal confirmation of a fief in the Latin East.[23] Even the pope seems to have been taken aback a little by John's request because he opened his charter with the statement that while normally royal grants made within royal competence were legally valid in themselves, it was occasionally useful for the popes to confirm them so that they should remain undisturbed inasmuch as they were covered by papal protection.[24] Neither Edbury nor I felt it to be sufficient merely to state that somehow John's title was in jeopardy. An explanation had to be found. Edbury, believing John's title to Jaffa to have been unassailable, found it in a contest between John of Jaffa and the Hospitallers over Ascalon. I suggested that John was afraid that

(1) the heirs of Walter IV of Brienne, the previous holder of Jaffa, might enter a claim when it became certain that Walter had died in an Egyptian prison and that
(2) John was afraid that the grant would become invalid upon the demise of Henry I of Cyprus because grants made by regents were only valid for the duration of their regency[25] so that there was the possibility that the new regent John of Arsur (being, in my opinion, an old enemy of John of Jaffa) might revoke Henry's grant.

Edbury and I agree on the point of law concerning the merely temporary validity of a regent's grants. In assessing the legality of the grant made by Henry to John of Jaffa I fully acknowledge Edbury's argument that I erred in saying that Henry made the grant in his capacity as regent (and consequently from the royal domain, something I did not say but meant, as Edbury correctly realises). I am not helped by the fact that others erred on this point before me; it was not an issue for them. It is also no help that nothing in the sources speaks explicitly against my original assumption, nor that Henry demonstrably made lavish grants from the royal domain in order to buy political support for his regency. While this more than anything else led me into error, his grants to others do not preclude that he made one to John of Jaffa from another source and in another capacity. It is no help either that one of these grants was admitted considerably later by the original beneficiary to have been illegal.[26] Edbury cannot prove his suggestion that the grant came from Henry's inheritance rather than from the royal domain and therefore he was free to make it anymore than I could prove my previous assumption. We are both dealing in likelihoods but I am now convinced that Edbury's likelihood is better than mine. The consequence of this would be that if the grant had been made from Henry's inheritance the new regent could not revoke it, even if he was an old enemy of John of Jaffa. The further consequence would be that I had been looking for John of Jaffa's enemy in the wrong direction. But it will be seen in the end that I shall arrive at the same conclusion I came to in 1978: John of Arsur *vs.* John of Jaffa.

Edbury attacks my theory first of all on an argument of time. He believes that the time lapse between Henry's death on 18 January 1253 and the papal confirmation of his grant on 26 March 1253 is staggeringly short given the time needed for a trip by an envoy of John of Jaffa to Italy. Thus my theory that this trip was caused by Henry's death must be jettisoned in favor of a slower development of events.[27] Admittedly, and I have said so, nine and a-half weeks for a voyage from Palestine to Perugia, particularly in midwinter, was a short time. But Edbury would have to show not that it was staggeringly short but that it was insufficient. This he does not do. Roger of Hoveden tells us for 1190 that there was an express route from Marseille to the Holy Land which took

only 15 days and nights across the open sea. From a gloss to Adam of Bremen we learn that it took 4 days and nights from Marseille to Messina and another 14 days from there to Acre. Obviously this voyage was considerably longer than the one from Acre to Perugia which John's envoy had to travel to see the pope. In 1260 letters dated in Acre on 4 March were actually dispatched about two weeks later and reached London (a voyage still longer than the one to Marseille) after a trip of only 13 weeks on 16 June. Hiestand, a great collector of such items for many years, believes that a contract dated in Acre on 31 May 1262 could have been ratified by the pope at Viterbo on 21 July 1262, that is, after seven weeks.[28] Given these examples which could be increased in number I don't see any reason to abandon my theory simply because of the time argument.

On the other hand Edbury's more cautious reconstruction of events presupposes a most leisurely approach giving John of Jaffa a whole year for such an extraordinary step as soliciting a papal confirmation of his fief, for he would have us believe that it was the confirmation of the Hospitallers' rights to Ascalon by Conrad IV of Germany in March 1252 which caused John of Jaffa to petition for the papal confirmation of March 1253.[29] It would have taken a full year, opening with the whole shipping season, for Conrad's confirmation to have been sent from Germany to Acre and for John of Jaffa to have undertaken his countermove.

Edbury proposes to show that all of John of Jaffa's fiefs, Ramla as well as Jaffa-Ascalon, had previously come to Henry I of Cyprus as his inheritance. In doing so he relies heavily on the legal principle of *force de Turs ne tolt saisine*, that is, that Muslim occupation of a fief did not disrupt seisin and that, consequently, a reconquered fief had to be returned to the one last in seisin before the loss or to the one closest related to him. Edbury can, indeed, show that this principle was applied at the time both in Ibelin and in Tiberias.[30] The last known lord of Ramla before John of Jaffa had been Baldwin of Ibelin in 1186. He then left the kingdom, having refused to do homage to king Guy of Lusignan, and entrusted his son and, perhaps, his fief to the care of his brother Balian of Ibelin. I had therefore assumed that Balian was the last in seisin of Ramla and that consequently his son John, the Old Lord of Beirut, must have had a claim to Ramla. Edbury denies that Balian had seisin of Ramla in 1186, less so because the actual succession in Ramla of John of Jaffa would then have been contrary to the law but mainly because he does not believe that Baldwin in 1186 entrusted also his fief to Balian (which is indeed uncertain) and because Balian in any case would not have had a permanent claim of his own since he was only the guardian for his brother's children.[31] Theoretically there is virtue in this argument, although things did not always work according to the law. It is most likely, for example, that Joscelin III of Courtenay succeeded in acquiring certain fiefs apparently by purchasing the wardship for children of relatives of his who were still alive, thus turning the position as guardian of the children into that of the holder of their feudal inheritance. And Edbury himself seriously ponders the possibility that Aimery of Lusignan had seisin of Jaffa in 1197 as guardian of the marriage portion of his future daughter-in-law while denying that Balian as guardian of his brother's son could have been seised of Ramla.[32]

Admittedly, my theory does not explain how Ramla came into the hands of John of Jaffa because I was forced to point out that if the Old Lord of Beirut had had a claim to Ramla, it should have gone to one of his sons, not to his nephew John of Jaffa. Edbury argues that the claim to Ramla passed from Baldwin of Ramla to his daughter Eschiva of Ibelin and from her through her son Hugh I of Cyprus to Henry I of Cyprus. The argument is skillful but by his own admission

highly speculative because it presupposes that Eschiva's two daughters died before Ramla was returned to Christian rule. The date of their deaths is unknown and the time of Ramla's return to the kingdom is uncertain. But there is a more weighty objection to Edbury's theory. If he is correct in thinking that Ramla belonged to the inheritance of Henry I of Cyprus (who could therefore make a gift of it to John of Jaffa) but incorrect in assuming that John's title to Jaffa was invulnerable, then John would have faced the same problems in Ramla in 1253 which he faced in Jaffa-Ascalon. Yet, when John secured the papal confirmation of Henry's grant of the double county, apparently not even he claimed in his petition that Henry had given him Ramla. His claim and the confirmation concerned only the double county.[33] Edbury might argue that in 1253 any problem in Ramla could not have been pressing since it had been conquered by the Muslims in 1252[34] but this is far from clear. And even if it had fallen in 1252, there must have been hope for its reconquest. Ramla definitely fell in 1266. Thus whatever may have caused John worries there before 1253 remained for him to solve. If he went to the Curia in 1253 because of Jaffa-Ascalon, he might as well and for the same amount of effort and money have included Ramla in the deal. He did not. This means that Ramla came to John of Jaffa very likely in a different fashion than did Jaffa—if the title to Jaffa, contrary to Edbury, was insecure. But since both Edbury's and my attempts to explain John's title to Ramla are unsatisfactory one must probably concede that the problem cannot at present be solved.

As for Jaffa-Ascalon, Edbury significantly advances our slim knowledge of the very muddled history of the double county during and after the Third Crusade partly by sharp reasoning, partly on the basis of manuscript evidence superior to the printed editions I and others used. Edbury proves conclusively that John of Ibelin, the future Old Lord of Beirut, received from the ruler only the constableship ('conestablie') of the kingdom of Jerusalem which had been relinquished by Aimery of Lusignan in his famous quarrel with Henry of Champagne but not the county ('conté') of Jaffa. Therefore my argument that the constableship and the county of Jaffa in those years went together and that the elder John of Ibelin received both and thereby established an Ibelin claim to Jaffa later made effective by his nephew John of Jaffa cannot be maintained.[35]

On another important point we are agreed; namely, that Aimery of Lusignan in 1197 had seisin of Jaffa. It is not entirely clear how the rights to Jaffa subsequently came to others. Edbury believes that in one way or another they devolved on Henry I of Cyprus and he gives us two alternatives to choose from based on the two reports in the sources.[36] But there is an inconvenient obstacle to Edbury's alternatives: In the early 1240s Walter IV of Brienne had Jaffa. He was captured by the Saracens in 1244 and died at a later date in an Egyptian prison. In 1251 his bones were returned for burial at Acre but he seems to have died somewhat earlier. In July 1247, shortly after John of Jaffa first styled himself count of Jaffa in *RRH* no. 1149, no certain news of Walter's death had been received in France. Because of this I had assumed that Henry's grant of Jaffa in 1247 was of dubious legality. Edbury who wishes to show that John's title to Jaffa was a strong one denies that Walter was ever count of Jaffa and only concedes that he had "custody" of it, meaning that he was a commanding officer without seisin or a feudal title, a mere castellan in other words. Edbury explained in what seems to be a strong support for this that in none of his charters does Walter ever style himself count of Jaffa but always count of Brienne, that only Western chronicles call him count of Jaffa and that this confusion arose because Walter was a count (of Brienne) while Jaffa was a county.[37] But this explanation needs to be interpreted

and revised. The argument does not take into account that Walter's four surviving charters from his Jaffa years, while issued at Acre, concern exclusively matters of Champagne and Brienne while a letter of 1238 written by the episcopate and the leading magnates of the kingdom of Jerusalem and giving advice on the forthcoming crusade is addressed to Thibaut IV of Champagne, Walter's feudal overlord, to whom he was much better known as count of Brienne than as count of Jaffa.[38] That he was not count of Jaffa is hard to maintain even with Edbury's evidence. Surely one cannot simply discard Joinville as a 'Westerner'. He was, but he had also been in the Orient, was related to the Briennes by marriage, and had first-class information. He is quite explicit: Walter of Brienne was count of Jaffa and held it for several years. It is even stranger to see Frederick II who certainly also had very good information refer to Walter as count of Jaffa in his letter of 1245 to Richard of Cornwall when Edbury denies that Walter was the emperor's appointee in Jaffa. The case is decided against Edbury by a letter of patriarch Robert of Jerusalem written shortly after the battle of Gaza of October 1244 and informing all Christians that count Walter of Jaffa (*comes Gualterius de Zaphes*) had been captured.[39]

Walter was undoubtedly more than just commanding officer of Jaffa, he was count there. The only question is whether he was count of Jaffa in his own right or on behalf of his wife as William of Montferrat and Guy of Lusignan had been. The most plausible theory about how Walter's position in Jaffa was established is that of Jean Richard that Jaffa passed from Aimery of Lusignan who undisputably held it in 1197 to his son Hugh I of Cyprus (and from him in 1218 to Hugh's son Henry I of Cyprus) and was used by Henry in 1235 to provide a dowry for his sister Marie when she married Walter IV of Brienne.[40] There is no direct evidence for this theory of Richard. I was not aware in 1978 of Richard's suggestion so that I took Jaffa to have been Walter's fief rather than his wife's dowry.But Richard is supported by Walter's subsequent position in Jaffa. Also there were illustrious precedents in favor of Richard's reconstruction. Jaffa had been one of the big bones of contention between Aimery of Lusignan and Henry of Champagne. This dated back to 1176 when the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon had been detached from the royal domain to provide the dowry for the king's sister Sybil in her first marriage with William of Montferrat, then in 1180 with Guy of Lusignan. It was she who was countess of Jaffa-Ascalon, but her husbands who administrated the county on her behalf likewise styled themselves counts.[41] When Sybil died in 1190 during the siege of Acre, she had no surviving child from her first marriage while the two daughters from her second one died about the same time as she did.[42] As Guy was still alive, the title to Jaffa-Ascalon now became contested. In a major settlement between the two contenders for the throne, Jaffa-Ascalon was given to Guy's brother Geoffrey of Lusignan who was referred to three times in his brother's charters from 26 October 1191 to 10 February 1192 as count of Jaffa.[43]

But Sybil had a half-sister Isabella, and it had been their common father Amaury I of Jerusalem who had been the first count of the double county before becoming king. Isabella certainly could enter a claim and must have done so because her next husband Henry of Champagne, ruler of Jerusalem by virtue of his marriage to her, in a charter issued at Jaffa in January 1193, gave the Hospitallers a large plot of land in Jaffa next to the citadel with the permission to build on it at their discretion as long as this would not entail any damage to the port of the city. I must confess that like Edbury I had overlooked this precious piece of evidence and had made the double county pass from Geoffrey of Lusignan directly to his brother Aimery.[44] *RRH* no. 709 can only mean that upon

becoming the ruler of Jerusalem in May 1192 Henry of Champagne obtained the double county on behalf of his wife as is indeed reported also in chronicles.[45] The conflict with the Lusignans was now unavoidable. It could only be terminated when Guy of Lusignan had died on Cyprus in 1194 and had been succeeded there by Aimery of Lusignan. As is well known it was arranged that Aimery's three sons should marry Henry's three daughters. Jaffa was to be the dowry for one of them. Due to premature deaths in both families the only one of these marriages to be actually concluded was that of 1210 between Aimery's son Hugh I of Cyprus and Alice of Champagne.[46]

The rival claims to Jaffa from both sides were united in this match: that of the Lusignans, stemming from Guy through his brothers Geoffrey and Aimery, ending in Hugh I; that of the Champagnes, stemming from Sybil through Isabella and her husband Henry of Champagne, ending in Alice.[47] Depending on which of these claims is being looked at, the character of Jaffa was different. In the Lusignan claim it was a normal feudal inheritance. In the Champagne claim it was royal domain, since Sybil as well as Isabella were queens of Jerusalem. Edbury, tracing the title to Jaffa only through the Lusignans, is bound to arrive at the conclusion that it was granted by the regent Henry I of Cyprus to John of Jaffa from his own feudal inheritance and not from the royal domain and is therefore of the opinion that it could not have been taken back by the crown on the grounds that it had been improperly alienated from the royal domain, as I had originally thought.[48] But if one traces the title through the Champagnes one does arrive at Jaffa having been alienated from the royal domain when Henry of Champagne constituted it as dowry for his daughter Alice. There was, however, a difference in the way Jaffa was alienated from the domain in the late nineties and in 1247. At the latter date Henry I of Cyprus made a gift of the double county to John of Jaffa. Henry of Champagne had dealt with Jaffa much more properly in that he sold it as dowry to his daughter with the express assent of his wife Isabella through whom the rights therefore had arisen. The arrangement was a complicated one. Since his daughter had nothing to pay with, Jaffa was paid for by her future father-in-law Aimery of Lusignan, possibly by finally paying the 60,000 besants still owed from his brother's purchase of Cyprus from Richard I of England who had transferred his claim to this money to Henry of Champagne.[49] This probably explains why Aimery had seisin of Jaffa shortly before Henry's death: he had paid for Jaffa as a dowry for his son's bride but the wedding had not yet occurred. This view of the matter, however, leads us back to Edbury's opinion that in 1247 the grant came not from the royal domain but from the inheritance of Henry I of Cyprus and that there was no danger of the new regent John of Arsur in 1253 trying to recuperate it. Since in the late nineties it had been sold with the express approval of the queen to become Alice's dowry as well as her inheritance (according to at least one of the two texts of the better version of the French continuations of William of Tyre),[50] it would have been difficult to argue that it had been improperly alienated—at least not without raising the question of the repayment of Aimery's financial outlay for it.

One must argue then on the basis of Edbury's opinion that the grant of Jaffa-Ascalon to John of Jaffa in 1247 by Henry I of Cyprus did not come from the royal domain but from the Lusignan (and Champagne) inheritance. One must also argue from Richard's theory that Jaffa had been used in 1235 to provide for the dowry of the sister of Henry I of Cyprus, Marie of Brienne.[51] If this was so, then Jaffa was Marie's until her death, as Edbury correctly points out. But then Walter was for all practical purposes count of Jaffa. As the legal rights were, however, vested in Marie rather than in Walter,

it was of no importance to Henry I whether Walter had died by the time the grant was made to John in 1247. What mattered was whether Marie had died. She was certainly dead by 1250 and may have died a few years earlier. Edbury needs such an early date for her death because if she was still alive by the time Henry made his grant to John of Jaffa, he would clearly have violated his sister's rights and the grant would obviously have been illegal. But one may accept Edbury's opinion that she was dead by then since he adduces evidence making this possible and, perhaps, even likely.[52]

At Marie's death, however, her dowry under the law did not revert to her brother Henry I of Cyprus, thus enabling him to make a gift of it to John of Jaffa. Rather it had to go to Marie's children. Then it was not Henry's to give away, and if he did the grant was of questionable validity. This is precisely what I argued in 1978 (although for different reasons,) and Riley-Smith before me in 1973.[53] This is obviously very inconvenient for Edbury who resorts to throwing doubts on the claim of Marie's children by saying that they "might" have had one. Edbury furthermore tells us that after 1247 the Briennes did not make any attempts to reclaim Jaffa and it is for him quite likely that any such claim would have lacked legal support.[54] This is not so. The Briennes quite obviously had a claim to Jaffa if one accepts, as one must, Richard's theory about Jaffa as Marie of Brienne's dowry. In his intent to show that the grant of Jaffa by Henry I to John of Jaffa established an unassailable title of John, Edbury suggests that Henry in 1247 bought out the claims of the Brienne family to Jaffa. This would, of course, have given John a title which could not be shaken.

Matters are not quite that simple. In 1247 Henry I gave to John of Brienne, the son of his sister Marie and of Walter IV of Brienne, all the rights which he possessed in the counties of Champagne and Brie.[55] Edbury believes that this may have constituted the compensation for John of Brienne's waiving the rights of the Brienne family to Jaffa. He admits that the charter does not say that this was the case, but it would have been essential for Henry that it did. Unless there was another charter issued by John of Brienne to Henry, the document of 1247 would have been a dangerous one for Henry to grant because it would have signed away rights in Champagne without having made certain that the Brienne claims to Jaffa would not be revived. One should not assume that orderly business was conducted in such a fashion.

One must also look at what Henry did give up in Champagne. Edbury calls it Henry's maternal inheritance there. While this is not incorrect it needs to be put into perspective because it might otherwise be taken by the uninitiated to comprise the whole county of Champagne about which Henry's mother Alice of Champagne, Queen of Cyprus, and the Brienne family had had a long and bitter struggle with Thibaut IV the Posthumous of Champagne and with his mother Blanche of Navarre. The controversy over the inheritance had thrown a great deal of northern France into turmoil and kept the popes and the kings of France busy from Philip Augustus to Saint Louis. Henry II of Champagne, ruler of Jerusalem, had provided that Champagne ought to go to his brother Thibaut III in case he himself should die without issue. When he did die in 1197 he left two daughters, Alice and Philippine. Nevertheless Philip Augustus invested Thibaut III in 1198 with Champagne. Thibaut III died in 1201 leaving Blanche pregnant with Thibaut IV. Predictably the result was that Thibaut IV's title was challenged, especially since the efforts of Henry II to provide for his daughters in the East had only partially succeeded.

At this point neither Alice nor Philippine were married. Alice married Hugh I of Cyprus in 1210. The affair was already smouldering in 1209 when the king of France ruled

that he would not hear any case on Champagne until Thibaut IV had reached the age of 21.[56] This shelved the issue until 1222, but it received new impetus when Erard of Brienne, lord of Ramerupt in Champagne, married Philippine in 1215 in Acre and then brought her to France. There he put in a claim for Champagne on behalf of Alice and, failing this, on behalf of his wife. He had no luck. The king continued to refuse to hear the case. As early as 1213 the matter was being discussed at the Curia—clearly indicating the crucial issue.[57] It was argued that both Alice and Philippine were illegitimate—a claim for which there were solid reasons since the two ladies had been born from the marriage of Henry of Champagne to Isabella I of Jerusalem concluded in 1192. But Isabella had been married before to Conrad of Montferrat and before that to Humphrey IV of Toron. This first marriage of hers had been dissolved in 1190. It had been argued at the time that it was invalid because she had contracted it at the uncanonical age of less than 12 years which was approximately correct.[58] But the dissolution had been brought about by the barons of Jerusalem in an obvious travesty of justice. Isabella had not been free to marry Henry of Champagne in 1192 and the marriage had been bigamous, since Humphrey who died in 1198[59] outlived Henry. Under this line of reasoning Alice and Philippine could not inherit Champagne. No sooner had Erard married Philippine when Innocent III declared that Philippine was illegitimate[60]—a strong statement reiterated frequently by the Curia. The case was never decided by Rome, however, presumably because the daughters of Isabella and Henry refused to appear in the papal court where their position was a very bad one. This opened the way for the Curia to support the claim of Thibaut IV by arguing that no case on the succession to the county of Champagne could be heard in France until the two ladies had first established that they were of legitimate birth. In 1233 the case was still pending in Rome.[61]

Erard of Brienne and Philippine had given up in 1221 and Philippine even promised that she would refuse to accept any cession which Alice, who did not give up, might make of her claims to her.[62] In 1233 Alice came to France to press her claims but in 1234 Saint Louis effected a final settlement. Alice renounced all her claims to Champagne. But the settlement cost Thibaut IV dearly. He had to pay Alice 40,000 *livres tournois* and had to grant her lands worth 2,000 *livres* annually. In order to raise the money he had to surrender his counties of Blois, Chartres, and Sancerre as well as the viscounty of Châteaudun to Saint Louis. By 1235 Thibaut had assigned to Alice parts of the forests of Vassy and Mantes in order to cover the annuity. This was all that was left to Alice in Champagne. In 1235 she requested her three children, Henry I of Cyprus, Marie wife of Walter IV of Brienne, and Isabella wife of Henry of Antioch, to ratify the settlement. When Alice died in 1246, there was new need for clarification.[63] Henry I of Cyprus gave up all claims to his mother's possessions in Champagne to Marie's son John of Brienne. As Edbury sees it, this was the price for buying out the Brienne claims to Jaffa. As we have seen this was legally a very good claim to a large crown fief which is here supposed to have been traded for two forest areas in Champagne.

One might even go along with Edbury on this point if only Henry I of Cyprus had given up his mother's land in Champagne. But the affair did not end in 1247. Edbury reasons that Henry's sister Marie could no longer renounce any claims to lands in Champagne if she was dead by 1247. But in 1257 Henry I's younger sister Isabella and her husband Henry of Antioch declared that the lands which Isabella's mother Alice had had in Champagne under the settlement of 1234/35, that is, the two forests, had es-

cheated to John of Brienne, son of Walter and Marie and grandson of Alice, by virtue of an arrangement brought about by Henry I of Cyprus.[64] This is an obvious reference to, and ratification by Henry of Antioch and Isabella, of Henry I's charter for John of Brienne of 1247. But not only is there again not one word in the text that this grant had been linked to the Brienne claims to Jaffa but one also fails to see what interest Isabella could have had in resigning her share in these forests. Edbury contends that Henry I of Cyprus had had such an interest because he had wanted to give Jaffa to John of Jaffa. But Isabella and her husband had had nothing to do with this gift. Why should they in 1257 have to pay the price for it?[65] But even if one admits that in 1247 Henry I of Cyprus bought out the claim of John of Brienne to Jaffa, the charter of 1257 shows that the Brienne family did not let their claim to Jaffa die until the very last of Alice's children had agreed to this exchange of the Jaffa claim for two Champenois forests. Edbury's assumption that Henry I effected such a deal in 1247 is as open to serious doubt as is his affirmation that after 1247 the Brienne claims were dead or, at least, no longer pressed.

As the upshot of this discussion I must insist that Henry's grant of Jaffa to John of Jaffa in 1247 was of dubious legality because it infringed on the Brienne rights to Jaffa. I no longer maintain, however, that it may have infringed on any original rights of Walter of Brienne although I am inclined to side with Edbury that it also did not infringe on the original rights of his wife because she was probably dead. Upon her demise Jaffa in law escheated to her children and I cannot consider it as proven that they renounced their claim. In this case there was as much reason for John of Jaffa to fear that the new regent John of Arsur might undo Henry's grant as there was if the grant had been made from the royal domain, as I had supposed, probably erroneously, in 1978. While in the latter case it would practically have expired upon Henry's demise in 1253, it would have been illegal from the beginning in the former case, and against illegal acts there must have been means of redress. Whether John of Arsur could actually have revoked Henry's grant on this basis was not a question of law but of political considerations and of strength and I argued that it would have been, in fact, very difficult for him in 1253 because the Haute Cour would have been most reluctant to dispossess John of Jaffa of his fief in favor of Walter's children who were not even in the East.[66]

Edbury seems to have been aware of the uncomfortable position into which the problem of the Brienne claims would bring him with his assumption that Jaffa came to John from Henry's own inheritance. He does not seem to have been satisfied by his attempt to remove them by assuming without a shred of evidence that Henry may have bought them out. He provides us with an altogether different explanation: namely, that Jaffa was not the dowry of Marie and that her husband Walter may have been nothing more in Jaffa than a commanding officer (a castellan, in other words) who had been appointed by the anti-imperial junta at Acre.[67] This at first sight seems to be an ingenious *deux ex machina* which would remove all of Edbury's difficulties. Neither Walter nor his wife and children would have had any feudal claim to Jaffa. The double county would have come to Henry I of Cyprus as inheritance from Aimery of Lusignan through Hugh I of Cyprus and would have been entirely Henry's to grant to John of Jaffa. But one has to ask Edbury why Henry I in this case renounced his rights in Champagne to John of Brienne in 1247, since under this alternative he did not have to buy him out. Edbury's alternative is also inadmissible because it is based on the wrong assumption dealt with above (p. 142) that Walter was known as count of Jaffa only in the West. It

will be shown in the end, however, that even if one accepts Edbury's theory that either the Briennes never had a claim to Jaffa or that Henry I of Cyprus bought it in 1247, Henry's grant to John of Jaffa was still of dubious legality and John's title to the double county was still far from secure.

That Henry's grant of Jaffa to John was legal, is Edbury's central point. Having now to give a reason why John of Jaffa in 1253 obtained a highly unusual papal confirmation of this grant, he finds it in a dispute over Ascalon which John had with the Hospitallers from the early to the middle 1250s. Henry had given "the county of Jaffa and Ascalon" to John in 1247 but emperor Frederick II had conferred Ascalon in 1243 on the Hospitallers. These seem to be obviously conflicting positions and Edbury links the papal confirmation to this dispute although this forces him to assume a complete reversal of the papal position with regard to the Hospitallers' rights there within only a year, a true *volte face,* as Edbury calls it. According to him John of Jaffa saw his claim to the Ascalon part of the double county (but only to this, not to the Jaffa part) threatened by the Hospitallers when they received a confirmation of their rights by Frederick's son Conrad IV in March 1252. According to Edbury this, and not the change in the regency, prompted John of Jaffa to solicit the papal confirmation.[68] One fails to see why John of Jaffa should have resorted to such a spectacular action when, as since 1243, the Hospitallers had only obtained another one in their long series of Hohenstaufen confirmations of their rights in Ascalon. Exactly at the same time when the pope confirmed the double county to John he also issued other charters to him which gave him privileges almost unparalleled for a layman in the East, as Riley-Smith first pointed out and as Edbury and I agree.[69] He and his family were placed under papal protection and could be excommunicated for five years by no one but a papal legate or anyone carrying a special papal mandate to this effect. He need not answer any summons to appear before any court outside of Acre or Cyprus unless the pope expressly so commanded, and he and his family were allowed to hear mass even during an interdict. All this enormous fuss, according to Edbury, was raised, and the chancery fees paid, only because John of Jaffa wanted to vindicate his rights to Ascalon against the Hospitallers who had the continuing support of the Hohenstaufen. But by 1253, as Edbury correctly remarks, Hohenstaufen power in the East had been a mere shadow for a decade. The confirmation of their Ascalon position solicited by the Hospitallers from Conrad IV would not have impressed anybody in the Holy Land.

Edbury's solution of the problem of the papal confirmation of 1253 necessitates him to suggest that the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon may really have consisted of two counties, Jaffa and Ascalon. If the title to Ascalon was in dispute and could be independently attacked while the title to Jaffa was secure, only this suggestion would offer a logical explanation. I have dealt with this problem in a separate paper where I hopefully have shown that there is no evidence for splitting the double county into two distinct and separable units but that it was at all times one indivisible fief.[70]

Edbury believes that John of Jaffa used the papal confirmation as a ploy to vindicate his rights to Ascalon against the Hospitallers because, as he correctly remarks, it ought to have weighed with the Order.[71] But let us review the dispute over Ascalon. It had been regained in 1241 by Richard of Cornwall who refortified it at considerable expense and turned it over to the imperial castellan of Jerusalem. On 31 August 1243 Frederick II gave it to the Hospitallers.[72] This was sound policy for various reasons. If in Christian hands Ascalon was still the kingdom's bulwark against Egypt, the knightly orders

were best equipped to defend it, and the Hospitallers supported the Hohenstaufen administration in the East.

Ascalon, Edbury says, had formed a part of the royal domain in 1187 when it was in the hands of king Guy of Lusignan who had had it as count before becoming king.[73] When it was returned to Christian rule in 1241, the legal principle that a fief of which the continuous Christian occupation had been broken by Muslim occupation should go to the former owner or his closest heir was applicable. It must be assumed that this principle applied also to the royal domain. Since the crown had held Ascalon in 1187 when it fell to Saladin, Frederick could argue that it was the crown which was entitled to recover it in 1241.

But at this point of Edbury's argument one runs into a serious problem. The Christian possession of Ascalon had not been continuously interrupted from 1187 to 1241, as Edbury would have us believe. Richard I of England had reoccupied it in January 1192 and had begun to rebuild it. Under the treaty of Jaffa of September 1192 he had to dismantle it again. Christian rule had again been broken. But Ascalon had previously been disposed of as a fief and had gone to Geoffrey of Lusignan, the brother of king Guy.[74] If the last one in seisin of Ascalon had not been the crown but Geoffrey of Lusignan, Frederick II would not have been free to install the Hospitallers in Ascalon. Under the law he should have given it to Walter of Brienne who in 1243 administrated Jaffa as his wife's dowry. Frederick had apparently accepted the installation of Walter of Brienne in Jaffa because in his letter of 1245 to Richard of Cornwall he recognized Walter as count of Jaffa. That Frederick gave Ascalon to the Hospitallers was either an unconstitutional act of force or else it was based on disputing the Brienne-Lusignan claims to the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon. Frederick could have disputed this not because Ascalon had been royal domain in 1187 but for the same reasons for which Henry of Champagne had been able to establish a successful claim to Jaffa(-Ascalon) in 1192 on behalf of his wife, queen Isabella I (*supra,* p. 143). Henry must have argued that the double county had been the possession not of king Guy but of Queen Sybil and that the rights to it had passed upon Sybil's demise in 1190 to her half-sister Isabella I, now his wife and queen of Jerusalem. Jaffa(-Ascalon) had thereby reverted to the royal domain. It had been sold by Henry, theoretically to one of his daughters as her future dowry and practically to Aimery of Lusignan (*supra,* p. 144). Frederick could easily challenge this sale by pointing out that before one of Henry's daughters should have had Jaffa(-Ascalon), it should have passed from Isabella I to her daughter from her previous marriage with Conrad of Montferrat, Maria la Marquise, just as the kingdom of Jerusalem had escheated to Maria la Marquise upon the demise of her mother in 1205. Nobody at that time had considered letting it escheat to Alice, the daughter of Isabella I and Henry of Champagne.[75] In 1210 Maria la Marquise married John of Brienne (different from his namesake, the son of Walter and Marie of Brienne) who thereby became king of Jerusalem. She died in 1212. The couple's daughter Isabella II in turn married Frederick II in 1225. Therefore Frederick could have entered a claim to Jaffa on behalf of his wife, if Jaffa was treated as a feudal inheritance.

Alternatively, if it was treated as royal domain under Isabella I in 1192, as seems to have been the case (*infra,* p. 151), Frederick could have argued that Henry had no right to alienate anything from it because he had never been consecrated and crowned king and had only towards the end of his reign begun to adopt the title of a lord of the kingdom of Jerusalem. What applied to Jaffa, also applied to Ascalon. It is true that the emperor

made no attempt to recover Jaffa for the domain from Walter of Brienne who, as Edbury correctly points out, had been a fierce enemy of the emperor two decades earlier.[76] But would it be really unimaginable that in such a compromise-loving age as the Middle Ages where disputes were more often settled by a *finalis concordia* than by court decision or sheer force, the two old adversaries could have been brought to meet each other half way, Frederick accepting the Jaffa situation as it had developed in favor of the Briennes and Walter acquiescing in Frederick's assertion of his claim to Ascalon as a crown possession when it became available again?

On the surface of it such a hypothesis would even explain why in the 1240s the two parts of the double county might be looked upon as having gone different ways. Frederick II would effectively have split what was in law indivisible by asserting a crown claim to Ascalon while refraining from doing the same in Jaffa as would theoretically have been possible. While this is tempting, one must refrain from it because Frederick II in 1243 had not the slightest intention of giving the whole "county of Ascalon" (being the southern part of the double county) to the Hospitallers which is Edbury's silent assumption when dealing with John of Jaffa's title to Ascalon. This is much more detrimental to Edbury's cause than the objections which can be raised against his reconstruction of the feudal succession in Ascalon. Frederick in his charter gave to the Hospitallers only the care and custody of the *fortress* of Ascalon (presumably including the whole city) but nothing else and certainly not a whole lordship or the whole southern part of the double county.[77] This would have been impossible under canon law because Clement III had prohibited the Hospitallers from performing homage to anyone anywhere for anything.[78] Consequently they could not hold any fiefs such as a lordship of Ascalon would have been. Even the fortress of Ascalon was held by them at the will and whim of the emperor. He expressly retained the right for himself and for Conrad IV to take it back at any time. Since the Hospitallers' possession of Ascalon was such a precarious one there was a clause of indemnification. If they had to return the fortress or lost it without any fault of their own, they were entitled to be reimbursed for the expenses they had incurred while they held it, minus the revenues they had received there.

In November 1243 Conrad IV confirmed his father's transfer of Ascalon to the Hospitallers. Hiestand has pointed out that the two charters were gravely deficient under the baronial interpretation of the law because the barons in June 1243 had rescinded all previous acts by Frederick II, arguing that his regency had ended because his son had come of age. This rendered not only Frederick's charter null and void but also Conrad's confirmation of it because he had inserted his father's grant *verbatim* into his own charter. In other words he had confirmed an invalid grant. I have shown elsewhere that the two Hohenstaufen charters conformed, however, to what must have been the imperial point of view supported by the *Livre au roi:* if a father exercised the regency for his son who was a minor, his previous acts remained valid when the son came of age. If the son at this point in his life was not crowned and did not receive homage, the charters issued by his father as regent *from then on* were invalid unless the son affixed his seal to his father's charters. This applied to the grant of Ascalon to the Hospitallers. Conrad had come of age in April 1243; Frederick's grant had been made afterwards. But by having the imperial charter repeated under the seal of Conrad IV, one arrived at an ensemble which conformed to this legal theory: a grant by Frederick and a confirmation sealed by Conrad.[79]

In March 1244 Conrad IV once more

granted to the Hospitallers the fortress of Ascalon. He improved their position by altering the reimbursement clause. Under the new version the Hospitallers should enjoy this right without having first to deduct from their expenses the income they had received there. But Hiestand and I have shown that the main reason for the reissue was that the grant of 1244 conformed to the baronial interpretation of the law. Not only was Frederick's original grant not inserted this time, although it was used throughout for the composition of the text, but it was not even mentioned that Frederick had ever given Ascalon to the Hospitallers. Thus Conrad established their rights in Ascalon *ab ovo* and it could not be argued by the baronial side that this grant was also invalid, even though the grants of Conrad's father had officially been rescinded.[80]

In April 1244 Frederick's representative, Thomas of Acerra, actually transferred Ascalon to the Hospitallers. In February 1246 Pope Innocent IV directed the archbishop of Nicosia and the bishop of Limassol that the knights had to be compensated for their Ascalon expenses if the fortress should go to anybody else.[81] At first sight one might assume that this charter was solicited because Frederick II had been deposed by the Council of Lyons, but Edbury correctly pointed out that the enemy of the Hospitallers must be searched for on Cyprus because the papal letter was addressed to two Cypriote prelates. His suggestion that the Order's possession of Ascalon was being disputed by the Cypriote royal family,[82] in other words by Henry I of Cyprus (entailing that the burden of a possible recompensation was now to fall on him), is a very likely one, if Henry's sister Marie of Brienne was dead by February 1246, as she may well have been under Edbury's argument (*supra*, p. 145). But this has consequences on which Edbury is silent. It means that the Briennes in 1243 and thereafter had apparently acquiesced in Frederick's withholding from them the fortress of Ascalon, while Henry I into whose hands the dowry of Marie had come did not do so but put in a claim for Ascalon. It cannot be doubted, then, that the dowry in his own eyes had not only consisted of Jaffa but of the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon—another argument against Edbury's hypothesis that the two parts of the double county may have been regarded as separable lordships.

In October 1247 Ascalon was lost to the Muslims, only shortly after Henry I had conferred the double county on John of Jaffa. Frederick's grant and Conrad's confirmation had expressly provided for this case. If the Hospitallers were not to be blamed for the loss—and they had valiantly defended the place—they were to retain their claim for reimbursement. It was clear that in law this burden now fell on John of Jaffa, just as in 1246 it had fallen on Henry I.

In February 1252 Innocent IV again dealt with the matter.[83] This time he instructed the archbishop of Tyre that the Hospitallers were not to be disturbed in their rights to possess Ascalon—at the time an empty claim—unless they were first recompensated for the expenses they had incurred there. It is clear that the disturber was now John of Jaffa who pressed his title to the southern part of his lordship in the event it was recovered, but who did not want to pay the recompensation originally promised by his family's archenemy Frederick II. Innocent IV referred to Frederick's grant of 1243 as having established the rights of the Hospitallers in Ascalon and added that Ascalon in 1243 had belonged to the royal domain (*ad regni Hierosolimitani demanium pertinens*). The pope, now that Frederick was dead, also stressed that the grant had been legal because Frederick had at the time been emperor and king of Jerusalem and had not been excommunicated. The letter was clearly taking the imperial view of the matter and this is the only time that we hear that the emperor

and the Hospitallers considered Ascalon a part of the royal domain. In his letter of 1246 the pope had not so much as breathed a word that the castle had been given to the Order by the emperor. In fact he had created the impression that it had been granted by Richard of Cornwall.

In March 1252 Conrad IV once more confirmed to the Hospitallers that under his father's grant they had a right to the custody of Ascalon (and, consequently, to the promised compensation after the loss).[84] We cannot say much about this charter because the text is no longer extant. Only an eighteenth-century abstract survives. A contest between the Hospitallers and John of Jaffa was clearly developing. In it John is said by Edbury to have used the papal confirmation of 1253 of Henry's gift of the county of Jaffa-Ascalon against the Order. By 1256, he says, the Hospitallers had stopped insisting on their rights to Ascalon and had agreed to accept arbitration over the terms by which they would surrender their claims to John.[85] The reverse is true. John had accepted arbitration while the Hospitallers kept pressing their claims.

Edbury's argument is based on a point of technical chronology, more precisely the dating of the two charters which supposedly settled the contest by providing that John should pay the compensation (evidently in return for obtaining a secure title to Ascalon). According to Edbury the dispute had the following chronology: on 30 April 1256 the Hospitallers declared that the matter had been placed in the hands of three arbiters, the lord of Tyre, a Hospitaller named Hugh Revel, and the constable of Tiberias. They also agreed to prolong the time by which the arbitration had to be completed to 24 June 1256. On 23 June there was another prolongation, although we do not know until when because again we have only an abstract. In July 1256 John of Jaffa obliged himself to abide by what the three arbiters, still the same three people, would decide. This promise of John already points to his having agreed to arbitration, not vice versa. According to Edbury the settlement was reached in two charters issued by John in January 1257 and on 2 February 1257, respectively. I discussed the contents of these charters extensively in my 1978 article.[86] Suffice it to say that in the first charter there was a basic obligation by John to assign to the Hospitallers 650 *charruées* of land in his lordship of Ascalon. These were more specifically assigned on 2 February in fourteen named villages. Three arbiters were to be appointed for the actual distribution, one to be named by each party and one by the prior of the friars at Acre. All land exceeding 650 *charruées* was to be retained by John who also reserved certain rights in these villages.

This seems like a perfectly logical sequence of events. First one finds the prolongations for the settlement negotiations in 1256 and then the actual settlement in 1257. But the two settlement charters are dated in January and on 2 February 1256, not 1257. After long hesitation I placed them in 1256. This has its difficulties. Edbury, following a suggestion by Delaville Le Roulx, ascribed them to 1257 and advised his readers that this avoided the awkward chronological problems which had led me to devise ingenious theories about the course of the dispute. He did not point out to the reader the impasse into which Delaville's suggestion must lead. One can, and often has to, tamper with the dates of medieval charters because they are often inexact. But one should not lose sight of the methodological principle that postulating an error without being able to prove it should be avoided. This means that there should preferably be at least one element in the date to be changed supporting the new ascription. This is not the case here. Delaville's purely chronological argument is absurd.[87] Because the first prolongation issued by the Hospitallers undoubtedly on 30 April

1256 must, as he thinks, necessarily precede the settlement charters issued by John of Jaffa and dated January and February 1256, the 'chancery' of the count of Jaffa must have used a chronological system in which the year began in the spring. For such a sweeping assumption we do not have enough charters by John. There are only three fully preserved charters of his, two of which are here at issue. We also have two dated abstracts (*RRH* nos. 1149, 1245, 1246, 1249b, 1249c). Since none of the others allow for any conclusion as to which style was used by John's notary, Delaville's chronological argument is clearly inadmissible.

But his and Edbury's assumption rests equally on the seemingly more logical sequence of all the charters involved and brought about by changing the date of the two settlement charters because, in normal procedure, prolongation of negotiations must precede the final settlement. This does not take into account, however, that a settlement can become obsolete and new negotiations must then ensue. If Delaville and Edbury were right, one should expect, as Hiestand pointed out, that the settlement charters would contain a reference to the three arbiters or at least a statement to the effect that the settlement was the result of arbitration.[88] This was important because if the settlement should be disputed, the arbiters were needed as witnesses to provide additional evidence. Such a reference is not in the text. Rather it was provided (*supra*, p. 152) that new arbiters were to be appointed to decide on the actual distribution of the 650 *charruées* in the fourteen villages. We do have an abstract of a charter of 1257 in which the two parties to the dispute elected two arbiters.[89] But one cannot see in this the appointment envisaged by the settlement charters because the crucial point of the whole settlement was that it was to take effect only if Ascalon should return to the kingdom under an official truce and if John of Jaffa and his heirs should be seised of it. If the settlement charters belong to 1257 and were the last word on the matter, there was no need to elect arbiters in this year because there was no hope for a reconquest of Ascalon.

On the other hand there was such hope in early 1256. While Edbury, following Riley-Smith, speaks of a "raid" then conducted from Jaffa into the territory beyond Ascalon, it must be pointed out again that it was a major effort of three months' duration during which the Muslims retaliated by carrying the war not only to Jaffa (which was excluded from the truce then prevailing) but even into that part of the kingdom protected by the truce.[90] Losses were high but in the beginning hope for a reconquest of Ascalon could be entertained. In early 1256 the settlement charters make sense because war was being waged around Ascalon. In 1257 they make no sense at all. In view of all this as well as of the fact that there was a new appointment of the old arbiters (the Lord of Tyre and Hugh Revel) in 1257 one is bound to conclude that the settlement charters must be ascribed to 1256, as indeed they say, but that the whole settlement became obsolete when Ascalon was not conquered because now John of Jaffa was not obliged to pay up. The Knights of St. John had a legitimate interest in reopening the question and *new* negotiations would then have become necessary for which arbiters were appointed before 30 April 1256 (but after 2 February 1256). Then followed the prolongation procedures from April to July. Admittedly, this does not explain why two of the arbiters were reappointed in 1257. But weighing the probabilities now as I did in 1978, and at least I weighed them, I am brought to retain 1256 as the date of the two settlement charters. Under this reconstruction of events which is not in need of changing any dates on record and which is supported by the military events of 1256, John had agreed to

arbitration and was finally willing to pay that compensation to the Hospitallers to which they had a claim since 1247 under the emperor's grant of 1243. John thus created an active interest on part of the Hospitallers to support the war in the southwest in which they did participate. When the campaign failed, he cannot have seen any reason to pay and indeed did not have to. This must have forced the Hospitallers to continue the fight for recompensation to be paid not in a distant future, but soon. After all, in 1257 they had been waiting for a full decade for someone to reimburse them.

In this context we have yet one point to consider. In a misunderstanding Edbury treated the whole struggle between John of Jaffa and the Hospitallers as one concerning the whole southern part of the double county. Only then does it make sense to try to formulate a hypothesis which cuts off Ascalon as a separate lordship from the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon. It must strongly be insisted upon that to speak constantly of the claims and rights of the Hospitallers to Ascalon and follow this up with the theory of Ascalon being a separate lordship is to mislead all but the most informed readers. There is no doubt that the Hospitallers never had any claim to a "lordship" of Ascalon or to the southern part of the double county. The only rights they had ever acquired in Ascalon were the custody of the castle (and, perhaps, the city; above, n. 77) and a right to compensation if they should lose it. Their position in Ascalon was comparable to the one they had in Beit Jibrin where they had the castle and the town and considerable lands but where, according to the lawbook of John of Jaffa, the Cour des Bourgeois belonged to the lord of Hebron.[91]

A struggle over the whole southern part of the double county would, of course, have provided sufficient reason for John of Jaffa to resort to the highly unusual step of soliciting a papal confirmation of his title. In such a reconstruction of events, it is also true that this papal charter would have brought pressure on the Hospitallers to acknowledge John's claim to the southern part of the double county and accept arbitration in which they finally settled for expenses only. This is Edbury's opinion. But it would then have been just as true, as Edbury admits without being disturbed, that the pope in confirming the double county to John would have made a *volte face* from his position of 1252 when he had firmly supported the Hospitallers' rights to Ascalon.[92] It is very clear from this position that Edbury considered the whole struggle as one over the "lordship" of Ascalon. But it must be repeated that the contest was merely and from the beginning over the problem of compensating the Hospitallers for the expenses incurred in Ascalon during the time they had held it. This was their right under Frederick's grant of 1243, under the grants of Conrad IV of 1243, 1244, and 1252, and under the papal letter of 1246.

Even in his letter of February 1252 the pope expressly had nothing else in mind but to see that the Hospitallers should receive such compensation. Edbury states that the letter gave instructions that the Order's rights to Ascalon were not to be interfered with. This is correct but incomplete because he omits what now follows in the text and what is the point at issue; namely that these rights were not to be disturbed unless the Order had first been compensated for the expenses it had incurred there.[93] This true position of the letter presupposes that the pope already in 1252 recognized that the double county including Ascalon was the fief of John of Jaffa who should only be kept away from Ascalon until he had paid what was owed to the Hospitallers by whoever had a true feudal title to it. The same is true, then, for the papal letter of 1246—except that it had in mind the king of Cyprus in whose hands the double county then seems to have been (*supra*, pp. 144f., 151). Innocent IV did not

change positions, as Edbury would have us believe, when he confirmed the double county to John of Jaffa in 1253. On the contrary, he was remarkably consistent. In 1252 he had supported the Hospitallers in their endeavors to make John of Jaffa recognize their claim to compensation. This had necessitated him to stress that Frederick's grant of 1243 had been legal at the time but it also silently acknowledged John's title to Ascalon. In 1253, having been petitioned by John, he expressly did just that, stressing this time that the double county had been *ad collationem suam* (that is, of Henry I of Cyprus) when he conferred it on John. The only thing which might be regarded as being mutually exclusive in these two charters is that the pope emphasized the legality of the grant of Ascalon first by the emperor to the Order, then by the king of Cyprus to John. But these two documents concerned different things. The king of Cyprus had made a gift of a large crown fief while the emperor's grant, conferring the custody of the castle of Ascalon, had—at least theoretically—not touched on the question of who had feudal tenure over Ascalon. That it belonged to the royal domain in 1243 was what the pope said in 1252; Frederick had carefully avoided any such statements because the legal point about who should have control of the kingdom's fortresses in a situation such as existed in 1243 was highly controversial.[94] The pope's confirmation of John of Jaffa's rights to the double county in no way invalidated his ruling of the previous year that compensation was due to the Hospitallers for their custody of Ascalon. This was simply a different matter and, in fact, the bone of the contest between John and the Order.

The struggle was over money, not over a very large crown fief. Admittedly much money was at stake because the 650 *charuées* agreed on in 1256 as compensation were considered in the settlement charters to represent a monetary annuity of 650 × 15 = 9,750 besants. But in spite of this large amount it was merely a piece of civil litigation such as could be settled by the normal means of arbitration, as is indeed shown by the settlement charters. There was no need for John to resort to the unorthodox and drastic means of petitioning the pope for a confirmation of his title to the double county. Since 1247 the Hospitallers did not want Ascalon any longer; they wanted money for their expenses from 1244 to 1247. John of Jaffa seems to have been unwilling at first to pay it, either because he considered the emperor's grant of 1243 as illegal or not binding on him or because he had acquired only a theoretical claim to Ascalon as long as the town with the southern part of the double county was actually in Muslim hands. At the one time in 1256 when there was hope to change this he came to an agreement with the Hospitallers, promising them compensation if Ascalon were reoccupied and John seised of it. He carefully insured at the same time that the compensation was to be paid, if at all, only from the southern part of the double county to prevent the Hospitallers from collecting it in the northern part of Jaffa if Ascalon should not be regained. This being indeed the case the settlement soon became obsolete and the arbitration started anew and can be seen dragging on into 1257.

If, contrary to Edbury's opinion, John's title to Ascalon was not the point of the papal confirmation of 1253 (and this was so little the case that the papal chancery, unopposed by John's procurator in the *audientia litterarum contradictarum*, could confirm in the letter the county of Jaffa *and* Ascalon but address the letter only to John, 'count of Jaffa and lord of Ramla') then what was? It will have been noticed (*supra*, p. 140) that I now share Edbury's opinion that the gift of the double county to John by Henry I of Cyprus was not made in his capacity as regent and did not come from the royal domain, as I had believed in 1978, but rather

from Henry's maternal inheritance. If this was so, it no longer makes any sense to assume, as I did, that the termination of Henry's office as regent through his death would have endangered John's title to the double county—thus raising the possibility that the new regent John of Arsur (an old enemy of John of Jaffa in my opinion) might revoke it. But it is very clear from the papal charter that John was actually very worried about the validity of his title. Only this explains why he went to such extraordinary lengths to secure it.

A reason other than my explanation of 1978 or Edbury's explanation of 1983 can be found. Edbury's theory that the grant came from Henry's inheritance raises a new ugly legal problem which I could not see but which Edbury with his theory should have seen. Could a man who held a fief which had come to him by inheritance and which was therefore a *fie d'escheete* make a gift of it to a man who was not, or at best distantly, related to the donor if the donor thereby disinherited his own descendants who had a right to the inheritance? It will be remembered that the double county was no allodial possession of Henry I of Cyprus but the mainland fief he had inherited from his mother. The dispossession of the heirs to a *fie d'escheete* was a point on which the feudal jurists of the Latin East were very sensitive and against which they devised strong safeguards by expressly allowing such a dispossession only to the recipient of a *fie de conquest*, that is, a fief granted for the very first time. Such a recipient could return it to the donor, thus dispossessing his existing or future heirs.[95]

This consideration brings us back to the possibility of John of Arsur as regent opposing John of Jaffa with regard to the latter's title to the double county. In September 1250 Henry I of Cyprus married Plaisance of Antioch. In November or December 1252 their son Hugh II was born.[96] On 18 January 1253 Henry I died. Hugh II now had a dynastic claim to the regency of Jerusalem which we see recognized there as early as June 1253[97] provided he was brought before the Haute Cour of Acre to present it. For the time being nobody had an interest in doing so, certainly not John of Arsur or John of Jaffa who kept changing the regency back and forth between them from 1253 to 1258. But Hugh II not only had a claim to the regency, he was also the heir to whatever fiefs his father Henry had held in Jerusalem. Hugh or those acting on his behalf could challenge the validity of Henry's grant of the double county to John of Jaffa by arguing that Henry had not been free to give one of his Jerusalem fiefs away because he thereby dispossessed his future heir.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, the grant of a fief was generally made to a man and his heirs—a clause not only contained in the legal treatises but also in documentary evidence since the twelfth century.[98] As early as 1168 or 1169 this clause demonstrably also covered the unborn heirs of a man already married: *dono et confirmo tibi, Pagano de Caypha, et heredibus, quos de filia Iozelini habebis, quecumque . . . rex Balduinus olim dedit ei et eiusdem heredibus.*[99] Clearly this was a special case because the king gave here to Payens of Haifa the fief which had originally been granted to his father-in-law Joscelin Pesellus. The clause insured that the fief would go from Payens only to the offspring from the marriage with Joscelin's daughter. She was, however, Payens' second wife because in 1165 his first wife Hodierna is mentioned.[100] All offspring from the first marriage, if there were any, or all heirs from Payens' side of the family were to be excluded from the inheritance of Joscelin's fief. Payens actually got his late father-in-law's fief, he did not merely administer it for his second wife; but his tenure was of a limited nature. There were at the time of the grant clearly no children yet from

the second marriage. As these were intended to be the sole heirs to the fief, they had to be referred to in the future tense (*habebis*). If Payens and Joscelin's daughter should never have had any children, the limitations of Payens's tenure would have become visible because upon his death the fief would not have devolved on his side of the family but would have gone to the closest relative of his second wife or back to the crown. Only the special circumstances of the case and the fact that the second marriage was still childless at the time of the grant made it necessary to spell out the conditions in more detail than in the usual formula "to you and to your heirs." But the principle that the hereditability of a fief should also extend to the as yet unborn children of the beneficiary had nothing to do with the specialities of the grant to Payens. It only had to be expressed in this case to exclude the children from the first marriage from getting the fief under any circumstances, even if the second marriage should remain childless.

Like Payens of Haifa, Henry I of Cyprus was married but childless from his first as well as his second marriage at the time he granted the double county of Jaffa-Ascalon to John of Jaffa.[101] Hugh II was to become his sole heir and as a contender to John of Jaffa's title to the double county, he would have become even more dangerous once he was appointed regent of Jerusalem. This was always a possibility from the time his father died and it did happen in 1258. In the meantime John of Jaffa had to reckon with those who represented his interests, that is, with Hugh's mother Plaisance as his guardian. In April 1254 she married Balian, the son of John of Arsur. Balian could now have pressed claims for Jaffa-Ascalon on behalf of his stepson Hugh II. One fails to see why he should not have had the support of John of Arsur, his father and regent of Jerusalem, in this attempt. We do not know whether the marriage between Plaisance and Balian (which, in any event, turned sour quickly[102]) was planned immediately after Henry's death in January 1253 so that John of Jaffa should have become so alarmed by the prospects of such a match that he immediately sent to the pope to solicit the papal confirmation of the double county. But we do not even have to assume this. The very fact that Hugh II was born late in 1252 presented a serious threat to John of Jaffa's title to the double county, to Jaffa as well as to Ascalon, and must have been enough reason for him to petition for an unusual papal confirmation stressing expressly the legality of the grant which the father of Hugh II had made to John. One must never forget that with John of Jaffa one is dealing with one of the most astute of the many good feudal lawyers of the Latin East. He would have been able to see danger early and try to prevent it. The reader must also be reminded that it was finally John of Jaffa who in February 1258 engineered the installation of Hugh II as regent and the appointment of his mother queen Plaisance to act for this child. This was two months before the personal papal protection he had obtained in March 1253 expired. Now Hugh II and his mother Plaisance would not constitute a threat to John because he had brought about their appointment.

Lest it be said that this is speculation, it should be pointed out that the birth of Hugh II upset more than just one expectation which had been built on Henry I dying childless. When Hugh III of Antioch-Lusignan in 1264 or in one of the two following years claimed the regency of Jerusalem he argued in the Haute Cour that if Henry had only died childless, the regency would have escheated to his mother, Isabella of Antioch (*et ce mon dit oncle neust heu heir de sa feme espouse lors quil morut, fut escheu ce royaume a madame ma mere come a son droit heir*), but since Henry had a son, Hugh II, it had es-

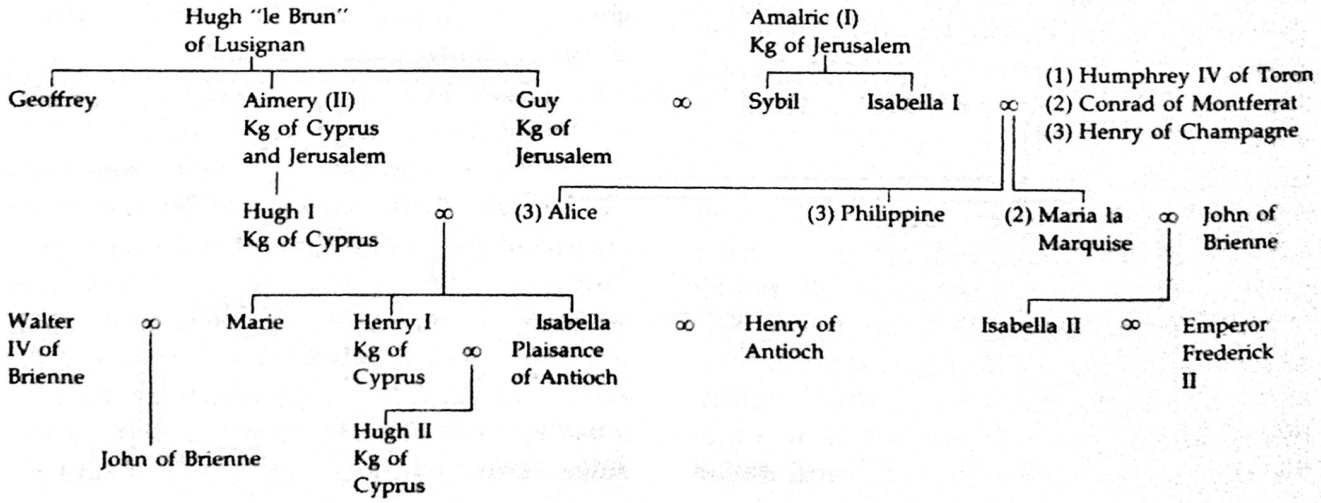
cheated to him, and his mother Plaisance had then had a claim to the regency as his guardian.[103]

This brings me back to the mid-winter voyage by John of Jaffa's envoy to the Curia which Edbury rejected. If John's unusual action at the Curia was caused by the very serious threat which the birth of Hugh II presented to John's feudal title to the double county, we must continue to assume a mid-winter voyage from Acre to Perugia, only that the beginning of it would have to be carried back from 18 January 1253 (death of Henry I) to sometime in November or December 1252 (birth of Hugh II) which would alleviate Edbury's worries about the short timespan available for the trip. The threat to John became more substantial when Henry I died, but by then his countermove must already have been begun. Under this theory some essential points of difference between Edbury and me retain their general interest but become irrelevant to our discussion. It is then unimportant whether John of Arsur and John of Jaffa were already enemies since 1228. And it is unimportant whether Henry's grant to John of Jaffa had violated the rights of the Brienne family or not. What *is* important is that Edbury felt that he had removed the legal problem by claiming that the grant did not come from the royal domain but from Henry's inheritance. While I do now agree with him on this point, it does not help him in his predicament. If it came from Henry's own fiefs, it became of dubious legality the moment Hugh II was born. Consequently, John of Jaffa had to reckon with anyone who succeeded Henry I of Cyprus as regent of Jerusalem, and from 1253 to 1258 this was John of Arsur—with the exception of the years from 1254 to 1256 when John of Jaffa himself held the regency.

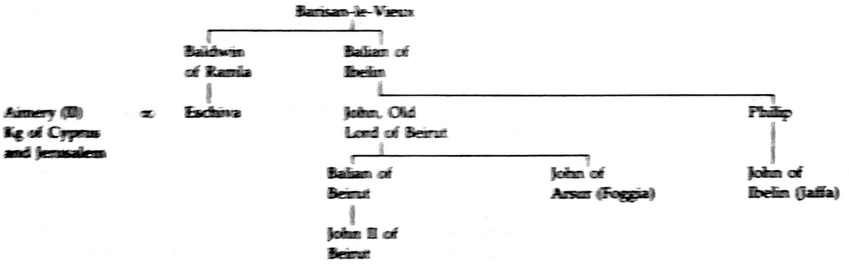
We are now back to where I started from in 1978: John of Arsur *vs.* John of Jaffa, although for different reasons than the ones I adduced in 1978. Should this be acceptable to Dr. Edbury, he might be disposed to consider other points of my paper which I have here discussed with him with more leniency because they no longer raise serious problems for him.

Genealogical Tables

Royal Families of Jerusalem and Cyprus (simplified)



Ibelin Family
(simplified)



NOTES

1. P. W. Edbury, "John of Ibelin's title to the county of Jaffa and Ascalon," *English Historical Review* 98 (1983): 115–33; H. E. Mayer, "Ibelin vs. Ibelin: The Struggle for the Regency of Jerusalem 1253–1258," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 122 (1978): 25–57.
2. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 125, 128, 130; 126–7.
3. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 130.
4. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 130–3.
5. Philip of Novara, *Mémoires* as incorporated into the *Gestes des Chiprois* § 164, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (hereafter abbreviated as *RHC*). *Documents arméniens* (hereafter abbreviated as *Doc arm*) 2 (Paris, 1906): p. 705.
6. *Gestes des Chiprois* § 712, *RHC Doc arm* 2: 182; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 131.
7. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 32.
8. *Gestes des Chiprois* § 133, *RHC Doc arm* 2: 682; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 32; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 131.
9. *Gestes des Chiprois* § 133, 164, 182, 221, *RHC Doc arm* 2: 682, 705, 712, 729. In § 220, p. 728 he is called John of Ibelin, son of the lord of Beirut, but this is not part of Philip's original *Mémoires* but was supplied much later from another source (see *supra*, p. 136f.). In §§ 259, 287, 297, pp. 741, 747, 750 he is called John of Ibelin, lord of Arsur, but this part of the *Gestes des Chiprois* does no longer belong to the *Mémoires* of Philip of Novara but to the chronicle of the so-called 'Templier de Tyr'.
10. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry III. A.D. 1247–1258* (London, 1908), 158; Th. Rymer, *Foedera*, ed. A. Clarke and F. Holbrooke, 1, 1 (London, 1816): 282: *Eodem modo mandatum est: . . . Iohanni de Fogiis constab. Acon.*; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 131.
11. *Gestes des Chiprois* § 221, *RHC Doc arm* 2: 729; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 33.
12. *Gestes des Chiprois* § 164, *RHC Doc arm* 2: 705. It is for the same reason unavoidable in the *Lignages d'Outremer* c. 8, *RHC Lois* 2 (Paris, 1843): 449; contrary to Edbury's citation in *John of Ibelin*, 131, n. 3 the error occurs only here, not likewise on p. 448.
13. *Gestes des Chiprois* §§ 220–1, *RHC Doc arm* 2: 728–9.
14. *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France) 1 (Paris, 1891): 187; P. Richter, "Beiträge zur Historiographie in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten, vornehmlich für die Geschichte Kaiser Friedrichs II," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 13 (1892): 265 f.; G. Paris, "Les mémoires de Philippe de Novare," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 9 (1902): 191, n. 1; *Mémoires de Philippe de Novare 1218–1243*, ed. Ch. Kohler (Les classiques français au moyen âge 10) (Paris, 1913), 127, no. clxi, n. a; *The Wars of Frederick II Against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus by Philippe of Novare*, translated by J. L. La Monte (Columbia University Records of Civilization 25) (New York, 1936), 171, n. 1; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 131, n. 3.
15. Paris, *Philippe de Novare*, p. 177 (where § 220 must be read as § 221); Philip of Novara, *Mémoires*, ed. Kohler, pp. 89 and 127, no. clx, n. a; *cf.* also introduction, pp. x–xiii; *Wars of Frederick*, transl. La Monte, 5–6, 198; *Annales de la Terre Sainte*, ed. R. Röhricht and G. Raynaud, *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2[b] (1884): 440.
16. *Documents relatifs à la successibilité au trône et à la régence* c. 2, *RHC Lois* 2: 400; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 131, n. 5.
17. *Lignages d'Outremer* c. 8, *RHC Lois* 2: 449; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 29; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 131–2.
18. *Abrégé du Livre des Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois* cc. 13–9, *RHC Lois* 2: 246–51; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 33–7; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 132–3.

19. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), 290–2, written independently of me in 1978 (see date of preface).
20. *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* (hereafter abbreviated as *RRH*), compiled by R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893, with *Additamentum, ibid.*, 1904), no. 1259.
21. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 44 for *RRH* no. 1220, pp. 34–5 for the turncoats, pp. 29, 30, 35 for the old imperialists; pp. 34–5 (with n. 65) for the viscounts of Acre.
22. A. Potthast, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum* (Berlin, 1874–5) no. 14927; *Les régistres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger (Paris, 1881–1921) no. 6465; L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1852–82) 3: 649–50. The grant to John had been made before *RRH* no. 1149 in which he styled himself for the first time "count of Jaffa."
23. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 30; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 115.
24. *ut tantum intemerata consistant quantum nostro fuerint presidio communita, interdum apostolico munimine ea non inutiliter roboramus.*
25. J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174–1277* (London, 1973), pp. 188, 190.
26. Tyre, one of the jewels of the domain, was given by Henry I to Philip of Montfort in 1246. In 1270 Philip was forced by Hugh III of Cyprus to concede that this had been illegal and to accept a completely new grant of Tyre; see Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 215, 224–5.
27. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 31; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 116, 129.
28. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 51) 3 (London), 1870): 51; Adam von Bremen, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, ed. B. Schmeidler, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 3rd edition (Hanover and Leipzig, 1917), p. 229; M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philol.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge 86) (Göttingen, 1974), p. 238, n. 26; R. Hiestand, "Zum Problem des Templerzentralarchivs," *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 76 (1980): 30–1, although the analysis of the charter would suggest that it actually confirmed not the contract of May 1262 but a previous and connected sale of 1260.
29. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 128–9.
30. *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* c. 65, *RHC Lois* 1 (Paris, 1841): 107–9; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 15–6; P. W. Edbury, "The Disputed Regency of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1264/6 and 1268," *Camden Miscellany* 27 (= Camden Fourth Series 22) (1979): 13, 28, 33; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 118.
31. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 30; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 119–20.
32. H. E. Mayer, "Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden," in: *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (Vorträge und Forschungen 26) (Sigmaringen, 1980), 185–7; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 122, 124.
33. The lordship of Ramla was a crown fief of its own and not simply a part of the double county, although there had been close links between the two fiefs from early times on. Whereas in his lawbook John of Jaffa treated it once as a rear fief of Jaffa-Ascalon which it had once been (*Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* c. 271, *RHC Lois* 1: 422; *RRH* no. 113; H. E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* [Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 26] [Stuttgart, 1977], 138–9. For a more detailed discussion of the status of Ramla see my forthcoming paper "The Beginnings of the Lordships of Ramla and Lydda in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem"), he made a clear distinction between the two in his charters styling himself count of Jaffa (and Ascalon) and lord of Ramla (*RRH* nos. 1149, 1245–6, 1249b–c).
34. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 126, n. 2, following J. Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), 271, n. 2 = J. Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, transl. by J. Shirley (Europe in the Middle Ages 11) (Amsterdam, 1979), 345 and n. 31 (p. 442). Richard follows R. Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck, 1898), 888 from which I would not conclude that Ramla fell to the Muslims then. The same applies to Röhricht's source Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis, Credo et Lettre à Louis X*, ed. N. de Wailly (Paris, 1874), §§ 540–2, pp. 295–7. On Ramla's conquest in 1266 see Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 933.
35. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 26; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 122.
36. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 124.
37. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 30–1; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 123–4. On the uncertainty of whether Walter IV of Brienne was dead by July 1247 see H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, "Catalogue des actes des comtes de Brienne, 950–1356," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 33 (1872): 175, no. 174. It is manifestly incorrect, taking into account only a part of a sentence, if Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 116, n. 1 argues against this that as early as February 1245 Frederick II believed Walter to be dead; see his letter to Richard of Cornwall, *RRH* no. 1133, Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series 57) 4 (London, 1877): 301. On the contrary, the emperor had learnt from the Teutonic Knights, he wrote, that Walter was alive but captured: *Gualtero comite Ioppensi mortaliter vulnerato et Tyrensi archiepiscopo, sed ex vulnerum illatione non periit carceri mancipatus.* This second part of the sentence must refer to Walter, since according to the letter by the clergy of the kingdom of Jerusalem of 25 November 1244 to the clergy of France and England (*RRH* no. 1127; Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora* 4: p. 342) it was unknown whether the archbishop had died or been captured whereas it was known that Walter of Brienne had been captured and brought to Egypt. In another letter written shortly after the battle (*RRH* no. 1124; [Albert

Milioli], *Liber de temporibus et aetatibus, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores* [hereafter abbreviated as *MGH SS*] 36: p. 516) patriarch Robert of Jerusalem likewise stated that Walter had been captured and that the archbishop had been killed. The Master of the Hospitallers who himself had been taken as a prisoner to Egypt (see on this J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100–1310)* [Paris, 1904], 187–8, 191–2; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* [London, 1967], 180–1) wrote shortly after the battle, apparently out of his prison, that Walter had been taken prisoner (*RRH* no. 1125; Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora* 4: p. 311). In the *Estoire de Eracles, RHC Historiens occidentaux* (hereafter abbreviated as *Hoc*) 2 (Paris, 1859): p. 430 we likewise read that Walter was captured while the archbishop was killed. One is surprised to see that all this evidence escaped Edbury's attention.

38. *Catalogue des actes des comtes de Brienne* nos. 169–73; for the text of the letter *RRH* no. 1083 see E. Martene and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 2nd edition, 1 (Paris, 1717): 1012–3. For the feudal overlordship of Champagne over Brienne see J. Longnon, *La Champagne*, in: F. Lot and R. Fawtier, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge* 1 (Paris, 1957): 127.
39. Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis* §§ 466, 527, pp. 254–5, 288–9. Frederick II: *RRH* no. 1133; Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora* 4: 301. Certainly the anonymous so-called 'Templier de Tyr', having been in the East already in 1269 as an adolescent (*Gestes des Chiprois* § 371, *RHC Doc arm* 2: 774) was no 'Westerner', yet he knew Walter indiscriminately as count of Jaffa and of Brienne (*Gestes des Chiprois* §§ 252, 355, *RHC Doc arm* 2: 740, 769). That Westerners confused the count of Brienne and the count of Jaffa is also contradicted by Jean de Joinville and by the thirteenth-century *Annales Siculi, MGH SS* 29: 497 = ed. E. Pontieri, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new edition 5, 1 (Bologna, 1928): 118 which call him *domnus Gualterius de Breta dominus Ioppen.* The letter by patriarch Robert of Jerusalem: *RRH* no. 1124 = (Albert Milioli), *Liber de temporibus et aetatibus, MGH SS* 31: 516 = Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, MGH SS 32: 177; on the relationship between the two chronicles see *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, ed. H. E. Mayer (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 18) (Stuttgart, 1962), 163–4. That the patriarch in his and the clergy's letter of 25 November 1244 (above, n. 37) called Walter count of Brienne may have been caused by the letter being addressed to the clergy of France and England. In France Walter was, of course, better known as count of Brienne.
40. Richard, *Royaume latin*, 201 = *Latin Kingdom*, 249. On the date of the marriage see Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 124, n. 2.
41. H. E. Mayer, "The Double County of Jaffa and Ascalon: one Fief or two?," in *Crusade and Settlement* (Proceedings of the first conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East held at Cardiff 31 August to 3 September 1983, to be published by the University of Cardiff Press; in the press).
42. Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 538, n. 3. To his documentary evidence add from the chronicles Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica* 3: 70; Ambroise, *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France) (Paris, 1897), vv. 3897–3906; *Estoire de Eracles, RHC Hoc* 2: 151; *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), 267.
43. *RRH* nos. 702, 698, 701 in correct chronological order; *cf.* Mayer, *Double County*. The claim of the Lusignans to the double county seems to have been strengthened in 1186 when Sybil divorced Guy of Lusignan before her coronation. On this much ignored divorce see B. Z. Kedar, "The Patriarch Eraclius," *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, H. E. Mayer, R. C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 195–8. *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, ed. M. Salloch (Leipzig, 1934), 65 reports that it was one of the conditions imposed by Sybil for assenting to the divorce that Guy retain the county of Jaffa. Since Sybil immediately after her coronation undid the divorce by choosing Guy as her (next) husband it stands to reason that the transfer of the double county to Guy was a precaution in case her scheme should miscarry and she should be forced to marry someone else. All non-Lusignan claims to the double county ignored this transfer and traced the rights through Sybil's heiress Isabella, her half-sister.
44. *RRH* no. 709; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 25; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 121; Mayer, *Double County*.
45. Ambroise, *Estoire*, vv. 9056–9; *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 38) 1 (London 1864): 348–9.
46. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 122, n. 2 argues convincingly for 1210 from *Estoire de Eracles, RHC Hoc* 2: p. 309, according to which it took place shortly before a truce with the Muslims expired in 1210 (Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 693–4, 700; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* 2 [Cambridge, 1948]: 66). This seems to be the date favored also by Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 1 (Paris, 1861): 177–9 and Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 700, n. 3, whereas 703, n. 3 he favors 1208, the date also given by Hill, *History of Cyprus* 2: p. 75, mainly on the basis of *RRH* no. 823 of December 1207 which, however, is no proof of the wedding about to take place but only of the marriage project being pushed.
47. On possible claims of Frederick II stemming from Maria la Marquise see above 149.
48. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 31, 41; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 124–5.
49. *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*,

ed. M. R. Morgan (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 14) (Paris, 1982), 177: *Les covenances dou doaire furent faites ensi que le rei Heymeri paia au conte tout le doaire de ses filles, et le conte Henri par l'atreit et la volenté de Ysabiau sa feme, fist don et vente a sa fille del conté de Jaffe, que il li fist doaire (et en héritage;* this not in Florentine text p. 172). For the 60,000 besants see *Estoire de Eracles, RHC Hoc* 2: pp. 208–9 where the text is incomplete and therefore unclear. I would assume that it should read: *En la pais dou conte et dou conestable fu ensi, que l'ains né des fiz dou conestable, qui au jor se troveroit, esposereit l'ains née fille qui seroit au jor* [*encontre*] *LX mille bezans que son frere devoit de l'achat de Chypre, les quelz li rois Richart li avoit donez.* Both the unemended as well as the emended text do not bear out the assumption by previous scholars (Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 1: 143; Röhricht, *Geschichte,* 665–6; Hill, *History of Cyprus* 2: 57–8) that Henry acquitted Aimery of this debt. If the sentence in the *Estoire de Eracles* is taken together with the express statement in the *Continuation* that Aimery paid for the dowry, it would imply that he actually paid the 60,000. Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 121 gives the interpretation that Aimery was to provide the dowry for Henry's daughters and that Jaffa was to be the marriage portion of one of them. This would leave room for the traditional view that Henry acquitted Aimery of the 60,000 besants but Jaffa would then have come from Aimery which is flatly contradicted by the *Continuation* and cannot be reconciled with Henry's indisputable tenure of Jaffa in 1193.

50. *Héritage* here must have this meaning since it cannot possibly have the more common meaning of a non-feudal *teneure en borgesie* such as could never have been the status of one of the largest crown fiefs.
51. The only thing which Richard's theory leaves unexplained is how the double county could be disposed of in 1235 by Henry I if in 1210 it had become the dowry of Alice who had a right to it for life and did not die until 1246.
52. Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 125, n. 1.
53. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility,* 125; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin,* 30–1.
54. Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 125.
55. *RRH* no. 1154; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes,* ed. A. Teulet and J. de Laborde (Paris, 1863–81) 3: no. 3684.
56. On the Champagne imbroglio see Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 1: 175–6, 220–4, 305–8. J. Richard, *Saint Louis, roi de France féodale, soutien de la Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1983), 88–96.
57. *RRH* no. 867; *cf.* Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 1: 222–3.
58. That she was eighteen when she married Humphrey, as was argued in *RRH* no. 867 in 1213 by the Champagne party in order to undercut the grounds adduced in favor of the dissolution of 1190, is impossible since she had married in 1183 but cannot have been born before May 1168 as her parents married in August 1167.
59. Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica* 4 (London, 1871): 78.
60. Potthast nos. 4988 (= *RRH* no. 880), 5062; Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 216: cols. 978, 976; *cf.* Potthast no. 716; Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* 214: col. 611B.
61. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 2: 41–2.
62. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 2: 41, *not* sealed by Alice; see on this 1: 223, n. 4.
63. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 216: col. 990A; Jean de Joinville, *Histoire de Saint-Louis* §§ 86–8, pp. 50–1; Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 2: 42, 60.
64. Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 2: 69.
65. It is true that in 1247 Henry of Antioch witnessed Henry I's grant to John of Brienne. But this means only that he attested to the grant having been made. It does not mean that he formally approved it because he did not give his consent until 1257.
66. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin,* 41.
67. Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 124–5.
68. Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 126–9.
69. *Registres d'Innocent IV* nos. 6455–8; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility* 214; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin,* 41; Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 128.
70. Mayer, *Double County* (above, no. 41).
71. Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 128.
72. J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii* 5, 1, ed. J. Ficker (Innsbruck, 1881) no. 3382.
73. Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 127.
74. Mayer, *Double County.*
75. That Alice was for many people illegitimate was irrelevant because the same applied to Maria la Marquise. Her mother's marriage to Conrad had been as bigamous as her marriage to Henry because of her illegal divorce in 1190. If anything, Maria la Marquise came from a more scandalous marriage than Alice, because Henry at least had only one wife while Conrad was said to have two other ones alive in Europe as well as in Byzantium and was held by the pope to be so closely related to Isabella I that the marriage was not only bigamous but also incestuous. On Conrad's two previous marriages see Ambroise, *Estoire,* vv. 4131–6; *Itinerarium peregrinorum,* ed. Stubbs, 122. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia,* ed. A. van Dieten (Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae) (Berlin, 1975), 382 reports that the first wife had died before Conrad married Theodora, the sister of emperor Isaac Angelos. Potthast nos. 716, 4988, 5062; Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 214: col. 611B; 216: cols. 978, 976D.
76. Edbury, *John of Ibelin,* 123–4.
77. Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta imperii* 5, 1, no. 3382; *RRH* no. 1112, both falsely dating it on 30 August; *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St.-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310,* ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx (Paris, 1894–1906), no. 2301. I am even generous if I include the whole city in the grant. Dr. Denys Pringle of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem kindly let me use the typescript of his paper "King Richard I and the Walls of Ascalon," to appear in the *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* for 1984. In an appendix dealing with Richard of Cornwall's work at Ascalon (1240–41) he argues convincingly that the earl

certainly did not refortify the whole grandiose town enceinte but merely a citadel in the north of the medieval town covering not more than one ninth or one tenth of the surface of the town dismantled in 1192. Dr. Pringle believes that Ascalon in these days did not have a resident population at all, so that really all Frederick II gave away was the castle and not even the town.

78. R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter. Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius I* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philol.-hist. Klasse, 3. Folge 77) (Göttingen, 1972), p. 399 no. 223.
79. Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta imperii* 5, 2 (Innsbruck, 1882) no. 4481; R. Hiestand, "Zwei unbekannte Diplome der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem aus Lucca," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 50 (1971): 51–2; H. E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Abhandlungen, N.F. 83) (München, 1978), 86–7; *Livre au roi, RHC Lois* 1: 610. Conrad had been born on 25 April 1228 and therefore came of age in April 1243 when he completed his fifteenth year. It was first argued by P. Richter, *Beiträge*, 272–3 and again by M. L. Bulst, "Zur Geschichte der Ritterorden und des Königreichs Jerusalem im 13. Jahrhundert bis zur Schlacht bein La Forbie am 17. Okt. 1244," *Deutsches Archiv* 22 (1966): 214–5 that the barons of Jerusalem shed Frederick's regency already in June 1242. Much in the sources speaks indeed in favor of this year except for the overriding consideration that the barons for very serious legal reasons waited until Conrad had actually come of age before they declared Frederick's regency to be terminated and elected Alice of Cyprus as regent. I retain with Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 303, n. 111 the traditional date but point out the chronological problem.
80. Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta imperii* 5, 4: *Nachträge und Ergänzungen* compiled by P. Zinsmaier (Köln, 1983) no. 582; Hiestand, *Zwei Diplome*, 55, 52; Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, 87–8.
81. *RRH* no. 1118a; *Cartulaire général* no. 2394; *Registres d'Innocent IV* no. 1784.
82. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 126.
83. Potthast no. 14494; *Cartulaire général* no. 2587.
84. Böhmer-Ficker, *Regesta imperii* 5, 4, no. 590; *RRH* no. 1198b; *Cartulaire général* no. 2590.
85. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 127–8.
86. *RRH* nos. 1247, 1249b, 1249c, 1245, 1246; *Cartulaire général* nos. 2810, 2816–7, 2845, 2853; the only complete text of *RRH* no. 1246 is in S. Paoli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta* 1 (Lucca, 1733): 150, no. 128; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 127, n. 4; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 45–6.
87. *Cartulaire général* no. 2845, n. 1.
88. Hiestand, *Zwei Diplome*, 41.
89. Hiestand, *Zwei Diplome*, 42, n. 33a.
90. *Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin, RHC Hoc* 2: 630–3; Röhricht, *Geschichte*, 894–5; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 30; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 45; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 127.
91. For the Hospitallers as landowners at Beit Jibrin see *RRH* no. 457 of 1168; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* c. 270, *RHC Lois* 1: 420; J. Prawer, "Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 29 (1951): 1063–1118 = Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 119–26.
92. Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 127–8.
93. *nisi prius eis de expensis sibi debitis fuerit plenarie satisfactum.* As early as 1971 Hiestand, *Zwei Diplome*, 40, n. 31 recognized that this was the whole point of the papal letter; Edbury, *John of Ibelin*, 127.
94. *Documents relatifs à la successibilité au trône et à la régence, RHC Lois* 2: 401; Hiestand, *Zwei Diplome*, 38, 52; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 212.
95. *Livre de Philippe de Navarre* c. 73, *RHC Lois* 1: 543–4; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* c. 144, *RHC Lois* 1: 217–9; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 13–4.
96. Edbury, *Disputed Regency*, 5, n. 16.
97. *RRH* no. 1206; Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 43, 50.
98. *Livre de Philippe de Navarre* c. 73, *RHC Lois* 1: 544 who went so far as to say that even if the formula did not occur in the written grant, the latter was understood to have included it; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* c. 144, *RHC Lois* 1: 218; *RRH* nos. 579, 587, 614, 624, 625, 644, 653, 654 from the royal charters for Joscelin II of Courtenay.
99. *RRH* no. 465.
100. *RRH* no. 418; *Les familles d'Outremer de Ducange*, ed. E. G. Rey (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France) (Paris, 1869), 266.
101. Henry in 1229 first married Alice of Montferrat (†1232/33), then in 1237 or 1238 Stephanie, the sister of the king of Armenia († after 30 March 1249; cf. *RRH* no. 1174). Mas Latrie, *Histoire de Chypre* 1: 253; 2: p. 61, n. 1; Hill, *History of Cyprus* 2: 101, 130, 147.
102. Mayer, *Ibelin vs. Ibelin*, 46–7.
103. Edbury, *Disputed Regency*, 21.

XIV

The Origins of the Lordships of Ramla and Lydda in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem

The Crusaders reached Ramla and Lydda, adjacent settlements on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, in 1099. Ramla was to become a secular lordship within the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Lydda, on the other hand, was to become an ecclesiastical lordship, like that of the archbishop of Nazareth and perhaps also the patriarch of Jerusalem.[1] Very little is known about the early development of lordships in the Holy Land, and the examples of Ramla and Lydda are more complicated than has hitherto been recognized. My purpose here is to examine in detail when and how Ramla and Lydda acquired their seigneurial positions.

Lydda, later known as Diospolis, was a very old settlement, already mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (9.32, 35). Its church, attributed by William of Tyre to Justinian, contained within it the tomb of St. George. While the church is first mentioned in the eighth century by the monk Epiphanius, who described it as very large, the tomb of St. George is documented in the sixth century in Theodosius's *De situ Terrae Sanctae*.[2] The presence of the tomb presupposes a church, as does the synod held at Diospolis in 415.[3] But Lydda was apparently uninhabited when the Crusaders arrived. The population of Lydda had been relocated to Ramla when that settlement was founded by the Muslims in the eighth century, and the Muslim geographers of the ninth to eleventh centuries give no indication that Lydda was occupied at any time during that period.[4] Before the

[1] The ecclesiastical lordships of the bishop of Lydda and the archbishop of Nazareth are characterized by their having "court et coins et justise," like secular seigneuries, and by their having to furnish a contingent of knights to the royal army. See *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 270–71, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (hereafter cited as RHC), *Lois*, 1:420, 422–23. On the patriarch's quarter in Jerusalem and its status see Hans E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem*, Schriften der MGH 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 7–11. Since the patriarch did not have to furnish military service to the king, I interpret his lordship as an immunity, free from service. See also Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 296–314; Prawer does not, however, touch upon the problem of military service.

[2] "Die Palästinabeschreibung des Epiphanius Monachus Hagiopolita," ed. Herbert Donner, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 87 (1971), 72 (translation, p. 85). Theodosius, *De situ Terrae Sanctae*, ed. P. Geyer, CSEL 39:139.

[3] *Epistula Luciani*, PL 41:815.

[4] Guy le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* (London, 1890), pp. 303–8, 493–94. *Enzyklopaedie*

Crusaders entered Lydda, the Muslims destroyed the church, or at least damaged it heavily, because they feared that the wooden beams used in its construction (presumably in the roof, which in some manuscripts of Abbot Daniel's pilgrimage report of 1106 is said to have been built of wood)[5] would be taken by the Christians to build siege engines.[6]

Ramla had flourished under the Muslims as an administrative center for Palestine.[7] It was a town of some size, surrounded by a ring wall and towers but nevertheless poorly defended, since it lacked a moat and outlying defense works. When the Christians approached Ramla, having first stopped at Lydda to pray at the tomb of St. George, the Muslims deserted the town and left it to be occupied by the invading army. The Crusaders rested there for a few days, and because they were eager to push on to Jerusalem and did not want to leave many people behind, they built a castle with a wall and a moat. It would have been out of the question for them to settle the town or to defend the existing fortifications. To secure their position in Ramla and Lydda, the Crusaders installed a certain Robert from the diocese of Rouen as bishop of the church at Lydda, and they are said to have given him Lydda and Ramla and their neighboring villages to hold in perpetuity. They also left him what he needed for the immediate future: gold and silver, horses and cattle, and doubtless some men. At least this is the picture that emerges from the sources if the information contained in them is pieced together.[8]

By these actions, it seems, an ecclesiastical lordship of Ramla and Lydda had, *de facto,* been created. It is understandable that the Crusaders would not have wanted to leave the tomb of St. George unprotected, since the chroniclers of the First Crusade report a number of incidents in which St. George miraculously intervened.[9] The Latin church of Palestine would in any case need to be organized, and it was fitting to have a bishop at the tomb of the much-venerated soldier saint in Lydda. But Ramla and Lydda were also of

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des Islam, s.vv. Ludd, Ramla. Else Reitemeyer, *Die Städtegründungen der Araber im Islam nach den arabischen Historikern und Geographen* (Munich, 1912), p. 73.

[5] *Itinéraires russes en Orient,* trans. B. de Khitrowo, Société de l'Orient latin, Série géographique 5 (Geneva, 1889), p. 10, n. e.

[6] *Gesta Francorum* 36, ed. Rosalind Hill (London, 1962), p. 87. William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* 7.22, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux, 1/1 (hereafter cited as RHC Hoc), pp. 312–13. Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana,* ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 277, n. 44: "basilica . . . dissipata, sed non omnino destructa" (L text).

[7] Le Strange, *Palestine,* pp. 303–8.

[8] William of Tyre, *Historia* 7.22 and 10.17, pp. 312–13, 424. Cf. *Gesta Francorum* 36, p. 87; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 5.42, RHC Hoc 4:460–61; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* 1.25.12–13, pp. 276–77. Baudri of Dol, *Historia Ierosolimitana,* MS G, RHC Hoc 4:96, n. 6, reports that when the Crusader army marched on to Jerusalem, the bishop retained with him in Ramla thirty knights and as many others as he could have.

[9] Adolf Waas, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* 1 (Freiburg, 1956), pp. 16–17. Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The First Crusade and St. Peter," *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 55–56.

considerable strategic value, situated as they were at one of the most important crossroads in Palestine. Through them ran the coastal road from Ascalon to the north and the two roads from Jerusalem to Jaffa. The new bishop obviously also had the function of a watchdog.

The bishop's position cannot have been very comfortable once the army had departed for Jerusalem. His retinue was undoubtedly small. He held a demolished cathedral in Lydda and a castle in Ramla, a town too large for him to settle. But the situation held positive prospects for the future if the Crusade was successful. The bishop could hope that some of the Crusaders, after a conquest of Jerusalem, would be willing to settle in Ramla, which offered the modest protection of its small wall and castle. Pilgrims would pass through Ramla and Lydda on their way from Jaffa to Jerusalem, stopping to visit the shrine of St. George. Above all, the strategic position of Ramla and Lydda made the bishopric a promising possession.

It must have been clear to Bishop Robert that he would need more income than the precious metals and animals given to him by the Crusaders, and no doubt he is the one who insisted that he be given a territory in perpetuity. Albert of Aachen wrote far from the Holy Land, but on very good information. He informs us that the Christians created a bishop in Ramla-Lydda and left Christians there who would till the soil, organize justice, and pay revenues in kind from the fruits of the field and the orchard.[10] Even if in this instance Albert imagined more than he knew, his description of what the bishop did in his new lordship is exactly what he must have done: he settled it, he engaged in *Landesausbau*.

The nature and extent of the bishop's lordship in 1099 nevertheless remain in doubt. Only William of Tyre, writing at least sixty-five years after the event, indicates that both Ramla and Lydda were placed in the hands of the bishop.[11] The contemporary chronicles of the First Crusade know nothing of this, and it is easy to imagine that William was mistaken, that in reality the bishop was given only the deserted town of Lydda and not the flourishing settlement of Ramla. Support for this possibility might be found in the statement of Fulcher of Chartres that the army left a garrison in Ramla when it set off for Jerusalem,[12] but these might have been the men of the

[10] Albert of Aachen, *Historia* 5.42, pp. 460–61. The bishop's resources were not sufficient to do everything he could have done in this respect. In 1115 he donated an unsettled village near Lydda to the abbey of Josaphat: Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (hereafter cited as *RRH*), 1 vol. and *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1893–1904), no. 76b. The monastery turned the village into a flourishing settlement big enough to need a Latin chapel by 1154 (P. Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2nd ed. [Leipzig, 1885–88], no. 9847); see Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 340–42.

[11] William of Tyre, *Historia* 7.22, p. 313: "Illi . . . episcopum eidem ecclesiae praeficientes quemdam Robertum, Normannum genere, de episcopatu Rothomagensi, cui utramque urbem, Liddam videlicet et Ramulam, cum adjacentibus suburbanis, jure perpetuo possidendas contulerunt . . ."

[12] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* 1.25.12–13, pp. 276–77.

bishop, who indeed asserted a claim to Ramla well after a secular seigneur had been established there.

Whatever the bishop received in 1099, one may assume that nobody bothered much at the time about the precise status of his holdings. Later the bishop held a lordship of the Latin kingdom, furnishing ten knights to the royal army. William of Tyre knew this, of course, when he wrote his chronicle. And William's words can only be interpreted to mean that the bishop received the two settlements and the land around them as a fief. But from whom? A fief necessarily presupposes an individual lord who gives it away, a criterion that is hardly met by the loosely knit group of leaders of the First Crusade, who did not even form a corporation. When the only other bishopric to be founded during the Crusade was created at Albara in 1098, it was Raymond IV of Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, who proposed Peter of Narbonne to the army as bishop and who, as conqueror, gave the bishop half of Albara and its surrounding territory.[13] One might consider, on this model, whether at Lydda Robert of Rouen did not become a vassal of Duke Robert of Normandy, just as at Albara Peter of Narbonne may have been a vassal of the count of Toulouse. But Raymond was the only leader present at Albara, whereas all the Crusade's leaders were present at Lydda, except for Baldwin and Bohemond, who had stayed behind at Edessa and at Antioch, respectively. Furthermore, the situation at Lydda was complicated by the fact that any action taken there, whether by an individual or by all the leaders acting in common, would have prejudiced the still undecided and later rather contested question of who should rule over a conquered Jerusalem. Perhaps the bishop demanded a fief but received no more than a binding promise that he would be granted as a fief the lands now turned over to him once a ruler had been established in Jerusalem who could act as his lord. Certainly it seems likely that the bishop's lordship, whatever territories it included, was not created *de jure* until after the conquest of Jerusalem and the election of Godfrey of Bouillon as ruler.

Joshua Prawer believes that this episcopal seigneury was split into a secular lordship of Ramla and an ecclesiastical lordship of Lydda between 1115 and 1120, because in 1115 an untitled Baldwin gave the abbey of Josaphat land near Ramla, while in 1120 a "Balduinus de Rames" (taken by Prawer to be lord of Ramla) participated in the Council of Nablus.[14] Certainly Baldwin

[13] *Le "Liber" de Raymond d'Aguilers*, ed. John H. and Laurita L. Hill, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 9 (Paris, 1969), pp. 91 ff.

[14] Joshua Prawer, "Colonization Activities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 29 (1951), 1092; idem, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 123, based on *RRH* no. 80 of 1115 (a Baldwin gives land "in territorio Ramensi" to Josaphat; his identity is certain because in the confirmation of 1120 [*RRH* no. 90] he is named Baldwin "de Ramis"), *RRH* no. 87 of 1119 ("Balduinus de Ramatha" is witness), and William of Tyre, *Historia* 12.13, p. 532 ("Balduinus de Rames" participates in the Council of Nablus; William's list of participants is taken from the official record of the assembly as preserved in MS Vat. lat. 1345 and printed by Mansi, *Sacrorum*

held a lordlike position in Ramla in 1120, although it is doubtful that he held the official title of lord of Ramla. Nevertheless, if the bishop ever held Ramla at all, any diminution of his lordship leading to the formation of a secular lordship in Ramla must have taken place well before 1115–20, either in the reign of Godfrey (1099–1100) or early in the reign of Godfrey's brother and successor, Baldwin I (1100–1118).

We know that immediately after his arrival in Jerusalem to succeed his deceased brother, Baldwin I opened an inquisition into the estate of Godfrey and the fiefs given away by him.[15] Since this action took place before the vassals performed homage, it is likely that the vassals insisted on having their fiefs confirmed. It may have been a luckless countermove by Baldwin to combine this with the question of Godfrey's estate. Naturally the vassals explained that nothing remained of the estate, all of it having been spent on the poor and in settlement of outstanding debts. Baldwin listened to this in stony silence and then confirmed the claims that the vassals presented to him, which of course he had to do if he wanted to obtain homage from them. This was not the occasion to redistribute fiefs, and the position of the bishop of Ramla-Lydda was especially strong, since he had been the leader of the embassy sent by Godfrey's vassals to invite Baldwin from Edessa to Jerusalem to succeed Godfrey.[16] The bishop had therefore been instrumental in Baldwin's succession and in the rejection of Pisan claims to the kingdom.

Not that it was impossible in this period for the king to seize a vassal's fief. Like Baldwin I before him, Baldwin II investigated the question of crown fiefs on his accession in 1118, assigning some of them to the royal domain and reshuffling others among his followers.[17] It may be that this redistribution harmed only those who were opposed to Baldwin II's accession and were absent on a mission to Europe to fetch their preferred candidate, Eustace III of Boulogne.[18] Other examples of royal seizure in the early history of the Latin kingdom, as in Haifa and Galilee, have been demonstrated by Prawer.[19]

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conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, 21 [repr. Paris, 1903], cols. 262 ff.). Cf. *RRH* no. 57 of 1110, where a Baldwin donates land and houses in the city of Ramla to the Hospitallers.

[15] Albert of Aachen, *Historia* 7.37, p. 532. In December 1099 Godfrey had broken off the siege of Arsuf and returned to Jerusalem, leaving some troops, although hardly the amount we are told (100 knights and 200 footsoldiers), in Ramla to harass Arsuf from there (Albert of Aachen, *Historia* 7.6, p. 511). But this does not tell us whether Ramla was in Godfrey's hands or the bishop's.

[16] Albert of Aachen, *Historia* 7.30, p. 526.

[17] Albert of Aachen, *Historia* 12.30, pp. 709–10.

[18] Hans E. Mayer, *Mélanges sur l'histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, N.S. 5 (Paris, 1984), pp. 73–82.

[19] Joshua Prawer, "La noblesse et le régime féodal du royaume latin de Jérusalem," *Le moyen âge* 65 (1959), 46; idem, *Crusader Institutions*, p. 23.

No matter how we interpret the exclusion of Ramla from the holdings of the bishop of Lydda — that he never received it, that Godfrey excluded it from a later enfeoffment, or that Godfrey or Baldwin first awarded it to him and later took it away — the bishop certainly no longer held Ramla in 1102, when the second battle of Ramla was fought. In May of 1102 the Egyptians assembled a large army near Ascalon which marched toward Ramla and established camp before the town.[20] Fulcher of Chartres describes how the Christians were distributed on this occasion.[21] One must bear in mind that the arrival of the enemy took the Christians of Ramla by surprise, as it did King Baldwin I, who was in Jaffa. Accordingly, Fulcher's description of the disposition of the Christians must be taken to represent the normal situation at Ramla and not special preparations in anticipation of an attack. Ramla castle was manned by fifteen knights whom the king had appointed as *custodes* there, and Syro-Christians were living in a suburb next to the castle. The bishop was at Lydda in the church of St. George with his entourage ("cum clientela sua"). Apparently the church was strongly fortified. In the course of the fighting it was encircled by the Muslims, but they retreated to Ramla when they saw the strength of the fortifications. As they retreated they burned the grainfields, and the bishop could see the rising smoke and flames.

Concerned that the Muslims might return and besiege him again, the bishop sent an urgent request to the king at Jaffa to come to his aid at once, as the enemy was encamped before Ramla and had already attacked his church. Baldwin I left Jaffa immediately, forcing the knights of the Crusade of 1101 to join him. He was later much criticized for his failure to wait for the assembly of his whole army and for the arrival of the relic of the True Cross. His forces were routed, and the king barely escaped to Ramla with a few followers. From Ramla he fled to Arsuf, since he feared that Ramla would be encircled by the Muslims. The Christians remaining in Ramla were besieged in the castle, which they had to evacuate when it was set on fire.[22] Most of them were cut down as they emerged. When the bishop received this piece of news at Lydda, he fled to Jaffa.[23] In the meantime, Hugh of Galilee had received word of the king's misfortune and had proceeded from Galilee toward Jaffa, which had since come under Muslim siege. Hugh met the king at Arsuf, and they proceeded separately to Jaffa — Hugh by land and the king by sea. Upon his arrival in Jaffa the king summoned his troops from Jerusalem and Hebron, and a contingent of about ninety knights reached the city with difficulty. The king forced battle with the Saracens near Jaffa

[20] On this event and the following battle and its consequences see Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* 2.15–21, pp. 424–55.

[21] *Historia* 2.15, pp. 426–27.

[22] Albert of Aachen, *Historia* 9.6, p. 594.

[23] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* 2.19, p. 443.

and this time managed to defeat them, for the moment averting the Muslim threat.

The events of 1102 offer important information about the status of Ramla and Lydda. First, the bishop of Ramla-Lydda was the leading personality in the area. It was he who informed the king of the Muslim attack and decided at what point the king's help was needed. Second, the bishop did not hold Ramla, being confined to Lydda, which he held "cum clientela sua." Evidently the bishop depended for his security on the castle of Ramla and its garrison. Even before the fall of Ramla he did not feel secure in Lydda; after the fall of Ramla he regarded his position as untenable. But he must have felt that he could not rely entirely on Ramla, and for this reason he had been obliged to fortify the cathedral at Lydda so as to be able to put up at least a limited defense from his own resources. Third, the town and castle of Ramla were at that time still part of the royal domain. Nothing is heard of a secular lord of Ramla.

In the castle at Ramla there were fifteen knights "quos rex ibi custodes posuerat."[24] From this it follows conclusively that Ramla in 1102 was part of the royal domain, administered by a castellan. *Custodes,* in Fulcher's parlance, normally denotes the garrison of a castle or an urban citadel under the command of a castellan.[25] In the course of time such castellans frequently rose to become seigneurs. Apparently the landowner Baldwin (of Ramla)

[24] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* 2.15, p. 426. Cf. 1.25, p. 277: "et in arcibus urbis homines ad custodiendum locassent."

[25] In most cases where Fulcher uses the word *custodes* it means a military garrison: *Historia* 1.14, p. 208 (Tarsus); 1.17, p. 233 (Muslim garrison at Antioch); 1.25, p. 268 (garrison watching over the count of Saint-Gilles's portion of Antioch); 1.27, p. 229 (Muslim garrison at Jerusalem); 1.33, p. 349 (Melitene); 2.13, p. 419 (Jaffa); 2.15, p. 426 (Ramla castle); 2.55, p. 592 (castle of Montréal); 2.62, p. 606 (Scandalion); 3.10, p. 644 (Muslim garrison at Jarash). Fulcher also uses the word for regents who were appointed by the king and had military as well as civilian functions: 2.45, p. 552; 3.16, p. 660 ("terrae custos et praeceptor," an expression which may be meant to distinguish the military and civilian duties).

Albert of Aachen uses the word similarly: *Historia* 7.45, p. 538 ("in custodia et beneficio tradere"; *beneficium* being the fief of Galilee, *custodia* the military duties assigned to the lord of Galilee); 9.18, p. 671 (garrison at Beirut). Albert refers to the castellan of the citadel of Jerusalem as "custos ac praepositus Turris David" (10.2, p. 632).

William of Tyre repeatedly uses the word *custodia* to describe the possession of a castle by a castellan or a lord: *Historia* 14.22, p. 639 (the castle of Bait Jibrin, where according to *RRH* no. 164 there had been a royal castellan, is handed over to the Hospitallers, "qui usque in praesens depositum debita custodierunt diligentia"); 15.24, p. 697 (the castle of Ibelin is entrusted to Barisan-le-Vieux and "in cuius custodia . . . diligentem habuit vir praedictus vigilantiam"); 15.25, p. 698 (the castle of Blanchegarde "dominus rex in suam suscepit custodiam et . . . viris prudentibus et rei militaris habentibus experientiam servandum commisit," a clear case of the king's first establishing a castellany in a newly built castle, which he then handed over to a loyal follower).

From the charter evidence I cite *RRH* no. 59 ("Anselmus Turris David custos"), no. 341 (King Baldwin IV appoints John of Haifa to the *custodia,* i.e., the castellany, as well as the dragomanate and the scribanage of the royal castle of Mhalia).

who is attested to in chronicles and charters beginning in 1106 was the royal castellan at Ramla.[26] There was certainly no seigneur in Ramla in 1102. It is doubtful even that Baldwin was a seigneur in 1120, as Prawer has argued, although he is listed by William of Tyre as having participated in that year in the Council of Nablus, along with the lord of Caesarea, the prince of Galilee, and the constable of Jaffa (as the representative of the count of Jaffa, who was still a minor). This puts Baldwin in the company of leading magnates, and he may be regarded as a quasi-seigneur, a man who was as influential as a seigneur and who behaved like one. According to the evidence given below, however, in 1120 he was not yet formally accepted by the crown as a seigneur and was not a crown vassal.[27]

The royal castellany must generally be regarded as one of the important preparatory stages in the development of seigneuries in the Latin East. In Baldwin's case, however, he may have made his climb because he lost his royal office. Ca. 1108–10 Jaffa was given as a very large fief to Hugh II of Le Puiset (Hugh I of Jaffa).[28] By 1120 it was in the hands of his son Hugh II of Jaffa, who entertained great ambitions, styling himself *comes* or *princeps* of Jaffa and even having himself styled *consul* of Jaffa by his entourage (probably in imitation of *consul Andegavorum,* the usual title of the mighty counts of Anjou).[29] Even though the royal chancery never gave him any other title than *dominus* of Jaffa, the royal government was apparently unable to prevent his assumption of more grandiose titles, and we have generally come to refer to him as the count of Jaffa. When the county was formed, it included Ramla and its territory. In 1126 Hugh II of Jaffa confirmed to the Hospitallers, among other things, their possessions "in territorio vel dominio

[26] *RRH* no. 57 of 1110: a Baldwin gives to the Hospital of Jerusalem a peasant with lands and houses in the town of Ramla. It must have been this Baldwin who was the "defensor" of Ramla against the Egyptians in 1106, together with a garrison which at this time consisted of not more than eight knights: Albert of Aachen, *Historia* 10.10, p. 636. On the basis of *RRH* no. 57 Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Motives of the Earliest Crusaders and the Settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095–1100," *English Historical Review* 98 (1983), 729, believes that Roman of Le Puy was Baldwin's predecessor in the castellan's office, apparently on the assumption that the peasant given to the hospital by Roman also lived in Ramla. The text of the document does not bear this out, and there is no other evidence for Roman's having been castellan of Ramla.

[27] Elsewhere I assumed that Baldwin of Ramla had his own seal before 1120, normally a clear sign of seigneurial status but doubtfully so here, in view of the fact that Baldwin became a rear-vassal in 1108–10. In fact the *terminus ante quem* for the seal must be moved to 1138, the old dating having been based on the earlier, erroneous view that Baldwin did not live beyond 1120. I have recently been able to show that he was still alive in 1138. See Hans E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten,* Abhandlungen der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, N.F. 83 (Munich, 1978), p. 47; idem, "Carving up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas," *Outremer,* p. 106.

[28] Hans E. Mayer, "The Origins of the County of Jaffa," *Israel Exploration Journal* for 1985 (in proof).

[29] Hans E. Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 108–9 and n. 31a.

Ramatensi,"[30] from which we may safely conclude that (although Baldwin of Ramla had the political weight of a quasi-seigneur) Ramla at this time formed a fief held from the count of Jaffa and was hence only a rear-fief of the king. If the lord of Jaffa could successfully raise himself to the dignity of a count, it is not surprising that the former castellan of Ramla should have succeeded in becoming, for all practical purposes, "lord" of Ramla.

This need not have troubled Baldwin's new lord in Jaffa. On the contrary, Hugh's ambition to be *comes, princeps,* or *consul* of Jaffa would have been helped if he had as his vassal a man who was considered to be *dominus* of Ramla, even though he was not styled as such (he was, however, called *de Ramatha* as of 1119).[31] As for the king, he may well have been concerned to safeguard the interests of Baldwin when he bestowed Jaffa, including Ramla, on Hugh I. If so, it would not have been sufficient to assure that the royal castellan would now become the count's castellan, inasmuch as the transfer from royal service to the service of a count would have represented a diminution of Baldwin's social standing — loss of membership in the king's council, for example. A better solution would have been to guarantee that Baldwin should hold the former royal castellany of Ramla as a direct fief from the count of Jaffa, under the obligation of military service. The definition of the official status of the fief may in fact have been deferred by the crown, which would have facilitated the rise of Ramla to a quasi-seigneury. Certainly this was Ramla's status in 1120, when Baldwin participated along with the most powerful magnates in the Council of Nablus, although he was formally still a vassal of the count of Jaffa as late as 1126.

In 1134 Hugh II of Jaffa revolted against the king and lost his fief, and the county of Jaffa reverted to the crown. Consequently the problem of the official status of Baldwin of Ramla could no longer be overlooked by the royal government. When the county was reunited with the royal domain, Baldwin could have been reappointed royal castellan at Ramla. But the vassals of Jaffa, led by the constable Barisan-le-Vieux, had decided the fate of the count's revolt by going over to the king's camp. They had to be rewarded, and Barisan-le-Vieux was later given the castle and lordship of Ibelin, from which the family was to take its name. Baldwin of Ramla had been the count's most powerful vassal after Barisan. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Baldwin listed by the king among the royal barons in 1136 and styled "Ramensis dominus" in 1138. Later, in 1160, his grandson Hugh of Ibelin referred to Baldwin as "Ramathensis Latinorum dominus primus," the man who had had the seal cut for himself which Hugh was still using.[32]

The seal is a very clear indication that Baldwin was no longer a quasi-seigneur and vassal of the count of Jaffa, but had risen to the offical status of

[30] *RRH* no. 113.
[31] *RRH* no. 87.
[32] *RRH* nos. 164, 174, 360.

a seigneur of the kingdom, as confirmed by the sealing practice of his grandson Hugh. In 1151 the county of Jaffa was again separated from the royal domain, as the appanage of Amaury, brother of King Baldwin III.[33] The lords of Ramla once more became formally vassals of the count of Jaffa. But Hugh had his grandfather's seal and used it, except when he issued his charters under the direct supervision of his lord, the count of Jaffa and Ascalon. On two occasions of this kind between 1155 and 1158 Hugh had his charters sealed by the count's seal for the surprising reason, "tum quia ipse sigillum non habeo" — which was legally correct, but actually untrue.[34] If we take the title and the seal together, Baldwin of Ramla had by 1136 become *de jure* the lord of Ramla, a position which had been his *de facto,* as vassal of the count of Jaffa, since ca. 1108–10. We can be virtually certain that before then he had been the king's castellan at Ramla.

The strategic importance of Ramla and Lydda was considerable. As noted by Fulcher of Chartres for 1102: "Hos quidem Christianos [the Syro-Christians living in a suburb of Ramla] Saraceni persaepe nocentes et deturbantes conabantur et arcem illam [Ramla] diruere, quia propter eos inhabitantes non poterant per plana illa libere percurrere."[35] Ramla and Lydda controlled the coastal road from Ascalon to the north, especially to Jaffa, which was the only Christian port until the conquest of Acre in 1104 (Caesarea was conquered in 1101, but apparently it never developed into a flourishing port). They also controlled the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa, which for a long time was quite insecure.[36] As long as Ascalon remained an unconquered outpost of the Fatimid state, Ramla and Lydda were endangered, and their responsibility for the defense of the kingdom remained crucial at least until the later 1130s. Although Ascalon was not conquered until 1153, between 1136 and 1142 a ring of "counter castles" (Bait Jibrin, Ibelin, Blanchegarde) had been established around Ascalon, which made it possible to contain the Fatimids and check attacks well before they reached Ramla and Lydda.

As noted above, the bishop of Ramla-Lydda either never received Ramla or by 1102 had already lost it. He was restricted to Lydda, with its castlelike church, and the adjoining territory. Jean Richard has assembled the scanty evidence for the military strength of the bishop,[37] who in 1099 is said to have assisted Eustace III of Boulogne in conquering Jaffa.[38] In the course of the

[33] Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 162.

[34] Mayer, *Siegelwesen,* p. 50.

[35] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* 2.15.2, p. 426.

[36] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia* 2.4, pp. 373–74, and 2.37, pp. 514–17. *Vie et pèlerinage de Daniel, hégoumène russe,* trans. B. de Khitrowo, *Itinéraires russes,* pp. 10–11.

[37] Jean Richard, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), pp. 101 ff. (trans. Janet Shirley, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* [Amsterdam, 1979], p. 109).

[38] Baudri of Dol, *Historia,* MS G, p. 110, n. 6.

frequent battles and skirmishes near Ramla and Jaffa from 1102 to 1105, the bishop is heard from only in 1102 (so, too, the royal garrison at Ramla), and the size of the *clientela* that allowed him to withstand the siege of the cathedral cannot be determined. A charter issued in 1115 by Bishop Roger of Lydda with the consent of his chapter is attested by the archdeacon, the dean, and the chantor. While other members of the chapter are at least mentioned summarily, the remainder of the witness list contains members of the episcopate and crown vassals, but not a single vassal of the bishop. The same is true of an episcopal charter of 1136.[39] In a charter issued by the bishop in 1138 or 1139 "omnibus canonicis capituli mei et baronibus meis concedentibus," his entourage includes five canons and eight laymen, but not much can be ascertained from the list.[40] One of the laymen, a nephew of Patriarch William of Jerusalem, also attested a charter of King Fulk in 1138.[41] Another was Viscount Peter, who since no district is named must be assumed to be the episcopal viscount for Lydda. In 1147 the bishop issued a charter "assentiente capitulo sancti Georgii, collaudantibus etiam hominibus et amicis meis."[42] The witness list contains six clerics and four laymen, of whom two had previously been counted among the "barons" of the bishop. He still had a viscount, now named Gerald.

Military duties on behalf of the whole kingdom in the plain of Ramla could easily have led to competition between the bishop of Ramla-Lydda and the lord of Ramla, especially after 1141, when the husband of the lady of Ramla also held the castle and lordship of Ibelin, to which in 1152 the castle and lordship of Mirabel were added. The territory of Lydda was bracketed by Ramla to the south and Mirabel to the north, and in these locations as well as in Ibelin itself the bishop had to deal with the Ibelin family, one of the most ambitious feudal clans of the Latin East.

The Ibelin family had accumulated fiefs by virtue of which they greatly outranked the bishop of Lydda in the feudal system of the kingdom. According to the lawbook of John of Ibelin, the bishop owed the service of ten knights to the king, as did the lord of Ibelin. But the lord of Ramla and Mirabel owed forty knights for the two lordships together.[43] The Ibelins in Ramla, Ibelin, and Mirabel commanded five times as many vassals as the bishop of Ramla-Lydda. Even before Ibelin and Mirabel were attached to Ramla, the lord of Ramla must have had more knights than the bishop; Ramla was the bigger and more important part of the double lordship of Ramla-Mirabel and must have furnished the majority of the forty knights —

[39] *RRH* nos. 76b, 165.
[40] *RRH* no. 190.
[41] *RRH* no. 174.
[42] *RRH* no. 246.
[43] *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 271, p. 422.

in any case more than the bishop of Ramla-Lydda. As early as 1102 the royal garrison of Ramla had numbered fifteen knights.

There is evidence pointing to the position of the bishop of Lydda being challenged in the 1120s by a short-lived attempt to establish a secular lordship there. While the instigator of the challenge cannot be identified with certainty, the occasion seems to have been provided by the captivity of King Baldwin II, who was held by the Muslims in Syria from April 1123 until August 1124. Baldwin did not return to Jerusalem until April 1125, when he was immediately called to Antioch.[44] On his way to Antioch he issued *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* no. 105 in Acre on 2 May 1125. This document, a confirmation of the *Pactum Warmundi,* includes in its witness list an enigmatic "Liddensis domnus," who is unidentified in the two twelfth- and thirteenth-century copies. In other copies he is called "Guido" (two copies of the *Liber Pactorum* of Venice, thirteenth and fourteen century) or "Hugh" (Venice, MS Marciana 3198, fol 44r, thirteenth century; Milan, MS Ambrosiana A.141 inf., fol. 350r, seventeenth century).

A man named Hugh of Ramla appears as a witness in *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* nos. 112, 113, and 130. In no. 130 he is listed after the viscount of Jerusalem, not a very prominent position, while in nos. 112 and 113 he appears ahead of a powerful vassal, the elder Guy of Milly. He cannot have been lord of Ramla, since Baldwin of Ramla ruled there until 1138. Nor was he the son of Baldwin or of Baldwin's daughter Helvis of Ramla.[45] One must conclude that he came from the town of Ramla but was not a member of the ruling family. That he held land in the area is indicated by the two villages in the territory of Lydda that he gave to the Hospitallers with the consent of his lord, Count Hugh of Jaffa. The villages were confirmed to the Hospitallers from 1129 on.[46]

Whether it was this Hugh of Ramla who attempted to establish a secular lordship at Lydda is impossible to say. He is perhaps a likely candidate; the challenge to the bishop of Lydda resembles similar actions by Hugh's lord, Count Hugh of Jaffa, in the same years. Count Hugh, together with his constable Barisan-le-Vieux, was trying to establish the presumption that Ascalon — as yet unconquered — should be added to his county.[47] At any rate, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* no. 105, the only document in which a lord of Lydda is mentioned, indicates that the attempt was made and that it must have been ephemeral.[48] Once King Baldwin II had returned from captivity

[44] Hans E. Mayer, "Jérusalem et Antioche au temps de Baudouin II," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1980), 728–29.

[45] Mayer, "Carving up Crusaders," p. 109, n. 25.

[46] *RRH* nos. 130, 293.

[47] *RRH* nos. 102a, 112, 113. Mayer, *Bistümer,* pp. 151–56.

[48] Jean Richard has proposed that the "Liddensis domnus" of *RRH* no. 105 may have held only the advowson of Lydda (*Royaume latin,* pp. 101–2), but the text refers to a "domnus" and not an "advocatus." Furthermore, apart from the somewhat obscure situation at the Holy

and his regency of Antioch was ended in 1126, the king's strengthened position vis-à-vis his nobles no doubt spelled the end of the pretensions of the lord of Lydda.

When the various shreds of evidence are combined, the episode of 1125 may be seen to have taken place in the context of a rivalry between Ramla and Lydda that may well have begun in 1099 and persisted until the downfall of Count Hugh II of Jaffa in 1134. During that period the status of both Ramla and Lydda was uncertain, allowing for the possibility on each side of claims against the other.

On their part the bishops of Lydda put forward claims to Ramla, based on promises made or alleged to have been made in 1099 (and so reported by William of Tyre). These claims were unsuccessful, but apparently they persisted until ca. 1160. It is only after 1161 that the bishop uses Lydda alone in his title; before then Ramla and Lydda (or St. George) are generally speaking used indiscriminately.[49] In the royal chancery the same change comes between 1144 and 1147.[50] The claim to the episcopal title of Ramla was

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Sepulcher under Godfrey of Bouillon, the institution of advowson is otherwise practically unknown in the Holy Land. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Title of Godfrey of Bouillon," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 52 (1979), 83–86, who on the whole convincingly argues that Godfrey never used the title of Advocate of the Holy Sepulcher. William of Tyre, for example, does not refer to him as advocate. But Riley-Smith overlooked William's reference to King Amaury I as "locorum venerabilium dominicae passionis et resurrectionis defensor et advocatus" (*Historia* 20.22, p. 982). The only other advocate that we know of is the founder of the abbey of Palmarea in Galilee: "Gormundus abbatie advocatus, patronus et fundator" (*RRH* no. 495; cf. Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Palmarée abbaye clunisienne du XIIe siècle en Galilée," *Revue bénédictine* 93 [1983], 262).

[49] Up to 1161 there are twenty-two references to a bishop of Ramla (*RRH* nos. 52, 57, 68a, 76b, 80, 90, 122, 134, 160, 164, 165, 172, 174, 190, 226, 229, 234, 246, 291, 358, 360, 371) and eleven references to a bishop of Lydda (*RRH* nos. 68, 102, 105, 167, 201, 244, 299, 323, 333, 354, 372). From then on the bishop is invariably called the bishop of Lydda (*RRH* nos. 451a, 455, 456, 458b, 467, 469, 472, 476, 480, 484, 490, 492, 497, 498, 539, 594, 624, 637a, 653–55, 1039, 1083, 1123, 1129, 1202, 1207, 1356, 1378, 1421, 1466), with a possible exception in *RRH* no. 652a of 1186.

[50] The chancery used the Ramla title between 1108 and 1144 (*RRH* nos. 52, 57, 68a, 80, 90, 91, 134, 164, 174, 274). The same title also appears in 1152 (*RRH* no. 291, copied there from nos. 80, 90, 134) and in 1166 (*RRH* no. 422a, apparently taken from a donation, here confirmed, that had been made by Bishop Roger, who is predominantly styled bishop of Ramla). *RRH* no. 105 of 1125 is exceptional in using the Lydda title in this period, no doubt repeating this title from the *Pactum Warmundi* (*RRH* no. 102) of 1123, of which no. 105 is the royal confirmation. But no. 105 is also the one charter showing the attempt to establish a secular lordship at Lydda. In view of this challenge to his position, the bishop may have insisted on the use of the Lydda title. Or perhaps the king, having been absent from the kingdom, was not prepared to settle the question and used the Lydda title to stress that he had not made up his mind.

From 1147 on the royal chancery used the Lydda title (*RRH* nos. 244 of 1147, 299 of 1155, 354 of 1160, 451a of 1168, 467 of 1169, 624 of 1183, 653–55 of 1186, 1466 of 1286). The "episcopus Ramatensis" of no. 57 was changed to "episcopus Liddensis" when the charter was reissued in 1154 (no. 293). In spite of the large gap from 1147 to 1171 in the charters issued by

important, under whatever color it was advanced, in that it might have become the basis for a secular claim. In the thirteenth century John of Ibelin, the best of the Eastern feudal lawyers and himself lord of Ramla, invariably referred to the bishop with the title bishop of St. George of Lydda, whether he was speaking of the ecclesiastical division of the kingdom, of its secular division, or of the military service due to the king.[51]

In Lydda, the bishop had been accepted by the king as a vassal at a relatively early stage. In 1110 the king confirmed to the Hospitallers the land in the township of Lydda given to them by the bishop.[52] He did so because he had to confirm all grants made by his vassals to ecclesiastical corporations, in that such grants diminished the fief and hence the vassal's capacity to render service. In 1115, when the bishop gave the village of Sephoria (situated halfway between Lydda and Jaffa) to the abbey of Josaphat, he was careful to note the royal assent that had been sought and obtained.[53] These transactions reflect a firm understanding between the king and the bishop that the bishop was the king's vassal, but they do not establish that he was already a seigneur of the kingdom. Lydda may have been considered a part of the royal domain, held in fief by the bishop, a circumstance that would

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the bishops, it would seem that they did not give up their title to Ramla until shortly after 1160. They styled themselves bishops of Ramla in 1115, 1136, 1138–39, and 1147 (*RRH* nos. 76b, 165, 190, 246). By 1171 they had switched to styling themselves bishops of Lydda (*RRH* no. 490). But the abbot of St. Joseph and Habacuc, who was considered a "suffragan" of the bishop of Lydda (*Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 267, p. 417) and may therefore be expected to have used the same style as his bishop, called him bishop of Ramla as late as 1160 (*RRH* no. 358).

In short, the bishops continued to style themselves bishops of Ramla until about 1160, even after a secular lordship of Ramla had received official recognition in the 1130s. This indicates a claim on the part of the bishops to seigneurial status in Ramla and not merely a statement that Ramla was part of their diocese. Otherwise the consistent change in the use of the title would make no sense, and one would expect the two titles to be used indiscriminately after 1161 as before. The royal chancery had withdrawn the use of the Ramla title around the middle of the 1140s in order to bring royal charters in accord with the political situation at Ramla and Lydda. By 1160 the bishops were resigned to this situation and gave up their claim to Ramla; thereafter they regarded Lydda both as the chief place of their diocese and as their *caput baroniae*. Once the bishops acceded to the change, everyone quickly followed suit, and the Ramla title virtually disappeared (with the possible exception of *RRH* no. 652a of 1186). Hugh of Ibelin, lord of Ramla, used the Lydda title (*RRH* no. 333 of 1158; cf. no. 472 of 1169), except in *RRH* no. 360 of 1160, a confirmation of the earlier charter by the abbot of St. Joseph and Habacuc.

Evidence from chronicles, given their more loosely applied terminology, is not as important as evidence from charters and legal sources. But it needs to be stressed that William of Tyre, an archbishop and a Bologna-trained lawyer writing after 1165, invariably uses the term bishop of Lydda and never bishop of Ramla. William even went so far as to change the bishop's title in his list of the participants of the Council of Nablus in 1120 — from "Rogerius Ramatensis episcopus" in his source (MS Vat. lat. 1345, in Mansi, 21:263) to "Rogerus Liddensis episcopus" (*Historia* 12.13, p. 532). Otherwise the sixteen names and titles in the list are identical, even with regard to the order in which the participants are named.

[51] *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 267, 270, 271, pp. 417, 420, 422.

[52] *RRH* no. 57.

[53] *RRH* no. 76b, excerpted in Mayer, *Bistümer*, pp. 340 ff.

have facilitated the attempt to set up a secular lordship of Lydda during the king's absence. The collapse of this attempt must have strengthened the bishop's position at Lydda, paving the way for the final definition of his status — and that of the lord of Ramla — in the wake of the downfall of Hugh II of Jaffa in 1134.

While the bishop had vassals as early as 1102, when his *clientela* is mentioned, they do not appear in his charters of 1115 and 1136. In the episcopal charters of 1138/39 and 1147, on the other hand, the vassals are expressly mentioned; they are a distinct social group, giving their assent to the bishop's actions. In the same charters the bishop has a viscount, a prerogative shared with the king and his magnates, for whom the viscount was the most important administrative officer. Furthermore, as far as we can tell from the fragmentary charter evidence, it was in 1138 or 1139 that the bishop began the practice of affixing a seal to his charters.[54] And at precisely this time the knightly levy of the bishop, the "militia sancti Georgii," makes one fleeting appearance in the chronicles. William of Tyre reports that in 1137 Renaud, surnamed the Bishop, a nephew of Bishop Roger of Lydda and leader of the "militia sancti Georgii," was ambushed by the Muslims while fighting near Ascalon.[55] All of this points toward the conclusion that the seigneurial

[54] *RRH* no. 190. Cf. Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, pp. 30–31.

[55] William of Tyre, *Historia* 14.26, p. 646. This has been interpreted in various ways. René Grousset, *Histoire des croisades et du royaume franc de Jérusalem*, 2 (Paris, 1935), p. 76, felt that Renaud was the marshal of a "compagnie de St. George" (the wording of the Old French translation of William of Tyre) charged with the defense of the mark of Lydda. Emily A. Babcock and A. C. Krey, *History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre*, 2, Records of Civilization 35 (New York, 1943), p. 87 and n. 62, spoke of Renaud as the "head of the Order of St. George," which they quite evidently confuse with the military order of St. Thomas of Canterbury at Acre, founded by the English. Jean Richard, *Royaume latin*, p. 102 (*Latin Kingdom*, p. 109), considered the militia of St. George to have been the feudal levy of the bishop of Lydda, and like Grousset he took Renaud to have been its marshal. Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, 1 (Paris, 1969), p. 323, n. 15, saw in Renaud (erroneously named Roger) the commander of the garrison of Lydda, which would be roughly equivalent to the views of Grousset and Richard. But elsewhere (1:495) he reflected in passing that a knightly order of St. George might have existed at Lydda. This conclusion is tempting, but no member of such an order is mentioned in the charters. Furthermore, William of Tyre refers to Renaud as "primicerius" of the militia of St. George, a title that he does not use elsewhere for an official of a knightly order. The *primicerius* is always a leader of troops (*Historia* 1.28, p. 65 [twice]; 2.13, p. 91; 2.19, p. 100; 3.23, p. 146; 4.8, p. 163; 6.16, p. 262; 6.20, p. 267; 7.24, p. 316; 11.14, p. 476; 15.23, p. 694; 16.4, p. 710; 18.19, p. 853 [twice]). Decisive for William's use of the word is 16.22, p. 743: "quidam nobilis militiae suae primicerius, Turcorum magnus satrapa," which rules out the possibility that a *primicerius militiae* could be the master of a knightly order. For these references I thank Prof. Huygens of Leiden. In conclusion, we must regard the "militia sancti Georgii" as the feudal contingent of the bishop of Lydda, fighting under the command of the bishop's nephew, who had been a vassal of Hugh II of Jaffa until Hugh's downfall in 1133 or 1134 (*RRH* nos. 114, 147). Whether Renaud held the formal title of marshal, as the Old French translation implies, is debatable (the office does not appear in the ecclesiastical seigneury of Nazareth until 1259 [*RRH* no. 1280]). He nevertheless fulfilled the function of a marshal,

position of the bishop of Lydda did not become official, or at least did not remain unopposed, until sometime between 1134 and 1138. This coincides with the time when Baldwin of Ramla, after an up and down career of more than three decades, likewise obtained the official status of seigneur.

After 1099, the neighboring and sometimes rival settlements of Ramla and Lydda had nearly parallel histories under their respective rulers, the final outcome of which was not to be determined for nearly thirty-five years. Then, as a consequence of the downfall of Count Hugh II of Jaffa, the political situation at Ramla and Lydda was finally consolidated. The secular lordship at Ramla and the ecclesiastical lordship at Lydda achieved separate and independent seigneurial status.

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since the bishop could not himself lead his vassals in fighting. By appointing his nephew to this position, the bishop assured his control over his vassals.

XV

CARVING UP CRUSADERS: THE EARLY IBELINS AND RAMLAS

In 1965 Count W.H. Rüdt de Collenberg[1] published a genealogy of the early generations of the house of Ibelin, later the most important feudal clan in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. As the early Ibelins were already of great importance in the kingdom, their genealogy commands the interest of the crusading historian. Rüdt de Collenberg revised the family's genealogy as established by Ducange-Rey.[2] I accepted his findings at first, but later expressed reservations,[3] on which I now should like to elaborate. Two of his main points are in need of correction, and this will lead us back to Ducange-Rey: (1) that the founder of the family, Barisan-le-Vieux, Constable of Jaffa, must be split into two different Barisans succeeding one another in direct sequence; (2) that a whole additional generation must be inserted into the genealogy of the Lords of Ramla after Baldwin I of Ramla. This argument still seemed to be convincing to me in 1972. In order to understand its linkage with the Ibelin genealogy, one must remember that a Barisan of Ibelin (the second one according to Rüdt de Collenberg) married Helvis, daughter of, and heir to, Baldwin I of Ramla, indeed a match of considerable importance for the rising Ibelin family.

The first contention (p. 452 f.) is easy to refute. Rüdt de Collenberg deduced from RRH no. 135 that Barisan-le-Vieux was dead by the end of September

1 Weyprecht H. Rüdt de Collenberg, "Les premiers Ibelins," *Moyen Age* 71 (1965), 433-474.

2 *Les familles d'Outremer de Du Cange*, ed. Emmanuel G. Rey (Paris, 1869), pp. 360-379, with genealogical tree p. 375.

3 Cf. my review in *Deutsches Archiv* 22 (1966), 316 and my "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 119, n. 49f. Even then I regarded one of his conclusions which I now wish to disprove as "undoubtedly correct."

1145. In this charter Patriarch William I of Jerusalem, who died on 27 September 1145,[4] confirmed the statutes of the hospital of the Saviour founded by abbot Hugh of St. Mary of the Valley of Josaphat with the help of a confraternity.

> Nomina vero illorum, qui se primitus in hac confraternitate miserunt, sunt hec: domnus Balduinus rex primus et domnus Bernardus episcopus de Nazareth, Guillelmus de Buris, Guido de Miliaco, Goscelinus domnus de Tiberiade, domnus Balianus et ceteri plures, qui mortui sunt.

Combining the full printed version with Röhricht's abstract, Rüdt de Collenberg (p. 453) quoted this text in a fashion which never existed except in his own imagination:

> Balduini I (Rex), Guillelmi de Buris, Guidonis de Miliaco, Joscelini de Tiberiadis, Baliani et aliorum benefactorum mortuorum et ceteri plures qui mortui sunt.

By *his* insertion of the phrase *et aliorum benefactorum mortuorum* he was led to believe that all benefactors named in the confirmation by Patriarch William were dead, when William issued his charter some time during his term of office (after 27 September 1130—27 September 1145). In fact, because he assumed all benefactors to have been dead at the time of issue, he dated RRH no. 135 in the early 1140s, because William of Buris was still alive in early 1141 (RRH no. 201). If all benefactors listed were dead by 1145, this applied also to the *domnus Balianus* who is no doubt Barisan-le-Vieux. But it is this assumption by Rüdt de Collenberg which is wrong, and to which he was led by doubling the word *mortuus.* The only time it occurs is in the phrase *et ceteri plures, qui mortui sunt.* The relative clause clearly does not apply to all benefactors, but only to the *ceteri plures* whose names were no longer known because they had joined the confraternity in its early days but were long since deceased. This difficulty removed, we regain the old familiar Barisan-le-Vieux who was in the Holy Land before 1115 and was constable of Jaffa by this year (RRH no. 80), represented Jaffa at the Council of Nablus in 1120,[5] staked a claim together with Hugh of Jaffa in 1123 and 1126 for adding Ascalon to the county,[6] held fiefs from Hugh of Jaffa outside the county in 1127 which later reverted to the crown,[7] returned his fiefs in the county to the count when he led the Jaffa

4 WT, 16.17, p. 733. Rudolf Hiestand, "Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem um 1130," *Deutsches Archiv* 26 (1970), 229.
5 RRH nos. 89.90. Mayer, *Bistümer,* p. 145.
6 RRH nos. 102a.112.113. Mayer, *Bistümer,* pp. 137-156, 169f.
7 RRH no. 120. Mayer, *Bistümer,* pp. 143-145.

vassals into the king's camp during Hugh's revolt in 1134,[8] was enfeoffed in 1141 with the name-giving castle of Ibelin, took part in the great war council at Acre in 1148[9] and is mentioned alive for the last time in RRH no. 262 of early 1150.[10] Most likely still in the same year, his widow Helvis of Ramla married the kingdom's constable Manasses of Hierges.[11] By that time, but certainly not by 1145, as supposed by Rüdt de Collenberg, the formidable Barisan-le-Vieux, founder of the house of Ibelin, constable of Jaffa and first lord of Ibelin, was dead. By 1145 he was still very much alive. Only the *ceteri plures* who, together with Barisan, had founded the confraternity at Josaphat were dead by 1145.

Rüdt de Collenberg (p. 452 f.) adduced another argument in favour of his splitting poor Barisan in the middle. His first and his second Barisan were both married to a woman called Helvis. Rüdt de Collenberg clearly saw the improbability of having two Barisans, father and son, being both married to a Helvis. Yet he found this conclusion inescapable on account of RRH no. 100 of 1122, which shows a Barisan, Constable of Jaffa (Rüdt de Collenberg's Barisan I), to have been married to a woman named Helvis and having two sons named Hugh and Baldwin. That they were his sons is not expressly said in RRH no. 100, where they appear as giving their consent to Barisan's charter, but is proven by the confirmation RRH no. 423 and by RRH no. 252 of 1148, one of the cornerstones for the genealogy of the early Ibelins, as Rüdt de Collenberg clearly recognized. As they could give their consent, they both were apparently at least 8 years old.[12] Their brother Barisan the Younger could not give his

8 Ibid., p. 145. I argued for this date rather than 1132 in Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 104 f. Jean Richard, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam, 1979), p. 96, remains unconvinced, but cf. p. 155, n. 22,24.

9 WT, 17.1, p. 759.

10 For the date of this charter see Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 138.

11 Ibid., p. 155.

12 The *venia aetatis* for males was reached with 15; cf. Mayer, "Queen Melisende," pp. 112-114. But Rudolf Hiestand, "Zwei unbekannte Diplome der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem aus Lucca," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 50 (1971), p. 28 n. 93, observed with his usual scholarly acumen that, perhaps, a limited legal competence, allowing a male to give consents, may have been attained at the age of eight, because it is at this age that the consent of the later King Baldwin III begins to appear. I expressed some reservations in "Queen Melisende," p. 112, n. 35, because Amalric I did not begin to give his consent until he was 10 or 11 years old. But his consents were definitely also a political matter. But already in 1972 I felt that Hiestand's line of thought should be pursued. I must now fully come over to his side, as otherwise the problem of Helvis's sons would be unsolvable. When using the age of eight in the following pages, this is, of course, an approximative figure, arrived at only by observation but without any definite statement in the sources to this effect. In reading Rüdt de Collenberg's article, one must bear in mind that he felt that full majority had to be attained by males before they could give their consent. This is certainly contradicted by both Baldwin III and Amalric I.

consent in 1155, because he was *infra annos,* but had reached the age of eight in 1158, when he did give his consent (RRH nos. 299.332). Disregarding the problem of when legal competence for consents started, if two sons Hugh and Baldwin were alive by 1122, they should have been born, at the latest, in 1121 and 1122. If their mother Helvis is supposed to have been 17 years old, when she gave birth to Hugh not later than 1121, she herself would have been born not later than 1104. This would have made her 47 years old when she married the Constable Manasses in 1150. But from him Helvis still had two daughters, the older one of whom cannot have been born later than late 1150 or early 1151,[13] because in the spring of 1152 Manasses was exiled for ever from the kingdom. The younger one would have been born in 1152, when Helvis was at least 49—*if* her sons Hugh and Baldwin had been born just preceding RRH no. 100. If this was *not* the case, then Helvis would have been well over 50 when she had her last two daughters. There is a clear biological improbability, nay impossibility, here which Rüdt de Collenberg clearly saw. He resolved it by also splitting Helvis of Ramla into two women, an older one of uncertain extraction (wife of Rüdt de Collenberg's Barisan I, Constable of Jaffa) and a second one, daughter of the Lord of Ramla (wife of Rüdt de Collenberg's Barisan II) (p. 454). Disregarding Rüdt de Collenberg's argument as to the age of Helvis, because he assumes that consents could only be given after having come of age at 15, or rather adapting his argument to a limited degree of legal competence reached at 8, we get the following picture: Hugh and Baldwin, both sons of Barisan of Ibelin and Helvis of Ramla, gave their consent in 1148 (RRH no. 252). Both were therefore at least 8 years old. Consequently they were not born later than 1139 (Hugh) and 1140 (Baldwin). Then Hugh would possibly have been only 14 years old when participating in the siege of Ascalon in 1153,[14] but it was by no means uncommon that adolescents of this age were already engaged in warfare. King Baldwin III was still a minor, i.e. under 15, when he crushed a revolt in Oultrejourdain in 1144.[15] If Helvis of Ramla was about 17 when she gave birth to Hugh, she cannot have been born later than 1122. She could still have had daughters in 1151 and 1152, respectively, being then 30 or slightly above.

It seems sound if Rüdt de Collenberg (p. 455) reverses the order of the two marriages of the mother of this (second) Helvis (of Ramla). Twice the 14th century *Lignages d'Outremer*[16] assert that her mother was a Flemish woman

13 Ibid., p. 155.
14 WT, 17.21, p. 796.
15 Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 117.
16 *Lignages d'Outremer* 14, 26, RHC Lois 2:452, 462.

called Stephanie who *first* married Guy of Milly, founder of another famous *lignage* of the Latin East, and *then* took Baldwin of Ramla for a second husband after Guy's death. But Rüdt de Collenberg pointed out that before 1115 Guy had made a donation to Josaphat for his soul and that of his wife Elisabeth (RRH no. 80).[17] His silent inference is that Elisabeth had died between 1115 and 1120. Guy of Milly lived on to ca. 1126, when he is last mentioned in January (RRH nos. 112.113). Baldwin of Ramla, on the other hand, so far disappeared from sight in 1120, when he was a participant in the Council of Nablus of 23 January 1120 and a witness to a royal charter of 31 January 1120 (RRH nos. 89.90). This would make it impossible that Stephanie should have married first Guy, living up to ca. 1126, and then Baldwin, who seemingly died ca. 1120. Rüdt de Collenberg's reversal seems to make sense: Guy's first wife Elisabeth died not too long after 1115. He then married Stephanie. If she was also married to Baldwin of Ramla, she must have been married to him before 1120, as she could not have married him, as the *Lignages* have us believe, after 1126, when he was long dead. But, reversely, if Baldwin of Ramla really died very soon after the end of January 1120, Guy of Milly, then a widower, could have married the widow of this powerful vassal.

But Rüdt de Collenberg's reversal has a serious shortcoming. Stephanie and Guy of Milly had three well-known sons: Philip, Henry and Guy of Milly, of whom the first rose to be Lord of Oultrejourdain and Master of the Knights Templar. His brother Guy, however, is consistently called *Guido Francigena* in the charters. He had still been born in France, before his father came to the Holy Land, where he makes his first appearance in 1108 (RRH no. 52). This observation reverses Rüdt de Collenberg's reversal. As undoubtedly Philip, Henry and Guy *Francigena* were sons of Stephanie and Guy of Milly, since they are repeatedly called uncles of Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla (RRH nos. 299.332), and as Guy *Francigena* was born before 1108, the marriage of their parents must necessarily have preceded the one between their mother and Baldwin of Ramla. In this case we must extend the life of Baldwin of Ramla, which is easy enough to do. His supposed year of death, 1120,[18] rests only on the fact that in 1122 in RRH no. 100 his successor (and son, according to Rüdt de Collenberg) Hugh makes his first appearance, already as Lord of Ramla. We shall show RRH no.

17 Rüdt de Collenberg is, however, quite wrong in asserting that this Elisabeth was no longer mentioned in RRH no. 90, confirming RRH no. 80.

18 It was still accepted by Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse 3. Folge 86 (Göttingen, 1974), p. 77, n. 12, in her fine biography of Philip of Nablus, and by Hans E. Mayer, *Das Siegelwesen in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge 83 (Munich, 1978), p. 47.

100 to be a forgery. With Hugh removed, a Baldwin of Ramla appears in 1136 and 1138 (RRH nos. 164.174.181) in the king's entourage among the barons or lords. William of Tyre[19] closes the case: In 1137 Baldwin of Ramla was *de regni proceribus* who retreated with the king into the castle of Montferrand and advised him in council.

The older Guy of Milly, then, was the first husband of Stephanie of Flanders. Their son Guy *Francigena* was born before 1108, ca. 1106. And now the difficulties begin. First of all, if he was the youngest son, as the *Lignages*[20] seem to say, then Philip of Nablus and Henry the Buffalo, his brother, were born even earlier, Philip ca. 1100. If his mother was then 17, she would have been born in 1083 and would have been already 43 years old, when her first husband died in 1126 and when she could have married Baldwin of Ramla, from whom she still had two children. This is not altogether impossible. But it is not certain that Philip was the oldest son.[21] As so much emphasis was placed on Guy

19 WT, 14.26, p. 645.

20 *Lignages d'Outremer* 14, RHC Lois 2:452. At least, he is called the third son, although Philip and Henry are not called the first and the second, but rather "one" and "another one" of three. Philip may have been listed first because he rose to the greatest prominence, while Guy, who died without offspring, was of little interest to the author of a genealogical source.

21 Philip succeeded in his father's fief in Samaria, and his brothers held rear-fiefs from him (RRH no. 366). This does not necessarily mean that he was the oldest son, because RRH no. 366 concerns almost only the family's holdings in Samaria, but not their very considerable feudal tenure in Galilee: (a) the fief which Philip had received from Rohard, former châtelain and viscount of Jerusalem, who went to Nablus with Queen Melisende after her downfall in 1152 and later called himself Rohard of Nablus. He was probably the father-in-law of Philip of Milly, better known as Philip of Nablus; cf. Bulst-Thiele, *Templi magistri*, p. 78; (b) the fief which Philip had received from his father Guy of Milly, who held money fiefs and land fiefs in Samaria (RRH no. 422a); (c) the fief which Guy *Francigena* had received from Rohard and later on held from Philip, obviously in Samaria and obviously a small fief, as a *Gui de Naples* (Guy *Francigena* much rather than his wealthy father Guy of Milly) owed one knight's service (*Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 271, RHC Lois 1:424); (d) the fief which Henry the Buffalo, also one of the Milly brothers, held from Philip, obviously also in Samaria, because Henry retained his very large holdings in Galilee up to his death in or about 1165, i.e. beyond RRH no. 366 of 1161. On his Galilean possessions see Hans E. Mayer, "Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden," *Ritterorden*, pp. 182-187; (e) the fief of Geoffroy Le Tort as he had held it from Philip. This and (f) Maron were both in Galilee. On the fief of Geoffroy Le Tort see last Marie-Luise Favreau, "Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Scandalion (Iskanderūne)," *ZDPV* 93 (1977), 22f. It is quite clear that at the time of RRH no. 366 Henry the Buffalo was already a crown vassal for his Galilean holdings (now or later mainly centred around St. George de Lebaene and Bouquiau, not far from Acre), because RRH no. 366 made no provision for a transfer of his service (for his Samaritan fief) from Philip to the king, whereas Guy *Francigena* and Geoffroy Le Tort only now became crown vassals, since such a transfer was expressly provided for. From the obvious exclusion of Lebaene and Bouquiau from RRH no. 366 we must conclude that old Guy of Milly's possessions had been divided after his death in the way provided for in case of several fiefs going to several sons: The sons chose individual fiefs from

Francigena having been born in France, his two brothers apparently were born in Palestine. Philip may have been the youngest and may have been the head of the family because he was the ablest. It should be remembered that both his brothers predeceased him. Sight is lost of Guy *Francigena* and Henry the Buffalo in 1165 (RRH nos. 412.422a), whereas Philip lived on to 1171.[22] If Guy was the oldest son, his mother's birthdate could be changed to ca. 1089, in which case she would have been only 37 when her first husband died in 1126.

But the real trouble comes with the two children she had from Baldwin of Ramla, Renier and Helvis. Renier was at least 8 years old when he witnessed a charter in 1141 (RRH no. 201). He was, therefore, not born later than 1133, when his mother was ca. 44. This is also still possible. Although genealogical trees are normally so arranged as to show Renier as the older of the two children, this is by no means certain. Helvis may have been the first-born. *If* her mother remarried immediately after Guy of Milly's death in 1126 (he is last mentioned in January), then with much luck Helvis could still have been born in the same year, but it is not very probable. But we have established (supra, p. 104) that she cannot have been born later than 1122, because she had Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla not later than 1139. Had she been born in 1126, for which there is no great probability, then she would have been only 13 when she had Hugh (and younger, if born later). While I have made a case for a woman of 13 giving birth,[23] one should preferably not multiply these cases. Yet one must either assume that her mother Stephanie not only remarried immediately upon the death of her first husband and also got immediately pregnant by him and that, furthermore, Helvis had her first child at the age of 13, or else assume that

their father's inheritance successively, according to their age. The oldest one had the first choice. Not before all heirs had chosen individual fiefs was there to be a partition of further fiefs remaining of the inheritance (*Livre au Roi* 28, RHC Lois 1:634; *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 148, RHC Lois 1:224). It may well have been that Henry the Buffalo chose Lebaene, in a fertile Galilean valley, before Philip had a choice. It could also have been that Guy *Francigena* chose Lebaene, if he predeceased his brother Henry. In this case he would also have been a crown vassal already before 1161. We do not know at what time Henry the Buffalo acquired Lebaene. We only know that he held it when he died ca. 1165 and when his inheritance gave rise to much legal dispute. Attention should be paid with regard to this problem to the fact that the *Lignages d'Outremer* (16, RHC Lois 2:454) have a chapter heading: *Ci devise et parole des hoirs de Guy le François,* but then the chapter opens with the statement that Guy le François = Guy *Francigena* died without heirs. In fact the complete chapter treats exclusively the succession not of Guy, but of his brother Henry the Buffalo. This might indicate that Lebaene came first to Guy and then to Henry. Philip would not have entered a claim, because by 1165 he had the much larger lordship of Oultrejourdain.

22 WT, 20.22, p. 981.

23 Hans E. Mayer, "Ibelin *versus* Ibelin: The Struggle for the Regency of Jerusalem 1253-1258," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 122 (1978), 47.

Stephanie's second marriage took place earlier than 1126, in other words that she remarried while her first husband was alive. This would necessitate the assumption that her first marriage was annulled. I find both options uncomfortable, but prefer the second over the first. Guy of Milly's "first" wife Elisabeth in RRH nos. 80.90 of 1115-20 must in any case be regarded as a misnomer for Stephanie. If Stephanie married Baldwin of Ramla in ca. 1121/22, Helvis could have been born in 1122 and could have had Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla in ca. 1139, so that he could have given consent in 1148 together with his brother Baldwin (born ca. 1140). The attraction of such a theory, which is based on an annulment of her first marriage to Guy of Milly, lies in the fact that Helvis of Ramla would have married Barisan-le-Vieux ca. 1137/38, when her father's life was coming to a close (supra, p. 106)[24] and when she was becoming a very desirable match, being about 15 years old and heiress to Ramla. It would also explain why her third son Barisan the Younger was not mentioned at all in RRH no. 252 of 1148. He was still *infra annos*, i.e. under the age required for consents in 1155, but could give his consent in 1158 (RRH nos. 299.332). If he was 8 in 1158, he was 5 in 1155 and had not yet been born in 1148.

Under this theory, Stephanie of Flanders could not have had any children from Guy of Milly after 1121/22. If Philip of Milly-Nablus was born about 1120, he would have been 18 when he made his first appearance in 1138 (RRH no. 174), 24 when he led a military expedition to Edessa in late 1144, 41 when he became Lord of Oultrejourdain in 1161 (RRH no. 366), 49 when he became Master of the Knights Templar in 1169, and 51 when he died ca. 1171. This is all possible, but he may well have been somewhat older. Dissolving Stephanie's first marriage ca. 1121/22 is, perhaps, not very good methodology, but it is surely better than reversing, with Rüdt de Collenberg, her mother's two marriages and letting her first marry Baldwin of Ramla and then Guy of Milly, as this is absolutely impossible, since Guy died in 1126 and Baldwin was still living in 1138—unless the marriage with Baldwin was dissolved before he died, and then we would be in the same position as we are when we retain the traditional sequence of the two marriages.

If it is already *prima vista* improbable that there were two Barisans married to two Helvises in direct succession, there are two more objections which Rüdt de Collenberg chose not to see. First of all, his first Barisan, after all the famous Constable of Jaffa and formidable founder of the house of Ibelin, would have married a Helvis who was an *inconnue*. This is very unlikely in a

24 If it is true that Helvis was married off not by her father but by her half-brother Philip of Nablus (*Lignages d'Outremer* 14, RHC Lois 2:453), then the marriage should still be placed in 1138 or very early in 1139 and Helvis would have had to become pregnant very quickly.

family which, at all times, placed great importance on concluding marriages which would accelerate the family's rise to the top. Also, Rüdt de Collenberg, precisely because he splits Barisan into two persons, must necessarily make Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla, Baldwin of Ibelin-Mirabel and Barisan the Younger sons of his Barisan II (p. 458), as this is established by RRH nos. 252.299. He also gives Baldwin of Ramla two sons, Hugh and Baldwin, because he must somewhere place Hugh, Lord of Ramla, and his brother Baldwin, Lord of Mirabel, mentioned in RRH no. 100 of 1122. His chief foundation for this assumption is that Hugh is styled Lord of Ramla.[25] But RRH no. 100 was not issued by Baldwin I of Ramla, who has so far been presumed to have been dead for two years, but who was really still very much alive (supra, p. 106). It was issued by the Constable Barisan of Jaffa, Rüdt de Collenberg's Barisan I. As, according to Rüdt de Collenberg, this Barisan never married into the Ramla family at all, whereas his Barisan II, supposed son of Barisan I, did so only ca. 1130 (p. 454, but cf. supra p. 107), one fails to see why a Lord of Ramla and his brother should have consented to a charter of Barisan I in 1122—unless they were *his* sons. Even within the wrong genealogical system of Rüdt de Collenberg one cannot escape the conclusion that Barisan I had not only a son Barisan II, but also two sons Hugh (of Ramla) and Baldwin (of Mirabel). But so did Barisan II! If we start from Rüdt de Collenberg's position, we arrive at two Barisans being married to two Helvises and both having three sons named Hugh, Baldwin and Barisan.

25 There is a Hugh of Ramla who appears in 1126 and 1129 (RRH nos. 112.113.130). He is listed in the last of these charters after the viscount of Jerusalem, which indicates a not very high rank, but in the first two charters he is, after all, listed before the older Guy of Milly. Yet he cannot have been a son of Baldwin I of Ramla, who had only two children, Helvis and Renier. Nor can he have been a son of Barisan-le-Vieux, because his son Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla was not born until ca. 1139 (supra, p. 104). Nor can he have been a Lord of Ramla, because Baldwin I was alive until 1138. We could simply ignore him in this paper, but we should like to call the reader's attention to the fact that he gave two villages in the territory of Lydda to the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem with the consent of his lord Count Hugh of Jaffa (RRH nos. 130.293). Now in RRH no. 105 of 1125, there occurs an enigmatic Lord of Lydda, where in the early days the bishop of Ramla-Lydda had held the position of a *seigneur*. This Lord of Lydda presented considerable difficulties already to the scribes who transmitted RRH no. 105. The original is lost. Two individual copies of the 12th and 13th centuries do not give a name at all, but simply let a Lord of Lydda witness the document. The two copies in the *Libri Pactorum* of Venice (late 13th and 14th centuries) call him Guy, whereas an otherwise not very good copy of the 13th century in the oldest manuscript of the Venetian statutes (Bibl. Marciana no. 3198) as well as a 17th century copy in the Bibl. Ambrosiana in Milan (A 141 inf.) call him Hugh. There may have been a short-lived attempt to create a lordship of Lydda as distinct from the lordship of Ramla which, technically speaking, was not yet a lordship, although Baldwin I carried on like a lord and had his own seal (Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, p. 47). This Hugh/Guy, Lord of Lydda, may have come from the town (not the family) of Ramla and may have taken his name with him into RRH nos. 112.113.130.

This is impossible. And indeed RRH no. 100 is the great stumbling-block in establishing the genealogy of the early Ibelins. Another experienced genealogist became confused by this charter. In a footnote, to which Rüdt de Collenberg once makes a fleeting reference, calling for considerable detective work in locating it, La Monte[26] confuses the matter beyond recognition, because he did not come to grips with RRH no. 100. He is still on seemingly safe ground when he states that Baldwin, brother of Hugh of Ramla, was the first known Lord of Mirabel and held it in 1122 (RRH no. 100). But then he goes on to say that, after Hugh's death, his brother Baldwin received Ramla as well and ruled there until 1138 (still correct) and that *he* married Stephanie, widow of Guy de Milly, and had by her Renier and Helvis. He confuses the Baldwin of Mirabel mentioned in RRH no. 100 with his grandfather Baldwin I of Ramla. Consequently, he arrives in his text at a startling conclusion: that Helvis of Ramla, wife of Barisan-le-Vieux, had an uncle called Hugh of Ramla and a father called Baldwin of Mirabel. In reality they were both her sons.

As the reader will by now be thoroughly confused, I reproduce on the adjacent page three genealogical tables, no. 1 being the traditional genealogy, no. 2 being La Monte's version, no. 3 being Rüdt de Collenberg's "revision." I must at the same time ask the reader to bear in mind that the traditional tree will be proven to be the correct one.

It will be noted that in the genealogical tree of Table 2 Hugh of Ramla and Baldwin of Mirabel are duplicated and that Barisan the Younger is not mentioned, because La Monte no longer knew whether to make him a son of Baldwin I of Ramla or of Barisan-le-Vieux!

Without RRH no. 100, the traditional tree (Table 1) would emerge very simply. As here is obviously the difficulty, we shall now look closer at this charter to show that the duplication of Hugh of Ramla and Baldwin of Mirabel in the trees of Tables 2 and 3 must be eliminated. The charter's authenticity has never been disputed, although it contains a number of irregularities. Admittedly it is not bad in style, but the oddities begin with the transmission. Today, there is no original, but only a mid-thirteenth century *inspeximus* drawn up by Adam, archdeacon of Acre (well attested in the 1250s), and by a prior of the Holy Sepulchre who occurs only here and styles himself strangely *J. abbas* (instead of *prior*) *sancti Sepulchri*. The title of *consul* given to "count" Hugh of Jaffa is certainly unique in the Holy Land, but it could reflect aspirations on

26 John L. La Monte, "The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades," *Speculum* 17 (1942), 116 n. 8. Rüdt de Collenberg, "Premiers Ibelins," p. 438, n. 33, referred to La Monte, "op. cit." n. 5 (*sic*, and without a page number), but had listed five works by La Monte p. 433!

Table 1 (traditional)

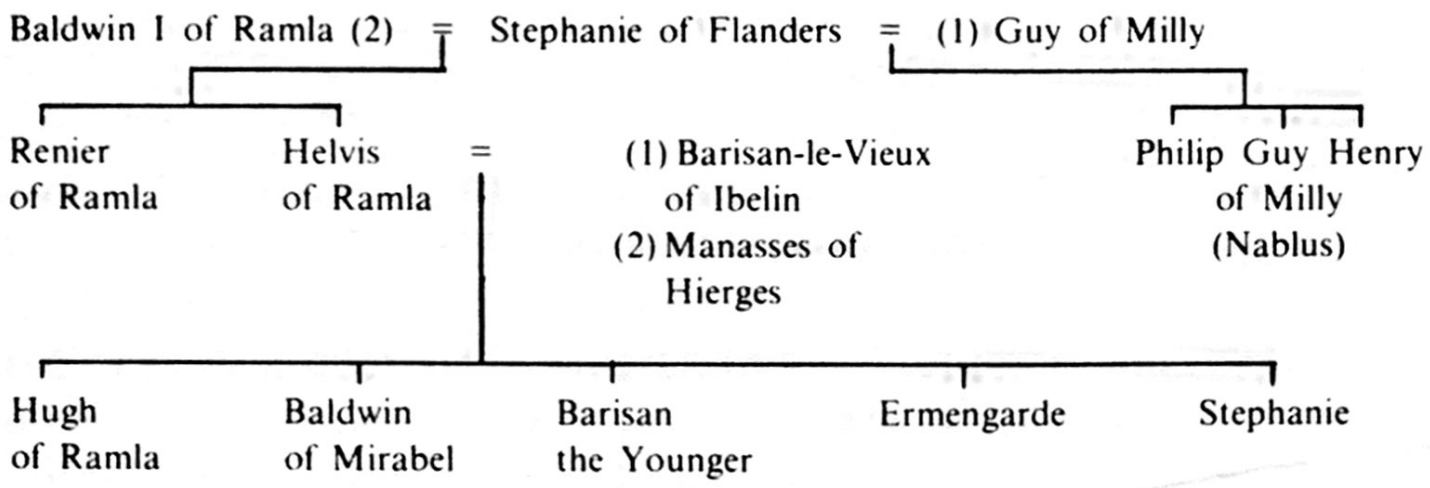


Table 2 (La Monte)

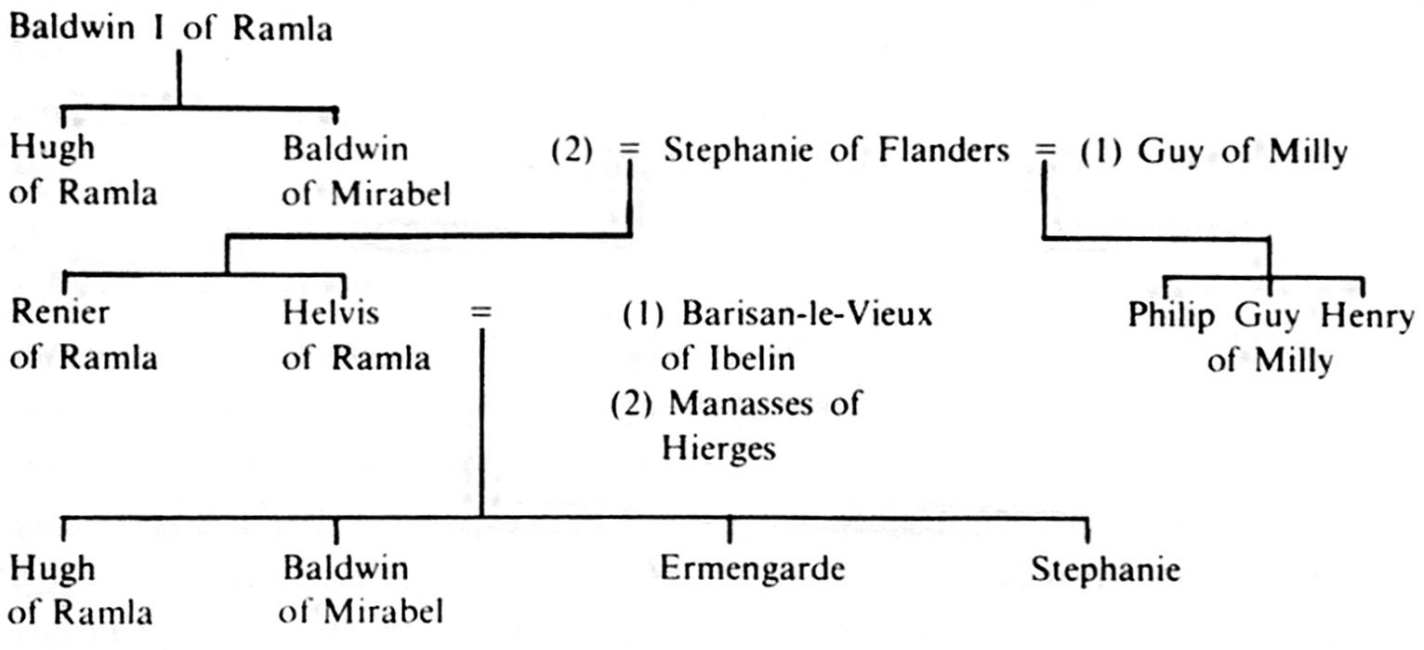
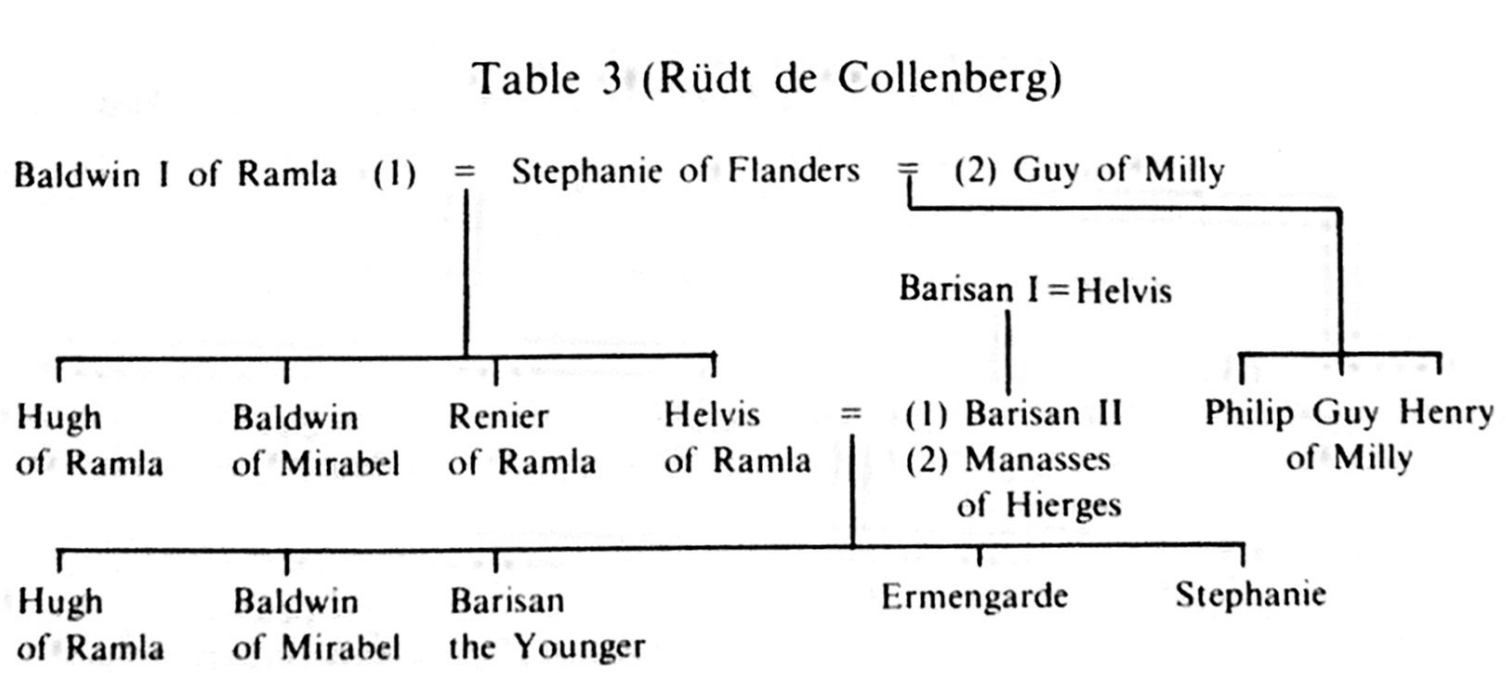


Table 3 (Rüdt de Collenberg)



part of the count to gain a semi-independent position[27] and it did have an illustrious precedent in France, the *consul Andegavorum* in the charters of the counts of Anjou. The date is not correct. The indiction 8 ought to be corrected to 15, the *epacta* 11 is correct, the *concurrentes* 5 should have been 6 for 1122. Hiestand[28] correctly rejected the idea of Delaville Le Roulx that the charter ought to be dated 1160, in which case all other elements of its date would be in perfect harmony. But in 1160 Barisan-le-Vieux, who issued it, was long dead. RRH no. 100 is a donation to the royal hospital of St. John in Nablus, the history of which was elucidated by Hiestand.[29] But the hospital is called a *cutocothroffium*. The scribe must have thought of something evidently Greek, but what this was, remains unclear. That it was meant to be a corruption of *ptochotrofeion,* a poor-house, was an ingenious thought of Delaville Le Roulx, which Hiestand[30] passed on to his readers with cautious reserve. While it does fit the institution, one does not see how, palaeographically or otherwise, one could become the other. There is definitely something strange about it.

But the real proof of a forgery is the consent of a *Balianus,* a synonym for Barisan. The charter was issued by Barisan-le-Vieux, Constable of Jaffa, with the consent of his lord Hugh, "consul" of Jaffa, and the king and founder of the hospital, Baldwin II. This is perfectly in order. It was made for the salvation of the soul of Barisan-le-Vieux, of his ancestors (we wish we knew who they were) and of his wife Helvis. Consents are given by Hugh, Lord of Ramla, and his brother Baldwin, Lord of Mirabel. This is only possible, if one splits Barisan-le-Vieux into two different persons, as Rüdt de Collenberg did. If we paste this divided gentleman together again, it is impossible, because his wife Helvis of Ramla was not born until ca. 1122 (supra, p. 104) and his sons Hugh and Baldwin from this marriage perforce even later. Helvis of Ramla and Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin cannot make an appearance in a document of 1122. But, quite apart from that, Barisan-le-Vieux and Helvis had a third son, Barisan the Younger. Nobody else but he can be the *Balianus* consenting to RRH no. 100. He is not expressly called the brother of Hugh and Baldwin, but that he was is apparent from the confirmation of RRH no. 100 issued by Baldwin of Mirabel in 1166 (RRH no. 423) and made with the consent of his brother Hugh of Ibelin (-Ramla) and his brother Balian (the Younger). Barisan the Younger, however, was 8 years old or older in 1158, was under 8 in 1155 and had not been born yet

27 So Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 108 where RRH no. 100 was, however, still accepted as genuine. Even without it, I believe that the rest of the evidence still supports my conclusions with regard to the aspirations of the Count of Jaffa.

28 "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," p. 18, n. 47.

29 Ibid., pp. 17-25.

30 Ibid., pp. 23 f.

in 1148 (RRH nos. 332.299.252). Like his brothers Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin, he could not possibly consent to a charter of 1122. Even if *infra annos* in RRH no. 299 were to mean "younger than 15," Barisan the Younger would not have been alive in 1122. Even Rüdt de Collenberg did not know what to do with him. While he made his two brothers in RRH no. 100 sons of Baldwin I of Ramla, he did not dare do this to Barisan the Younger. He mentions him once (p. 438) as having "signed" a document together with the Constable Barisan in 1122, but he does not refer the reader to RRH no. 100, although the reference is obviously to it, but cites La Monte in a way which is very hard to locate and the location of which reveals that La Monte there carefully avoided all reference to Barisan the Younger.[31] Rüdt de Collenberg seems to link him with the very old knight Bīran, born in 1106, who lived in Bethlehem in 1173 and entered the cave at Hebron with his father in 1119, after the discovery of the tombs of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. This report by al-Harawī[32] is obviously wrong, if Bīran is to be equalled with Barisan the Younger, who had not yet been born in 1148.

If RRH no. 100 is a forgery, *cui bono*? It is of an unusual content, giving to the hospital at Nablus the *redecimatio* of all grain and vegetables in Mirabel and four other villages. What this means becomes clear in the confirmation of 1166 (RRH no. 423): *quoniam episcopus Sancti Georgii recipit primam decimam et hospitale secundam.* In other words, Mirabel was taxed twice for the ecclesiastical tithe. Baldwin of Mirabel first had to give one tenth of his income from Mirabel to the bishop of Lydda, then another tenth to the Knights of St. John, since 1166 the owners of the hospital of Nablus.[33] The normal arrangement

31 Supra, n. 26 and p. 110.

32 *Guide des lieux de pèlerinage,* trans. by Janine Sourdel-Thomine (Damascus, 1957), pp. 73 f.

33 Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States. The Secular Church* (London, 1980), pp. 146, n. 1, and 148 has argued that this is to be understood to mean that the bishop received the tithe of the big summer harvest (of winter crops), while the hospital received the tithe on the poor winter harvest (of summer crops, sown in March and harvested in the fall), if I interpret him correctly. Surely the much bigger harvest was that of winter crops (including all grain), sown in November and harvested in April or May. On the rotation of winter and summer crops and on the difference in yield see Joshua Prawer, "Étude de quelques problèmes d'une seigneurie croisée au XIIIe siècle," *Byzantion* 22 (1952), 47=(with more conviction) idem, *Crusader Institutions,* p. 171 f. Hamilton's solution for the difficult problem of the *redecimatio* is ingenious but I am not convinced. Hamilton is certainly correct in his assumption that generally both harvests were tithed, because this is self-evident. But it should not be proven from RRH nos. 100. 423, which record an unusual arrangement. Since RRH no. 100 is a forgery, the Hospitallers would have been much wiser to forge themselves a charter entitling them to the *medietatem decime,* that is one half of the total tithe collected, as this was the usual arrangement when a bishop had to split a tithe with another religious corporation. For a *redecimatio* there is only one parallel known to me in the Holy Land (RRH no. 279), when

would have been a splitting of the ecclesiastical tithe between the two. But the bishop of Lydda may have been reluctant to do so, because the canons of the Holy Sepulchre in the church of St. Peter in Jaffa had the right to the ecclesiastical tithe in the whole county of Jaffa, of which Ramla, Mirabel and Ibelin were rear-fiefs.[34] Only two years after the confirmation of 1166, there was a conflict between the canons in Jaffa and the Knights of St. John, who were prohibited from adding a second church to the one they already had there.[35] We have no doubt that the *redecimatio* of Mirabel was not granted until 1166. In the already complicated tithing situation in the county of Jaffa, this boded ill. The Knights of St. John were probably well advised to forge for themselves a charter which threw their right to a *redecimatio* forward to 1122 and ascribed it to the formidable Barisan-le-Vieux. Baldwin of Mirabel could easily afford such generosity, because where he did grant the *redecimatio,* i.e. between Mirabel and Nablus, he had increased in the late 1150s corporal punishment for the Muslims in order to levy four times the head-tax customary in the country.[36]

RRH no. 100 of 1122 is forged. With its removal, the genealogy of the early Ibelins becomes simple. Baldwin I of Ramla (d. ca. 1138) had a son Renier and a daughter Helvis, who married Barisan-le-Vieux, Constable of Jaffa. Her half-brother Philip of Milly (Nablus) may have had a hand in this. The *Lignages d'Outremer*[37] assert that at this time Helvis was Lady of Ramla. This seems to be at first another of many wrong statements contained in this fourteenth-century source, because RRH no. 252 shows Helvis's husband Barisan-le-Vieux to have succeeded her brother Renier in the lordship of Ramla. But this charter also stresses in an unusual way Barisan's right to Ramla: *Ego itaque Barisanus et Hugo ac Balduinus filii mei ex honore prefato successores eius* (scil. of Renier). This was not customary. Normally the new lord issued charters, and if anybody disputed his rights, then this was a case for the courts. The phrase hints at difficulties having occurred in the succession of

the lord of Oultrejourdain granted to the Hospitallers *post decimationem beate Marie* the tithe of all his booty or other income taken from the Saracens. Here the booty is without a doubt taxed at 20% rather than at 10%, and the remainder of the lord's income subject to double taxation cannot refer to his share in the Saracen crops, not only because it was hardly possible to account separately his income deriving from their crops (to be taxed at 20%) and that deriving from the crops of Franks or Syro-Christians (to be taxed at 10%), but also because the Saracens living in this area were nomadic Bedouins not given to agriculture.

34 Mayer, *Bistümer,* pp. 122 f.

35 Ibid., p. 203.

36 Emmanuel Sivan, "Réfugiés syro-palestiniens au temps des croisades," *Revue des Etudes islamiques* 35 (1967), 137-139.

37 c. 14, RHC Lois 2:453.

Baldwin I of Ramla. A glance at the charters reveals that, in fact, Baldwin was first succeeded by his daughter Helvis, then by his son Renier. In February 1138 Baldwin himself had last attested a charter (RRH no. 174). By 4 December he was dead, because RRH no. 179 issued by King Fulk was attested, after the clerics but before the male lay witnesses, by the countess Hodierna of Tripolis (a daughter of King Baldwin II) and one *Halvisa.*[38] In 1142 a *domina Haloidis* was witness to a grant by King Fulk (RRH no. 210). Hiestand,[39] with regard to King Baldwin's daughter Melisende witnessing RRH nos. 121.137a of ca. 1129, insisted already that it was most unusual that women appeared among the witnesses of royal charters. In Melisende's case he explained this correctly as being due to her position as heiress to the throne. Fulk exercised in Jerusalem a *Samtherrschaft,* in which he and Queen Melisende ruled jointly, and both had a claim to the kingdom.[40] If Melisende, therefore, could inherit the kingdom jointly with her husband Fulk, it is clear that Helvis not only could not be prevented from inheriting Ramla from her father during the reign of King Fulk but had to be admitted as a witness in her capacity as Lady of Ramla. This is not to say that Helvis and Barisan-le-Vieux also had a *Samtherrschaft* in Ramla. He carefully avoided at all times the title of a Lord of Ramla, although he must have run the Ramla affairs at least with regard to the military service owed to the crown. But unlike Fulk who had, or at least claimed, the position of an heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem together with his wife and was therefore much more than Prince-Consort, Barisan seems to have had the position of a consort in Ramla. Possibly Barisan's reluctance to emerge openly as Lord of Ramla had to do with the original law, which prohibited a vassal from accumulating more than one fief in his hands. This had been changed by ca. 1150, but we do not know exactly when the change occurred.[41]

Helvis's rule in Ramla did not remain uncontested. Her brother Renier entered a successful claim when he came of age. This was a different degree of legal competence than that of possibly eight years allowing to give consents. For males this majority, when they could claim their inheritance, was fixed at

38 A variant reading is *Alois.*

39 "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," p. 27.

40 Hans E. Mayer, "Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), 165-167; Hiestand, "Zwei Diplome aus Lucca," pp. 26-31; Mayer, "Queen Melisende," pp. 98-114.

41 Joshua Prawer, "La noblesse et le régime féodal du royaume latin de Jérusalem," *Moyen Age* 65 (1959), 56 = idem, *Crusader Institutions,* pp. 25 f. Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174-1277* (London, 1973), pp. 11 f.

15, for women at 12.[42] In 1141 a *Ramatensis Rainerius* witnesses a charter of Patriarch William of Jerusalem (RRH no. 201). That he was identical with Renier of Ramla is shown by RRH no. 244 of February 1146, concerning the same business and having an almost identical list of witnesses, among them *de baronibus... Rainerius Rametensis.* He also witnessed prominently, after Barisan-le-Vieux, RRH no. 226 of 1144. As Helvis was still Lady of Ramla in 1142 (RRH no. 210), Renier must have reached his majority in 1143 or 1144, which means that he was born in 1128 or 1129. He then entered a claim for the Lordship of Ramla, which was successful, as we learn from RRH no. 252 of 1148, when he had already died but was recognized by Barisan-le-Vieux as having been his predecessor in Ramla. I do not believe that the change from Helvis to Renier had anything to do with King Fulk's death in November 1143, because his widow Melisende continued to rule without much interference from her son at first. Rather, Renier's claim was based on the principle that a son, provided that he could perform military service, took precedence over all daughters in inheriting a fief.[43] A man like Barisan-le-Vieux could see this coming and act in time. Not that he could prevent it. But he could claim compensation for the loss which would be sustained by his wife, if Ramla went to her brother. Although we do not know the exact year in which King Fulk built the castle of Ibelin in the south-west, William of Tyre[44] places it shortly before his death; 1141 is a conventional and approximate date, probably not far from the truth. Barisan was an old and trusted follower of the king, who had decided in the king's favour the rebellion of the count of Jaffa. But the king was not at absolute liberty to assign Ibelin to whomsoever he wished. He was advised on this in council, and if Barisan argued that his wife had been deprived, or would soon be deprived, of Ramla, here was an obvious compensation, especially as the importance of Ramla had rested in the fact that it had to break the tides of Muslim attacks from Ascalon against Jaffa, Jerusalem and the road between. This rôle was now taken on by the newly built castles of Ibelin, Blanchegarde and Bethgibelin further south.

Later, fortune smiled on the Ibelins. While they had and held Ibelin, they also got Ramla back, after Renier had died between 1146 and 1148, apparently childless.[45] In 1148 Barisan-le-Vieux was running the affairs of Ramla, carrying

42 Supra, n. 12 and *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin* 171, RHC Lois 1:263 f. and *Abrégé des Assises des bourgeois* 23, RHC Lois 2:254.

43 Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 15, 128 f.

44 WT, 15.24, p. 696 f.

45 Rüdt de Collenberg (p. 457) gives him a son Baldwin alive in 1153, about whom he has already forgotten on p. 461 in the genealogical tree there. The reference is obviously to a Baldwin of Ramla in RRH no. 283 who, however, was nothing more than a vassal of the Prince of Galilee, witnessing one of his charters.

out last dispositions of Renier, who had died before he had been able to issue a charter about them (RRH no. 252). By that time Barisan had three children from Helvis: Ermengarde, Hugh and Baldwin. Later on they had Barisan the Younger (supra, p. 112 f.) and Stephanie who was still *infra annos* in 1158 but had come of age in 1160 (RRH nos. 332.360). Ermengarde rose to be Lady of Tiberias (RRH no. 299), probably by virtue of a marriage with Elinard of Tiberias. Hugh was the first of the family to call himself after the castle of Ibelin (RRH no. 291 of 1152). He was also the first of the Ibelins to call himself Lord of Ramla (RRH nos. 358.360 of 1160), but he did not do so until after his mother's death who is last mentioned alive in 1158 (RRH no. 335). In 1163 he married Agnes of Courtenay, the divorced wife of King Amalric I and the *femme fatale* of the Latin Orient.[46] He is last heard of in 1169, when he was about to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela (RRH no. 472), a typically grandiose Ibelin gesture. His brother Baldwin of Ibelin was Lord of Mirabel since ca. 1156[47] and is first styled so in 1162 (RRH no. 370b). As such he was under the close supervision of his elder brother in Ramla.[48] He himself appears as Lord of Ramla in 1171 (RRH no. 492) after his brother's death. There was a rumour that in 1177, having left his wife, he aspired to the hand of Princess Sybil, sister of King Baldwin IV, widow of the marquis William of Montferrat and possible heiress of the throne of Jerusalem.[49] The foundation for this may rest in the fact that when Sybil brought the crown of Jerusalem in 1186 to her second husband Guy of Lusignan, Baldwin refused to do homage to him, entrusted his fief to his brother Barisan the Younger and went to Antioch, where we find him in 1186 (RRH no. 649, although this probably precedes the *coup d'état* of October 1186 in Jerusalem). Barisan the Younger in 1177 married Maria Comnena, widow of King Amalric I, and thereby gained control of her dowry Nablus which, in fact although not in theory, he elevated to the position of a lordship.[50] In 1187 he became the defender of Jerusalem and disappears from sight in 1193 (RRH no. 716).

With RRH no. 100 having been eliminated as an authentic charter, there must be three alterations to the genealogies and history of Outremer: (1) The lifetime of Baldwin I of Ramla, father of Helvis and father-in-law of Barisan-le-Vieux, must be extended to 1138; (2) the succession of the Lords of Ramla must be: (a) Baldwin I, ca. 1110-1138; (b) his daughter Helvis of Ramla,

46 For the date see Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, p. 51.
47 Sivan, "Réfugiés," p. 138 n. 3.
48 Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, pp. 50 ff.
49 Ernoul, p. 33.
50 Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, p. 53.

1138-1143/44; (c) his son Renier of Ramla, 1143/44-1146/48; (d) Helvis of Ramla again, now being definitely represented by her husband Barisan-le-Vieux and later by her and Barisan's son Hugh of Ibelin, 1146/48-1158/60; (e) this same Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla, 1160-1169/71, but running Ramla's affairs since the death of Barisan-le-Vieux ca. 1150; (f) his brother Baldwin of Ibelin-Mirabel, 1169/71-1186; (g) their brother Barisan the Younger, 1186-1187; (3) the traditional genealogy of the early Ibelins and Ramlas must remain valid. Neither is there room for two Helvises or for two Barisans, nor may Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin be split into Hugh and Baldwin of Ramla and Hugh and Baldwin of Ibelin, respectively. All these beautiful damsels and gallant knights of great renown must be pieced together again into one Helvis of Ramla, one Barisan-le-Vieux, one Hugh of Ibelin-Ramla and one Baldwin of Ibelin-Mirabel (later of Ramla).

Requiescant in pace nunc et in saecula saeculorum!

XVI

Manasses of Hierges in East and West

For every student of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem Manasses of Hierges whose history was treated in 1907 by the Canon Roland, is a familiar figure ([1]). Our principal, but not our only source of information on him is the chronicle of William of Tyre. According to the genealogy of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem as given by William ([2]), and this genealogy is generally accepted, Manasses of Hierges was a nephew of King Baldwin II because he was the son of Baldwin II's sister Hodierna who had married Herbrand, the first lord of Hierges. Hierges (France, Dépt. Ardennes, arrond. Charleville-Mézières, cant. Givet) was a castle in the Belgo-French frontier region. The *Terre de Hierges* was a fief comprising, apart from the *caput baroniae* itself, eight or nine villages situated today partly in the French département Ardennes, partly in the Belgian province of Namur. However, the older assumption that this fief existed as a unit as early as the first half of the 11th century is quite wrong, even though Pirenne has reiterated it very recently and has thrown it forward even to the middle of the 10th century. In a groundbreaking study Despy has shown that it grew together slowly and gradually, perhaps partly by usurping lands and certainly by abusively turning rights of advocacy over church lands into more direct rights, and that even Hierges did not originally form part of the lordship ([3]). This process had led to the establishment of a *seigneurie* at Hierges by 1112 when the first lord of Hierges makes his appearance. But the lordship continued to grow and as late as the early 13th century two of its villages, Vaucelles and Doische, were still owned by the abbey of St.-Hubert while the lord of Hierges was only advocate there ([4]). The lordship was feudally dependent on the *Pays de*

(1) C.-G. Roland, "Un croisé ardennais : Manassès de Hierges", *Revue historique ardennaise*, XIV (1907), pp. 197-212.

(2) Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique* (henceforth : W.T.), XII.1, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis 63.63A), 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1986), p. 547.

(3) J.-H. Pirenne, "La seigneurie d'Hierges au moyen âge", *La Principauté de Chimay 1486-1986* (Brussels, 1986), pp. 121-124. Basic is now Georges Despy, "La formation de la 'Terre de Hierges' du XIe au XVe siècle", *La seigneurie rurale en Lotharingie. Actes des 3es Journées Lotharingiennes, 26-27 octobre 1984* (= *Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg*, CII, 1986), pp. 11-30.

(4) Despy, *Terre de Hierges*, pp. 19 f. See also below, p. 765.

Bouillon and consequently, because Godfrey of Bouillon had pledged Bouillon to the bishop of Liège before his departure on the First Crusade, Hierges at the time of Manasses was feudally dependant on the bishop of Liège ([5]).

Baldwin II of Jerusalem, the uncle of Manasses of Hierges, was the oldest son of count Hugh of Rethel (France, Dépt. Ardennes, chef-lieu d'arrondissement). Apparently Baldwin had not too much hope to succeed his father in the near future as count of Rethel. We are always wiser in hindsight but actually Baldwin had risen to be king of Jerusalem by the time his father died. He had left in 1096 in the retinue of Godfrey of Bouillon on the First Crusade and had in turn become count of Edessa (1100-1118) and king of Jerusalem (1118-1131). Going to, and staying in, the East meant that Baldwin forsook his claim to inherit the county of Rethel. At least for all practical purposes it went first to his younger brother Manasses (not to be confused with Manasses of Hierges) who must have predeceased his father as well as his younger brother Gervase. Gervase in 1106 had been an unsuccessful intruder archishop of Reims, basing his hopes on the support of Philip I of France, and had fallen under excommunication from which he was not absolved until 1115. By that time, owing to his setback concerning the archbishopric of Reims, he had left the Church and had married Elizabeth, also known as Beatrix, the daughter of count Godfrey of Namur. Succeeding his brother Manasses who had died childless, Gervase had become count of Rethel before 1115, although both of them should, perhaps, better be styled acting counts of Rethel because their father, count Hugh, can be shown to have been still alive in 1117 and 1118 ([6]). The year of Gervase's

(5) Léopold GENICOT, *Le Namurois politique, économique et social au bas moyen âge* (Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur, LXII, Namur, 1964), pp. 41 f. The lords of Hierges are present in the charters of the bishops of Liège from 1112 to 1170 ; see Jean-Louis KUPPER, *Liège et l'Église impériale, XIe-XIIe siècles* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 228, Paris, 1981), pp. 280, 286.

(6) On Gervase's intrusion at Reims see Guillaume MARLOT, *Histoire de la ville, cité et université de Reims*, III (Reims, 1846), pp. 218-223. *Ibid.*, III, p. 726, no. 53 is a charter dated 1115 (the pontifical year of the archbishop of Reims points to 1114, but year of incarnation, indiction, as well as regnal year of the king of France fix 1115 as the year of issue) from which can be seen that the counts of Rethel were advocates of certain villages held in fief from Saint-Remi in Reims. *Manasses filius Hugonis comitis*, but not formally styled count himself, levied unlawful taxes in these villages which went beyond what he was allowed to claim as advocate. After his death his brother Gervase did the same but renounced the unlawful practice in 1115. *Ibid.*, III, p. 731, no. 60 is a charter dated 1118 (the indiction IX is wrong and must be corrected to read XI) in which count Hugh of Rethel restored the church of Rethel to the archbishop of Reims. Consequently he was still alive in 1118 and, in fact, in 1117 he had made a donation to the priory of St^e-Marie de Novy (Gustave SAIGE and Henri LACAILLE, *Trésors des chartes du comté de Rethel*, vol. I [Monaco, 1902], p. 6, no. 3). Manasses and after him, for some time, Gervase were therefore associated to their father in ruling the county but it was he who held the comital title until his death which must have occurred shortly after 1118. Manasses therefore was never officially count of Rethel while Gervase became count upon his father's demise. These intricacies were unknown to William of Tyre who gives Hugh, Manasses, and Gervase as counts of Rethel in succession, as does

death has never been established with any degree of certainty, although 1124 is not a bad guess ([7]). Under the rules of primogeniture the county of Rethel should now have gone to Manasses of Hierges because the daughter of Gervase was, in fact, illegitimate since Gervase had once taken the orders and had therefore married *contra instituta ecclesiastica*, as William of Tyre insists on telling us. The county of Rethel went to another sister of Baldwin II of Jerusalem, Mahaldis, who had married the castellan of Vitry.

We do not know why Manasses of Hierges was passed by. Presumably he was still too young. In 1127 he is mentioned for the first time. In a complicated arrangement the archbishop of Reims came to terms in this year with bishop Albero I of Liège concerning a fief which the archbishop claimed for his church in the *Pays de Bouillon* ([8]). He now gave it as a fief to the bishop. Since the latter as an ecclesiastic could not render homage to the archbishop, he had this act performed for him by four of his vassals and by four castellans of the *Pays de Bouillon* (*de castellanis de Bullon*), among them *Manasses de Herge*. This proves that Manasses had entered into the lordship of Hierges and served the bishop of Liège as his *châtelain* in the castle of Hierges. Four years later, in 1131, Gérard, the founder of the abbey of Brogne, was canonized upon orders of pope Innocent II by bishop Alexander of Liège. The bishop did so in the presence of count Godfrey of Namur and used the occasion to confirm the abbey's possessions in a charter which also recorded important concessions to Brogne by the count ([9]). In the count's retinue we find *Manasses adolescens de Hierge*.

In the same year in which young Manasses attested this charter by the bishop of Liège, his uncle king Baldwin II died in Jerusalem and was succeeded by his daughter Melisende and her husband Fulk of Anjou. Being a cousin of queen Melisende, it is hardly surprising that Manasses went to the East to seek his fortune. As long as the Angevin king was alive, however, Manasses did not succeed very well.

J. B. CARUEL, *Essai sur Rethel (745 à 1890)* (Rethel, 1891), pp. 3, 5 who mainly copies William of Tyre.

(7) The guess is CARUEL's, *loc. cit.*, but I have not been able to find any evidence supporting it. It may, however, very well be correct. On the other hand, Caruel's date for the death of Manasses (1128) is clearly impossible. Miraeus and Foppens (*Auberti Miraei Opera diplomatica et historica*, second edition by Ioannes Franciscus FOPPENS, vol. I [Louvain, 1723], p. 683) make Manasses die in 1114 which would be compatible with the charters cited here but which is a date for which, likewise, I cannot find any support.

(8) *Cartulaire de l'église Saint-Lambert de Liége*, ed. S. BORMANS and E. SCHOOLMEESTERS, I (Brussels, 1893), p. 56, no. 35 (p. 57).

(9) Last edition by Léopold GENICOT, *L'économie rurale namuroise au bas moyen âge*, III : *Les hommes – le commun* (Université de Louvain. Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie 6e Série, fasc. XXV, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982) pp. 370-373. The charter's authenticity is not entirely above suspicion ; see Jean-Louis KUPPER, "La charte du comte Henri de Namur pour l'église de Brogne. Étude critique", *Revue Bénédictine*, XCV (1985), p. 302, n. 40.

But immediately after Fulk's death in 1143 Melisende appointed him constable of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and thus conferred the most important crown office on him ([10]). He is first mentioned as holding this office by William of Tyre in 1144, from 1146 to 1151 also in charters ([11]). In 1150 but not later than 1151 he struck his advantageous marriage with Helvis, the lady of Ramla which, however, made her sons from her previous marriage, the three Ibelin brothers, his determined enemies. It is well known that the career of Manasses in the East came to an abrupt end in the short but violent civil war of 1152 which ousted queen Melisende and her party from power ; the new constable of Jerusalem was Humphrey II of Toron ([12]). Manasses was exiled but so great was the hatred that, as William of Tyre expressly assures us, he was not only obliged to leave the kingdom but the whole Latin East. He had to return to the Namurois. This may have been a measure of precaution because queen Melisende was possibly not his only relative in the East when he arrived. Over and above the sisters named by William of Tyre (above, p. 757-9) Baldwin II of Jerusalem had had yet another sister whose name is unknown but who had been married by Baldwin, before he became king of Jerusalem in 1118, to prince Roger of Antioch (1112-1119) who treated her badly ([13]). She was an aunt of Manasses of Hierges and if she should still have been alive in 1152 he might have retired to her in Syria, an undesirable prospect for the Ibelins.

Concerning the time at which Manasses went to the East there is hesitation among scholars. Most of them definitely evade stating a date, others give 1140 as the year in which Manasses arrived but this is normally based only on an unsupported statement to this effect in the *Familles d'Outremer* by Du Cange. Only Jean Richard with his usual command of the source material and the Canon Roland before him quoted the source used by Du Cange ([14]). In view of the prevailing

(10) W.T., XVII.13, p. 777. That this should have happened *statim post eius introitum in regnum* is probably an error on William's part because we must assume that Manasses arrived in the East in 1142, while king Fuld did not die until November 1143 (below, p. 762).

(11) W.T, XVI.4, p. 720. Reinhold RÖHRICHT, *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (Innsbruck, 1894 ; Additamentum 1904. Henceforth : *RRH*), nos. 240.245.259.262.268.

(12) W.T., XVII.13-14, pp. 777-780 ; Hans E. MAYER, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXVI (1972) on the civil war of 1152 in general and pp. 155 f. on the marriage of Manasses in particular.

(13) Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, III.4, ed. Heinrich HAGENMEYER (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 622 f. – Walter the Chancellor, *Bella Antiochena*, II.12.19, ed. Heinrich HAGENMEYER (Innsbruck, 1896), p. 105. – W.T., XI.22, p. 527.

(14) *Les Familles d'Outremer de Du Cange*, ed. E. G. REY (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France, Paris, 1869), p. 544. No date in : Reinhold Röhricht, *Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem* (Innsbruck 1898), p. 125 ; René GROUSSET, *Histoire des croisades*, II (Paris, 1935), p. 182 ; Steven RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, II (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 233 f. ; Joshua PRAWER, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, I (Paris, 1969), p. 401. GROUSSET, *op. cit.*, I, p. 593, n. 2, assumes on the basis of Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* (henceforth : *RHC*). *Historiens occidentaux*, III, p. 458, that Manasses was, perhaps, already in the East in 1123 which is

uneasiness on the date of his coming it deserves to be examined another time. On 25 February 1140 bishop Albero II of Liège issued a charter in which he stated that in his presence the *nobilis vir* Manasses of Hierges who had resolved to go to Jerusalem for the love of God and the remission of his sins, gave to the abbot Ebroin of Brogne two of his allods in the Hesbaye Namuroise, the region between the Dyle and the Meuse rivers, called Mielen-sur-Aelst (Belgium, Province of Limbourg, arrond. Hasselt, cant. Saint-Trond) and Muysen-lez-Saint-Trond (ibidem) for 80 marks (of silver) with the following provisos ([15]) : If Manasses should die on his pilgrimage or should return but die without legitimate issue, Brogne should own the two villages forever. Should he, however, return and wish to reclaim them, he was permitted to do so at a price of only 40 marks. This rather unusual deviation from the normal practices ([16]) which set the repurchase price at only one half of what the abbey had originally raised, is explained by the rider attached : Should Manasses get married, his legitimate offspring was to continue to hold the two villages but they would go to Brogne in perpetuity if the direct line became extinct. For this reason all of his heirs were forbidden to sell or pledge the two villages to anyone else. This meant that in spite of the repayment of 40 marks the villages would eventually go to Brogne in any case. Manasses also established a future priory for six monks of Brogne at Niverlée (Belgium, province of Namur, arrond. Dinant, cant. Philippeville) for the salvation of his relatives (*parentes sui*) buried there. This foundation was to take effect only after the death of Manasses and if there were no longer direct

certainly wrong. The nephew of king Baldwin II mentioned by Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, III.26.4, ed. HAGENMEYER, p. 692 is either unknown or identical with Galeran of Le Puiset whom Fulcher considered a nephew of Baldwin II in his original version ; cf. also John L. LA MONTE, "The Lords of Le Puiset on the Crusades", *Speculum*, XVII (1942), p. 107, n. 6. – 1140 purely on the basis of Du Cange : MAYER, *Queen Melisende*, p. 116 ; IDEM, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, sixth edition (Stuttgart, 1985), p. 101. – 1140 on the basis of the correct evidence : Jean RICHARD, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), p. 65 n. 2 = *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Amsterdam, 1979), p. 150, n. 10 – 1141 on the basis of the charter quoted below, n. 19, ROLAND, *Manassès de Hierges*, p. 203.

(15) *Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert de Liége*, I, 63, no. 39 = MIRAEUS-FOPPENS, *Opera*, I, p. 689 ; cf. Petrus GEORGISCH, *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1740), p. 565 s.a. 1140, no. 5 with a false page reference to Miraeus. Joseph DARIS, *Histoire du diocèse et de la principauté de Liége depuis leur origine jusqu'au XIIIe siècle*, I (Brussels, 1890), p. 519 placed the charter in 1141, probably because bishop Albero II of Liège attended the Diet of Worms in February 1140 and was a witness there, on 9 February 1140, to DK.III.40. But even so there would have been sufficient time for the bishop to return to Liège by 24 February, particularly since he could have travelled the bigger part of the way quickly by ship. On the great importance of this charter for the history of the Terre de Hierges see DESPY, *Terre de Hierges*, p. 19.

(16) See Giles CONSTABLE, "The Financing of the Crusades in the Twelfth Century", *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. KEDAR *et al.* (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 72 f., 77 f. with reference to the charter under discussion.

descendants of him. On 10 March 1140 Manasses himself confirmed the pledge by placing earth and branches from the three allods on the main altar of the church at Brogne.

It would seem to be quite clear that Manasses made his transaction with Brogne immediately before leaving for the East in 1140 with one of the spring or summer sailings. He was evidently still unmarried because provisos were made as to what should happen to the two villages if he should get married. To all appearance he also intended to return. His description as *nobilis vir de Hirge* does not imply that he was not yet *dominus* there and that his father was still alive because Manasses did at this occasion freely dispose of parts of the family holdings and the *parentes* who lay buried at Niverlée were more likely his father and mother than other kin of his because his father and mother are absent from the necrology of Brogne which, starting with Manasses, became the family burial place ([17]).

Yet contrary to what we should expect, Manasses did not leave for the East before the spring of 1142 because he was still in Europe in the last four months of 1141, too late to catch a sailing still in this year from an Italian port. His name is not mentioned in the rather well documented siege and conquest of the castle of Bouillon which was taken away from the count of Bar by the bishop of Liège in September 1141. But the documentation is mainly intended to demonstrate the miracle-working quality of the relics of Saint-Lambert employed in the siege and it is only very great magnates such as the count of Namur who are expressly mentioned. Nor can Manasses be shown to have participated in the synod which bishop Albero II of Liège held there in the first half of 1141 ([18]). But this does not mean that he had left. In the year 1141, in the fifth year of the indiction (September 1141-September 1142), in the fourth year of king Konrad III of Germany (13 March 1141 to 12 March 1142), i.e. between September and December 1141, bishop Albero II of Liège confirmed the foundation and the possessions of the house of Austin canons of Géronsart and *Manasses de Hierge* was a witness and could, therefore, not have left for the East before the spring sailing of 1142 ([19]).

(17) There is no entry which might refer to the mother of Manasses. As first entry under the 26 January in the necrology which was continued until the 17th century there is an unnamed *vir nobilis dominus de Hirge* but there is nothing to indicate that this should have been Herbrand, the father of Manasses. See J. BARBIER, *Obituaire de l'abbaye de Brogne ou de Saint-Gérard* (Louvain, 1883), p. 13.

(18) On participants in this synod see Édouard PONCELET, *Inventaire des chartes de la collégiale Sainte-Croix à Liége*, I (Brussels, 1911), p. 14, no. 19.

(19) *Diplomatum Belgicorum nova collectio sive supplementum ad opera diplomatica Auberti Miraei* (= MIRAEUS-FOPPENS, *Opera diplomatica*, IV, Brussels, 1748), p. 372. ROLAND, *Manassès de Hierges*, p. 203, n. 2 considered the indiction to be erroneous. Even if one would accept his argument that in the 12th century charters of the Liégois the Roman indiction in which the new year began not in September but on 25 December, was used throughout, this would still date the charter to Christmas 1141.

The charter of 1140 proves that Manasses had no intention to give up his lordship of Hierges when he went to the East. What arrangements were made to administer it during what was to become a decade of absence is unknown. In the 14th century it was believed that he got married rather quickly in the East. And indeed, given his ambitions, one might easily be inclined to disbelieve that he should have stayed unmarried for full ten years. The *Lignages d'Outremer* in any case assign him two daughters from a marriage with an unnamed lady. The names of these ladies are given as Fadia and Hodierna, and the last name would have been fitting being the name of the girl's grandmother. Fadia is said to have married Raymond or William, respectively, the son of Hugh of Jubail (Byblos) from the Embriaco family of Genoese extraction. Hodierna is said to have married an unnamed lord of Grangerin (unidentified by me), and their son Henry is reported to have gone on the Fourth Crusade and to have received as a fief the town of Pegai in Asia Minor ([20]). No confirmation whatsoever of this "first" marriage of Manasses can be found in sources outside the *Lignages*. Neither Fadia nor Hodierna can ever be found elsewhere. Of Raymond, the second son of William II Embriaco of Jubail, even the *Lignages d'Outremer* say that he married a lady from Antioch called Eve. The reference in the *Lignages* rather seems to be to William I of Jubail-Besmedin, the holder of a minor fief in the county of Tripoli, but he himself is also not attested to in sources other than the *Lignages* ([21]). We also do not know of any lord of Grangerin to have participated in the Fourth Crusade and the holder of Pegai, a very important fief of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, was Pierre de Bracheux ([22]). From all this we must conclude that this "first" marriage of Manasses is unlikely ever to have occurred and that Manasses did, in fact, remain a bachelor not only for eight years after his arrival in the East but even for seven years after his appointment to the constableship of the kingdom. It does not seem to have been easy for newcomers to penetrate the increasingly snobbish and clannish class of the landed aristocracy.

The marriage, which took place in 1150, of Manasses of Hierges to Helvis of Ramla, on the other hand is attested to by William of Tyre as well as by the *Lignages* ([23]). When Manasses was exiled in 1152, Helvis and her children remained in the East because, being lady of Ramla in her own right, she could not permanently leave the kingdom. She lived at least until 1158, at the longest until 1160 when her

(20) *Lignages d'Outremer*, c. 38 f., *RHC. Lois*, II, pp. 470 f. ; cf. c. 30, *ibid.*, p. 465.

(21) E. G. Rey, "Les seigneurs de Giblet", *Revue de l'Orient latin*, III (1895), p. 412. One fails to see why Rey assigned the years 1165 to 1199 to this William when he could not find him outside the *Lignages*.

(22) Jean Longnon, *Les compagnons de Villehardouin. Recherches sur les croisés de la quatrième croisade* (Geneva, 1978), pp. 91-98. Ernst Gerland, *Geschichte des lateinischen Kaiserreiches von Konstantinopel* (Homburg vor der Höhe, 1905), p. 219, n. 2, rejects the report of the *Lignages*.

(23) W.T., XVII.13, p. 778. *Lignages*, cc. 14.38, *RHC. Lois*, II, pp. 453, 470.

son Hugh of Ibelin had become lord of Ramla ([24]). Nothing is known about a third marriage of Helvis who had been married to Barisan-le-Vieux before she married Manasses. To all appearance the king did not summon her to render him the *servise de mariage* and allowed her son Hugh to render him the corporal service on behalf of his mother. This seems to indicate that the marriage between Helvis and Manasses was never dissolved.

Miraeus-Foppens (below, p. 765) give him two sons Henry and Eustace from his marriage with Helvis but this is certainly wrong and confuses the children from a later marriage of Manasses with those from the one with Helvis of Ramla. The *Lignages* mention two daughters Manasses had with Helvis and give their names as Helvis and Isabella, stating that the first was married to Anselm of Brie while the other one married Hugh of Mimars (as above, n. 20). Neither of the two ladies show up in any other source by name but at least their husbands are not phantoms like those of the daughters of the previous "marriage" of Manasses here discussed. Anselm of Brie was an inhabitant of standing of Jerusalem under the kings Amaury and Baldwin IV and is once expressly qualified as *burgensis*, once as *miles*. Hugh of Mimars was a nobleman of the county of Tripoli who is attested from 1170 to 1181 and, while retaining his position as a vassal of the count of Tripoli, can be shown in the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1176 to 1180 ([25]). His activities concerned mainly Nablus after the Ibelins got control of it in 1177. His wife, either in her own right or as his widow, held a fief in the Nablus region for which she owed four knights service to the crown ([26]).

Having been exiled from the East Manasses returned to the lordship of Hierges which he had left eleven years before. In 1158 bishop Henry II of Liège issued a charter in his episcopal city establishing Cistercians in the church at Aulne, and among the witnesses there is *Manasses de Hirche* ([27]). Twelve years later, in 1170, Ralph of Zähringen, bishop of Liège, confirmed a donation which two brothers had made to the priory of Saint-Pierre at Bouillon, and again we find among the witnesses *Manasses de Hyrges* ([28]).

(24) *RRH*, nos. 335.358.360.

(25) Anselm : *RRH*, nos. 400.433.531.536.552. Hugh : *RRH*, nos. 477.537.539.562.565. 567.597. For his position in Tripoli see *RRH*, no. 602.

(26) *Livre de Jean d'Ibelin*, c. 271, *RHC. Lois*, I, p. 424.

(27) *Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert de Liége*, I, p. 81, no. 48 (p. 84). There is nothing to support the assumption by Eugène DEL MARMOL, "L'abbaye de Brogne ou de Saint-Gérard", *Annales de la Société archéologique de Namur*, V (1857-1858), p. 267 that he is identical with *Manasses de Pratella* who is named in 1154 in a charter issued by count Henry the Blind of Namur (Félix ROUSSEAU, *Actes des comtes de Namur de la première race 946-1196* [Brussels, 1936], p. 22, no. 9 [p. 26]) as sub-advocate of Brogne, particularly in view of the fact that the necrology of Brogne (J. BARBIER, *Obituaire de Brogne*, pp. 9 f.) lists Manasses of Hierges only as *conversus et monacus* but not as sub-advocate.

(28) *Chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Hubert en Ardenne*, ed. Godefroid KURTH, I (Collection de chroniques belges inédites et de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Belgique, série I, vol. 29,1, Brussels, 1903), p. 128, no. 103.

He struck a second marriage which he could not have concluded before Helvis of Ramla had died between 1158 and 1160. From the second marriage he had a son named Herbrand after Manasses' father. This son is not only found in the report on a fragment of the True Cross discussed below but also in the necrology of Brogne where he is referred to only as *miles* and son of *dominus Manasses de Hierge* ([29]) which does imply that after his return from the East Manasses ruled over the lordship of Hierges and that Herbrand either predeceased him or, according to the report on the True Cross, died so quickly after his father that he was not considered ever to have been lord of Hierges by the monks of Brogne. Miraeus-Foppens assign him two more sons, although from another marriage, named Henry, later lord of Hierges, and Eustace. Henry appears in the story on the True Cross. Eustace is most likely a misnomer for Giles (*Egidius*) because *Egidius dominus de Hyrgia* came to an agreement with the abbey of Saint-Hubert-en-Ardenne in 1214 concerning the advocacy over Vaucelles and Doische, two villages which formed part of the fief of Hierges ([30]).

The abbey of Brogne later on cherished among its relics a fragment of the True Cross which it had received from Manasses when he was about to die. According to a treatise written by an anonymous monk of Brogne, Manasses had obtained the relic from a (third degree) cousin, Princess Constance of Antioch, the wife of Raymond of Poitiers, Prince of Antioch ([31]). It is said that when he lay dying at

(29) BARBIER, *Obituaire de Brogne*, pp. 18 f. The necrology (p. 50) lists also the second wife of Manasses as *Alaidis domina de Hierge, uxor dominis Manassis, qui nobis contulit sanctam crucem* under 9 August. She was the daughter of the count of Chiny.

(30) *Chartes de St.-Hubert en Ardenne*, I, p. 220, no. 168. Giles was the son and successor of Henry of Hierges. He was the last of the elder line of the lords of Hierges. When the archbishop of Reims gave the customs of Beaumont in February 1215 to the village he was about to found at *Sercheuaus* (unidentified), he made it known that the bishop of Liège had agreed to see to it that Giles would desist from any claim he might believe to have over the village. Giles also witnessed a charter by Roger of Chimay in 1218 (*Cartulaire de Saint-Lambert de Liége*, I, 176, no. 114 and 184, no. 122). He died in 1219 (J. BARBIER, *Documents concernant le monastère de Waulsort et d'Hastière* [Analectes pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de Belgique, XVI, Louvain, 1879], p. 71). The necrology of Brogne lists neither a Eustace nor a Giles of Hierges, unless the *vir nobilis dominus de Hirge* listed under 26 January (above, n. 17) is identical with him. Apart from this anonymous lord of Hierges and Manasses, his wife Alaidis and his son Herbrand and the knight Henry of Hierges the necrology (p. 58) also lists an otherwise unknown *Galterus miles, filius domini Manassis de Hirgia* under 18 September. Aside from the three sons Herbrand, Henry and Walter, Manasses had from his second wife two more sons, Albert and Louis, who rose to be bishop of Verdun and abbot of Saint-Vanne de Verdun, respectively (ROLAND, *Manassès de Hierges*, p. 208).

(31) *Chronique de l'abbaye de Brogne*, ed. DE REIFFENBERG, *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, I (Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg, IV, 1 = Collection de chroniques belges inédites et de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Belgique, série I, vol. V, 4, Brussels, 1846), pp. 147-149. Cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, October, vol. II, p. 286 and A. FROLOW, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris, 1961), p. 344, no. 368.

Mielen at Christmas 1176 ([32]) he not only became a monk in Brogne but also sent to his son Herbrand for the relic to give it to the abbey. Herbrand refused and upon learning of this Manasses predicted that because of it Herbrand would die 40 days after him. This then happened indeed and after some hesitation Herbrand's brother Henry later gave the relic to the monastery. Frolow, without stating his reasons, believes that this had happened by 1195 but as early as 1189 the very famous crusader Jacques d'Avesnes, evidently on the eve of his departure because in September 1189 he was already in the Holy Land, established a perpetual rent for the abbey of Brogne in order to keep two candles burning day and night *ante signum sancte crucis* which must refer to the relic rather than to an altar cross which would not have been mentioned ([33]). The report on the True Cross, legendary as it is, is clearly related to the necrology of Brogne in which the death of *Manasses de Hirgia conversus et monacus huius loci qui donavit huic ecclesie sanctam crucem*, is reported under 8 January (1177) whereas the death of his son Herbrand is reported under 16 February ([34]), exactly 40 days after Manasses if in medieval fashion both the 8th January and the 16th February are counted.

What is to be retained from this report is that Manasses had brought back from the Holy Land with him a piece of the True Cross which, at the end of his life when he joined Brogne as a monk, he left to the abbey. He and his son Herbrand elected funeral at Brogne as did his second wife Alaidis. If Manasses died in 1177, as the report says, he must have become a fairly old man, since he was demonstrably alive in 1170 (above, p. 764) and had already been *châtelain* of Hierges in 1127 and in 1131 had still been an *adolescens*. If this means that he was 15 in 1127 and 19 in 1131, he had been born in 1112 and would have died in 1177 aged 65. The culminating point in his life had been the years 1143-1152 when he exercised the important office of constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem and for a brief span from 1150 to 1152 had control of Ramla and Mirabel in the Holy Land.

(32) In the 15th century the abbot of Brogne gave 1175 as the year in which the misspelled *Manasses de Lingez, qui sanctam crucem ab Anthiochia civitate ad has partes attulit et Broniensi ecclesie se daturum promisit*, died (*Notae Bronienses*, MG. SS. XXIV, 27).

(33) BARBIER, *Obituaire de Brogne*, p. 83, no. 7. Frolow's year of 1195 is possibly a *lapsus memoriae* for the abbey of Floreffe where a particle of the True Cross can be shown to have existed by this year ; see F. COURTOY, "Les reliques de la Passion dans le comté de Namur au XIIe siècle", *Études sur l'histoire du pays mosan au moyen âge. Mélanges Felix Rousseau* (Brussels, 1958), pp. 181-189. Cf. FROLOW, *Relique*, p. 345, no. 373.

(34) BARBIER, *Obituaire de Brogne*, pp. 9 f., 18 f. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 50 : *Manasses, qui nobis contulit sanctam crucem.*

XVII

The Wheel of Fortune: Seignorial Vicissitudes under Kings Fulk and Baldwin III of Jerusalem

For the last forty years our knowledge of the genealogy of the lords of Beirut from the Brisebarre family has been based on the research done by M. E. Nickerson, which was a true advance over earlier work on the same problem.[1] Nickerson proposed the following succession of lords of Beirut (see also Table 1):

Fulk of Guînes, 1110–ca. 1117
(not from the Brisebarre family)
Walter I Brisebarre, 1125–26
Guy I Brisebarre, 1127–40
Walter II Brisebarre, 1140–47
Guy II Brisebarre, 1147–56
Walter III Brisebarre, 1156–66
(subsequently lord of Montréal and lord of Blanchegarde, d. ca. 1186).

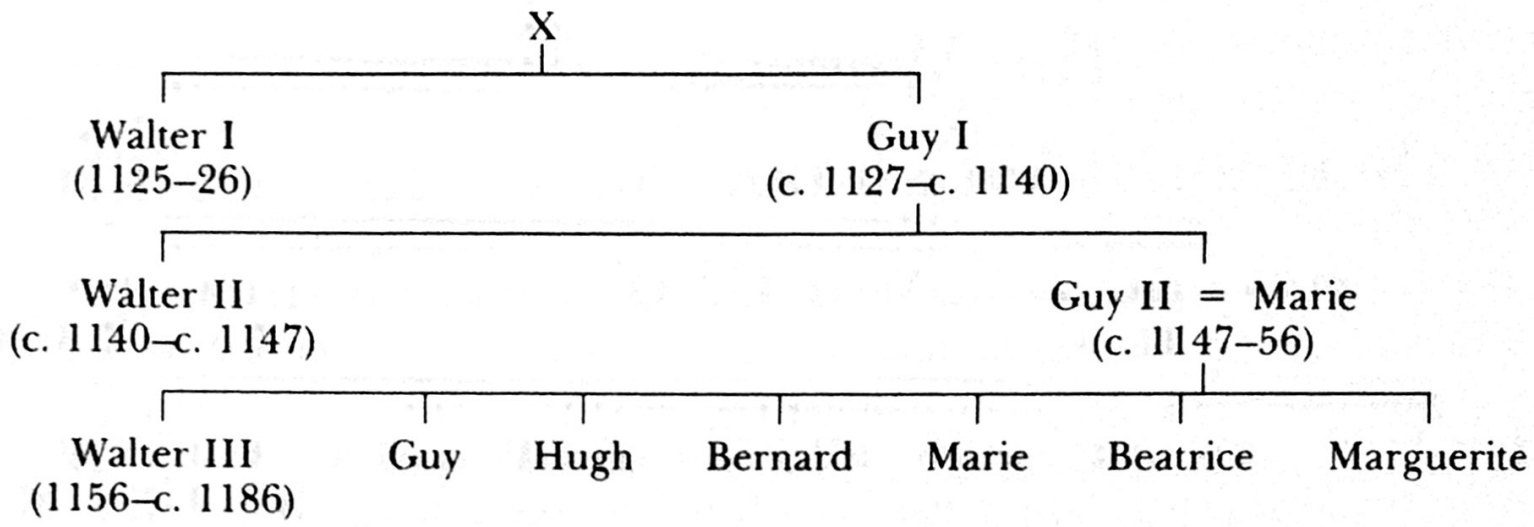
Nickerson's genealogical table and all Beirut genealogies before hers have in common that they show a series of Walters and Guys succeeding each other as lords of Beirut. This is, of course, not impossible. But a similar, although more drastic, case in the house of Ibelin has recently been refuted, and this is a warning also for Beirut.[2]

The silent assumption underlying all previous theories on the matter is that if a lord Walter of Beirut was succeeded by a lord Guy, who in turn was succeeded by a lord Walter, who gave way to a lord Guy, who was followed by a lord Walter, each of these must be a different person, who should be identified as a son or a brother of the respective preceding lord. It is surprising that nobody has proposed a different solution, which is theoretically possible and for which numerous feudal parallels from Europe can be cited. Instead of an orderly succession from father to son or from brother to brother, could it not be that we are dealing instead with a much smaller number of persons (brothers in most cases, as will be shown) with conflicting

[1] Emmanuel-Guillaume Rey, "Les seigneurs de Barut," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 4 (1896), 12–18; John L. LaMonte, "Chronology of the Orient latin," *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 12/2 (1942–43), 156; M. E. Nickerson, "The Seigneury of Beirut in the Twelfth Century and the Brisebarre Family of Beirut-Blanchegarde," *Byzantion* 19 (1949), 141–85.

[2] Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Carving up Crusaders: The Early Ibelins and Ramlas," in *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem Presented to Joshua Prawer*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Hans E. Mayer, and Raymond C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 101–18.

TABLE 1
Brisebarre Lords of Beirut (Nickerson)



claims to the lordship of Beirut who succeeded each other not only once but several times?

Starting from a hitherto neglected report in the *Church History* of Ordericus Vitalis, independently confirmed by the Damascus chronicler Ibn al-Qalanisi, that at the beginning of his reign King Fulk of Jerusalem (1131–43), formerly count of Anjou, chased out the trusted followers of King Baldwin II (1118–31) and replaced them with Angevins and other newcomers, I recently investigated the new clientele which Fulk created for himself after his accession.[3] Fulk's principal target seems to have been the Normans who had been influential under Baldwin II. No one was hit worse than Count Hugh II of Jaffa. A Chartrain by extraction, Hugh had spent all his European life among the South Italian Normans, and it was to them that he returned when he was exiled from the kingdom of Jerusalem following his ill-fated revolt of 1134 against the king. Hugh's fiefs were confiscated by Fulk and added to the royal domain. The dangerous uprising in 1134 is a cause célèbre in the chronicle of William of Tyre, who makes it clear that Hugh was not alone. William names one other participant, Romanus of Le Puy, a former lord of Transjordan. Romanus had been dispossessed after an abortive uprising against King Baldwin II. Transjordan went to Baldwin II's butler before the king's death in 1131.

While investigating Fulk's new men, I also searched among the magnates for other conspirators of 1134 or, at least, for cases in which King Fulk changed the holders of great baronial fiefs. This search was unsuccessful, although I found good evidence for new people among the castellans and other royal officials, in the clergy, and in the military orders. I remained convinced that Fulk's clean sweep of holdovers from the old administration affected other members of the baronial nobility in addition to Hugh II and Romanus, but the search was handicapped by the fact that only nine Eastern

[3] Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History* 12.48, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, 6 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 390–92; Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, trans. Roger Le Tourneau (Damascus, 1952), p. 197; Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Angevins *versus* Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989), 1–25.

charters by Fulk are extant, and only two of these are from the crucial years 1131–34, that is, before Hugh's revolt. After the revolt, when the king had made peace with the nobility, we can no longer expect to find repercussions of the baronial unrest in the witness lists of the royal diplomas.

Of the two charters dated prior to 1135, one was issued by Fulk in 1134 as regent of Antioch, with only Antioch witnesses; the other is an undated fragment.[4] In my opinion the fragment belongs to the period immediately preceding the revolt of Count Hugh.[5] In my earlier article I noted that Guy Brisebarre of the Beirut seignorial family was the only member of the baronial families to witness this charter. I also showed that Guy was a consistent supporter of King Fulk, not only in early 1134 but throughout Fulk's reign. In 1128 Guy had helped to bring about the marriage between Fulk and Baldwin II's daughter Melisende, which put Fulk in a position to become the next king of Jerusalem. I thought that Guy was lord of Beirut when he signed the charter,[6] but the case is more complicated.

Everyone is agreed that when Beirut was first taken by the Crusaders in 1110, it was given by King Baldwin I to Fulk of Guînes (département Pas-de-Calais, arrondissement Calais) from the family of the counts of Guînes.[7] He was a younger son of Count Baldwin I of Guînes and distantly related to King Baldwin I of Jerusalem.[8] He was certainly dead by 1125, when the next lord of Beirut appears, and was buried in the Holy Land.

When King Baldwin II issued his great charter for Venice in May 1125 (RRH no. 105), it was witnessed by *Walterius Brisebarre Beriti domnus.* The origins of this family are unknown because Brisebarre is obviously not a place-name. No relationship to the family of the counts of Guînes has so far been demonstrated. In the same year, 1125, Walter I witnessed another royal charter with *Signum Gualterii Brisebarre* (RRH no. 109). He was still lord of Beirut when he witnessed, together with his brother Guy, two donations which were made to the Hospitallers by Barisan-le-Vieux, the constable of Jaffa, and by Count Hugh II of Jaffa on 17 January and 27 June 1126, respectively.[9] It is clear that Walter, expressly called "of Beirut," was lord there and that Guy was not. For the first time we find here that Walter was in the orbit of Hugh II of Jaffa, although Walter had, in fact, witnessed only Barisan's donation; from there his name was simply transferred to Count

[4] Reinhold Röhricht, ed., *Regesta regni Hierosolymitani* (hereafter cited as RRH), 1 vol. and *Additamentum* (Innsbruck 1893–1904), no. 149; Rudolf Hiestand, "Zwei unbekannte Diplome der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem aus Lucca," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 50 (1971), 54–55. The other diplomas of Fulk are RRH nos. 157, 164, 174, 179, 181, and 210 and the forgery RRH no. 163.

[5] Mayer, "Angevins," p. 4, n. 7.

[6] Ibid., pp. 12, 14.

[7] *Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis*, ed. Charles Moeller, in "Les Flamands du Ternois au royaume latin de Jérusalem," *Mélanges Paul Frédéricq* (Brussels, 1904), p. 191; Lambert of Ardres, *Historia comitum Ghisnensium et Ardensium dominorum*, MGH SS 24:574.

[8] Léon Vanderkindere, *La formation territoriale des principautés belges au moyen âge*, 2nd ed., 1 (Brussels, 1902), pp. 327, 333.

[9] RRH nos. 112–14 (nos. 113 and 114 are actually only one charter). In both charters we find *Gualterius Birutensis nec non Guido frater eius.*

XVII

Hugh's charter. Other ringing names had witnessed the constable's document: William of Buris, prince of Galilee; Eustace II Grenier and his brother Walter from the family of the lords of Caesarea and Sidon; and Guy of Milly, the principal crown vassal in Samaria. Certainly William of Buris did not suffer under King Fulk and was hardly of the party of Count Hugh. But the fact remains that the Brisebarres were on good terms with the leading stratum of the later rebellious county of Jaffa.

As we are still more than eight years away from Count Hugh's revolt, one would dismiss this testimony as insignificant were it not that in January of 1135 a *Gualterius Biruti* appears at Latakia at the court of the dowager princess Alice of Antioch, who was a determined enemy of King Fulk and harbored many a man from the Jerusalem opposition, such as Count Hugh himself in July 1134 and Radulf of Fontanellis in January and July 1134 and in January 1135.[10] Nickerson assumed that this Walter of Beirut was already her Walter II because Walter I had in her opinion been succeeded as lord of Beirut by his brother Guy as early as 1127.

But a different reconstruction seems more plausible. The Walter who was at Latakia in 1135 was considered there to be *Biruti,* lord of Beirut. In the fall of 1127 or in the spring of 1128 King Baldwin II of Jerusalem sent an important embassy to France to select a husband for his daughter and heiress Melisende. The ambassadors were William of Buris and Guy Brisebarre.[11] In the chronicle Guy is called *dominus Guido Brisebarre,* but William of Tyre does not say that he was lord of Beirut. The ambassadors arrived at the court of the count of Anjou in the spring of 1128. William of Buris came back with Fulk in May 1129. Guy Brisebarre seems to have gone back earlier.[12] In December 1132 complaints were received from merchants of Damascus that the lord of Beirut had confiscated several shipments of linen belonging to them.[13] His name is not given, and Nickerson assumed that it was Guy. Early in 1134 Guy signed the fragment of Fulk's charter for the hospital at Nablus as *Guido Brisabara* without any indication that he was lord of Beirut. The

[10] RRH nos. 148, 150, 151a. In RRH no. 147 of 1133 Hugh II of Jaffa was still in full possession of his county and his revolt had not yet occurred. On the time of the revolt see Hans Eberhard Mayer, "Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 26 (1972), 104–6; on Radulf of Fontanellis see Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem,* Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 26 (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 75–76, and idem, "Angevins," pp. 16 f. In the date of RRH no. 150, where Walter of Beirut occurs, the year of the Incarnation is 1134, but the indiction is 13, which applies to 1135. It would seem that the charter was issued when King Fulk, as regent of Antioch, was not in the north. In my forthcoming history of the royal chancery of Jerusalem I shall argue that RRH no. 149, which shows him there, should be dated between Christmas 1133 and the end of August 1134, while his next recorded presence, as shown in RRH no. 157, occurred in August 1135. In January 1135 he seems to have been absent, thus allowing the Jerusalem opposition to surface freely in Alice's entourage. Alice was still alive in November 1145 (RRH no. 234a) and could have harbored this opposition until then.

[11] William of Tyre, *Chronicon* 14.2 (hereafter cited as *Chronicon),* ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63–63A (Turnhout, 1986), p. 633.

[12] See on this Hans Eberhard Mayer, "The Succession to Baldwin II of Jerusalem: English Impact on the East," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 144, 146–47.

[13] Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damas,* p. 203.

same is true of July 1137, when William of Tyre reports *Guido Brisebarre* to have been with King Fulk at Montferrand,[14] but here he qualifies him as *de regni proceribus* so that he may by now have been lord of Beirut. He certainly signed a diploma issued by King Fulk on 5 February 1138 as *Guido Beriti domnus* (RRH no. 174).

The evidence points to the conclusion that Walter I of Beirut was driven from the kingdom into exile at Latakia after 1126 and before January 1135, either not too long after Fulk's coronation in September 1131 (for reasons unknown but connected with Fulk's purge as reported by Ordericus Vitalis) or in the second half of 1134 (because he had been involved in the revolt of Hugh II of Jaffa). If the first was the case, he might conceivably still have been the lord of Beirut who seized the goods of the Damascene merchants in December 1132. This had grave consequences because Damascus retaliated with an attack in December 1132 on the important border fortress and town of Banyas, which had just been gained in 1129; both town and fortress were lost and were not retaken until 1140, when a truce was made with Damascus.[15] King Fulk could have used the incident to dispossess Walter of Beirut. In this case he could even have been at Latakia in January 1134 rather than one year later. His brother Guy would have succeeded him in 1133, and his signature without a title in the fragment for Nablus could indicate that he was administering Beirut on behalf of his exiled brother but was, for all practical purposes, ruling Beirut as if he were its lord.

If one opts for the second possibility, the Beirut lord of 1132 was certainly still Walter, who was in this case not exiled until late 1134. His brother Guy in the fragment had no position as yet in Beirut and gained the lordship, as lord or administrator, in late 1134; he was probably lord by the summer of 1137 and certainly in February 1138. In December 1140 *Guido Beriti* witnessed a charter by Count Raymond II of Tripoli (RRH no. 198). Nickerson was aware of this but failed to see its importance. Guy certainly had not gone to live in Tripoli. He is named as the only layman among eight Jerusalem ecclesiastics, some of them of high rank, who came back with the patriarch of Jerusalem from the council of Antioch which had deposed the northern patriarch.[16] Guy had obviously gone as one of King Fulk's confidants, the others being Patriarch William and the royal chancellor Elias.

It is soon after this event that Nickerson inserted into the baronial list her Walter II of Beirut, whom she considered to have been Guy's son. Her evidence was a diploma of King Baldwin III that was issued in 1144, before the end of August, and witnessed by *Galterius Berithensis* (RRH no. 226). But there is no proof that this Walter (II) was Guy's son. He could have been Guy's brother, Walter I, and I believe indeed that this was so. When King

[14] *Chronicon* 14.26, p. 665.

[15] 1129: Ibn al-Qalanisi, *Damas*, p. 183 under the year 1128; Ibn al-Athir, *Kamel-Altevarykh*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux, 1 (Paris, 1872), p. 385 for 1129. 1132: *Chronicon* 14.17, p. 654. 1140: *Chronicon* 15.11, p. 690.

[16] RRH no. 193. On the date see Bernard Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: The Secular Church* (London, 1980), p. 371.

Fulk died in November 1143, this Walter could have returned from his exile at Latakia to a kingdom of Jerusalem which was now ruled by Fulk's widow, Melisende, as regent. She had collaborated with the conspirators of 1134 to the extent that William of Tyre blamed the revolt entirely on a love affair between her and Count Hugh II.[17] In fact, Hugh's struggle and that of his party was over Fulk's policy of replacing Baldwin II's trusted followers with his own clientele; it also favored Melisende's share in the kingdom and its government, which was hers under her marriage contract and her father's will.[18] Melisende reinstated the lord of Beirut, who had been driven from his fief and (if this had happened as a consequence of the revolt of 1134) had been of her party, whereas Guy was thoroughly stamped as one of Fulk's new men from the royal wedding of 1129 until the council of Antioch of 1140. Walter (II) is no other than Walter I.

But Guy did not let the matter rest. On 4 July 1147 he witnessed a diploma of King Baldwin III as *Guido Berytensis* (RRH no. 245). Since Nickerson's Walter (II) had obviously lost his lordship, she called this man Guy II and made him a son of her Guy I and a brother of Walter (II), a theory for which there is no evidence. I believe that he is still Guy I (whom, for the sake of clarity, I shall call Guy the Elder), who had managed to take his brother's place for the second time. This happened most likely after the middle of 1145, when King Baldwin III came of age[19] and seems to have been able to engineer this change, the legal excuses for which remain unknown. This would mean that he was less attached to his mother's apron strings than has generally been assumed and with determination set out immediately to build up a power base against his domineering mother, a formidable task indeed.

In June 1148 a great assembly at Acre planned the ill-fated attack of the armies of the Second Crusade on Damascus, and *Guido Berytensis* was among the barons of the kingdom giving their advice.[20] The *Lignages d'Outremer*, a muddled late-thirteenth-century genealogy of the nobility of the Latin East, claims that the first lord of Beirut was a certain Peter to whom the king gave (i.e., promised) Damascus during the siege of 1148 and who had four sons, Walter, Guy, Bernard, and Hugh, and two daughters, Mary and Beatrice.[21] No Peter of Beirut is known to have existed. Nickerson thought that this was a misnomer for her Guy (II) (my Guy the Elder), who indeed did have at least three sons named Walter, Guy, and Bernard. It would have made sense for the king to offer Damascus to Guy if the Second Crusade should conquer this target. From 1147 on, relations between the king and his mother were to become chillier and chillier. Although her regency had ended in 1145, her share in the kingdom and its government continued, a legacy of the system of joint rule established for Fulk and Melisende by Baldwin II in 1129 and

[17] *Chronicon* 14.15, p. 652.

[18] Mayer, "Queen Melisende," pp. 106–11.

[19] Ibid., p. 100, n. 17; p. 114, n. 41.

[20] *Chronicon* 17.1, p. 761.

[21] *Les Lignages d'Outremer*, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois, 2 (Paris, 1843), pp. 458–59.

1131. Melisende had filled the important office of constable with a relative of hers, Manasses of Hierges. Her supporters held Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee for her as well as Ramla in the south, and she also seems to have enjoyed support in the southern Transjordan. Jaffa she gave to her second son, Amalric (1151). The king tried to improve his position from the north, from the vital port towns of Tyre and Acre.[22] With the Hauran in the hands of a loyal supporter such as Guy the Elder, Damascus would very likely have swung the balance of power in favor of the king before the fight for the kingdom began openly in 1149.

In the summer of 1150, when the king's fortunes were very low indeed, he had to march to Antioch, where the count of Edessa had been captured, in order to assume once more the traditional role of protector of the northern crusader states. He summoned the feudal host and, foreseeing trouble, even went to the length of summoning the vassals individually by letter, but "ii qui in portione dominae reginae erant" all refused to appear.[23] The king was nearly finished: the kingdom was for all practical purposes divided, and he no longer exercised any authority over his mother's part. On 22 June 1150 he issued a charter in which his entourage consisted of three royal chaplains, a dispossessed archbishop of Tyre and fired royal chancellor, a Templar knight of little distinction, a prince of Galilee who was fighting for his principality, a viscount of Acre, and an obscure vassal. But two northerners supported him, Humphrey II of Toron, his castellan at Hebron since ca. 1145, whom he raised to the constableship at his earliest convenience, and Guy of Beirut.[24] After Baldwin III in a brief civil war had pushed his mother into retirement, Guy the Elder, of course, retained his position of great standing at the royal court. In 1153 *Guido Beritensis* participated among the barons of the realm in the siege of Ascalon.[25] Between July 1154 and 7 June 1156 he witnessed three royal diplomas as *Guido Berythensis* (RRH nos. 293, 309, 321).

By 4 October 1157 he was dead. On this day King Baldwin III confirmed the gift which his constable Humphrey II of Toron had made to the Knights Hospitallers of one-half of the castle of Banyas (RRH no. 325). Humphrey held the castle in fief from the lord of Beirut. Therefore a *Gualterius Berythensis* together with his brothers Guy and Bernard gave their assent.[26] Guy the Elder had been succeeded in Beirut by a Walter. If he had died, he may have been killed in the battle that took place on 19 June 1157 near Lake

[22] Hans Eberhard Mayer, *The Crusades,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1988), pp. 108–11, and "Queen Melisende," pp. 114–71. On Melisende's position in the Transjordan see my book *Die Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal (Šōbak): Jordanien im 12. Jahrhundert,* Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinavereins (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 171, 189.

[23] *Chronicon* 17.15, p. 780. That the summons was issued in written form is apparent from the Old French translation of the chronicle (Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, 1 [Paris, 1844], p. 783).

[24] RRH no. 258; Mayer, "Queen Melisende," pp. 148–52.

[25] *Chronicon* 17.21, p. 790.

[26] That Guy I (Nickerson's Guy II) had three sons Walter, Guy, and Bernard was already claimed by the *Lignages d'Outremer* (above, n. 21) for the legendary Peter of Beirut who must be identified with Guy I.

Hula in Upper Galilee, where many Christian knights were killed and where he ought to have been because the city of Banyas had just been taken by the Muslims.

But had Guy died? Could not the Walter appearing as lord of Beirut in 1157 still be Walter I, which would make Guy the Elder his brother rather than his father? This is impossible because Walter I had made his first appearance in 1125, while the Walter of 1157 (my Walter II, Nickerson's Walter III) was alive at least until 1179 (RRH no. 587). He was the one who was captured by the Saracens together with two of his brothers in the early sixties. The ransom was so large that his mother was unable to raise it to the full extent. But she paid part of it and liberated her sons although she had to render herself a hostage for the balance. Walter found that under the pressure of King Amalric no one dared lend him money for the ransom. Therefore he had to sell Beirut to the king.[27] A charter by a *Maria Beriti domina* of 1164 may belong to this period when the brothers were in captivity and their mother, who seems to have been this Mary, administered the lordship.[28] The sale of Beirut had happened by 1167, when Andronicus Comnenus was enfeoffed by the king with Beirut.[29] By virtue of his marriage to Helena of Milly, Walter II became lord of the Transjordan from 1165/66 to 1174, but he had to resign it after his wife's death. With the hand of her sister it went to Milo of Plancy, whereas Walter II was insufficiently compensated with the small lordship of Blanchegarde in the kingdom's southwest and did not regain Beirut.[30] Twice more Walter II is found as a witness, in 1178 and on 22 October 1179.[31] In both instances he appears as Walter of Beirut, but this does not imply that he had regained Beirut. By this time

[27] *Lignages d'Outremer*, p. 458.

[28] RRH no. 401. The name of Walter's mother is otherwise not known. The *Lignages d'Outremer*, p. 458, says that Walter had a sister called Mary, who is credited with three successive husbands: Baldwin of Ramla from the Ibelin family, William of Tiberias, and Gerard of Ham. The last two marriages are documented in RRH no. 800 of 1204. Baldwin of Ramla himself went through several marriages: first to the daughter of the lord of Bethsan; then to Isabella/Elizabeth, the widow of Hugh of Caesarea; then to Mary of Beirut (*Lignages d'Outremer*, pp. 450, 459, 466). Elizabeth was alive and married to Baldwin in 1175 (RRH no. 533). Consequently he could have married Mary only after this year, and in 1177 and 1179 he is reported to have been unmarried (*Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie [Paris, 1871], pp. 33, 56–60). Mary's marital life, therefore, did not start until after 1175 or even 1179. Although she was old enough to administer the lordship of Beirut in 1164, she would have remained unmarried for at least another eleven years. Also, the lady of Beirut of 1164 was no longer a maiden, as we would have to assume for the sister of Walter II of Beirut, because she issued her charter *propter anime mee et animarum virorum* (not *vivorum* as Nickerson, "Seigneury of Beirut," p. 163, translating this as "living," must have misread) *meorum . . . salutem* and therefore had been through at least two husbands by 1164. For more than one reason, therefore, it is safer to assume that the Mary of Beirut of 1164 was Walter II's mother rather than his sister.

[29] *Chronicon* 20.2, pp. 913–14.

[30] RRH nos. 454, 512, 514. Contrary to the assumption by Nickerson, "Seigneury of Beirut," p. 168, Walter did not join the lepers of St. Lazarus in 1174 (RRH no. 512), although in 1164 he had obliged himself to join them if he should at any time renounce the world (RRH no. 395). Nickerson completely mistranslated "prefate domui Sancti Lazari ad usus leprosorum qui in ea morantur" as "where Gautier stays" (*moratur*).

[31] RRH nos. 562, 587. RRH no. 548 is a forgery.

Beirut seems to have become a family name or a mere claim.[32] Walter II died after 1179 and before 1186, when the next lord of Blanchegarde, his brother Bernard, appeared as the owner of a house in Jerusalem.[33]

It is obvious that this Walter cannot be identical with Walter I, who is mentioned as lord of Beirut for the first time in 1125. Since Walter I had by then come of age, being at least fifteen years old, he had been born not later than 1110 and probably earlier. This would have made him at least sixty-nine years old in 1179, sixty-eight in 1178 when he was with the army at Jacob's Ford (RRH no. 562), and seventy-six in 1186. Since both Walter I and Walter II had a brother called Guy, any assumed identity of the two Walters would entail an identity of the two Guys. But Guy the Younger, who first appears in 1157 together with Walter II, was a child in 1159 (RRH no. 339: *Guido de Barrito puer*) and can therefore not have been the same man as Guy the Elder of Beirut (1128–1156/57). Necessarily then, Walter I and Walter II are two different persons.

But what had become of Walter I, whom we have lost sight of between 1144 and 1147 (see above, p. 864f.). For almost a decade we hear nothing of him, but in 1155, and again in 1160–62 and 1163, he resurfaces among the Knights Templars as *frater Galterius de Berito*. In 1164 he was still a brother and was sent by his master on an embassy to the court of France. He seems to have stayed in Europe because in 1166 he was *magister citra mare*. In 1167 and 1169 he was back in the Holy Land as *praeceptor* and perhaps rose to be the order's seneschal in 1169.[34] Walter I lived more than a decade longer than his brother Guy the Elder and died after 1169, possibly after 1175.

The result of this discussion is the following revised list and genealogical table (see also Table 2) of the lords of Beirut in the twelfth century:

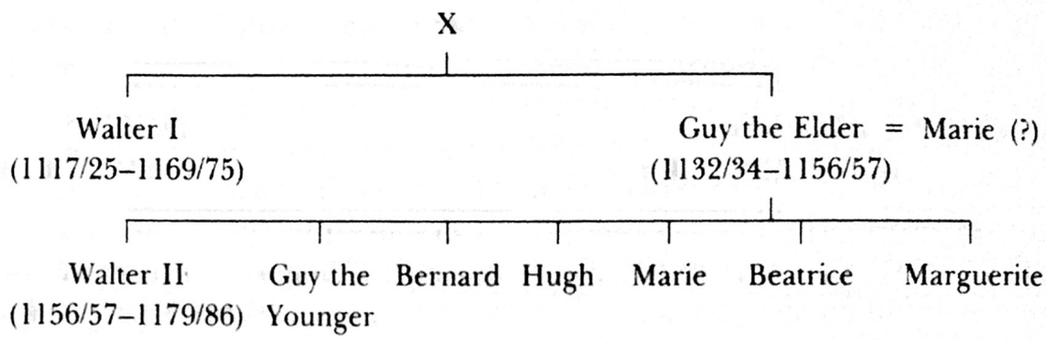
Fulk of Guînes, 1110–1117/25
(not from the Brisebarre family)
Walter I Brisebarre, 1117/25–1132/34
Guy the Elder Brisebarre, 1133/34–1143
Walter I Brisebarre, 1144–45
(Knight Templar, 1155–1169/75)
Guy the Elder Brisebarre, 1145/47–1156/57
Walter II Brisebarre, 1156/57–ca. 1166
(lord of the Transjordan, ca. 1166–74;
lord of Blanchegarde, 1174–79 [d. 1179–86]).

[32] I weigh the evidence in *Kreuzfahrerherrschaft Montréal*, pp. 230–31. As Walter had a good number of children, it is difficult to see how Beirut could have been in the king's gift in 1184, when it went to Raymond III of Tripoli, if ten years earlier it had been returned to Walter II.

[33] RRH no. 651.

[34] RRH nos. 299–301, 363, 364, 381 (here as *frater Galterius Brusebarre*), 407; Rudolf Hiestand, *Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius*, 2: *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter. Neue Folge*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3rd ser., 135 (Göttingen, 1984), p. 219, no. 17; E. G. Léonard, *Introduction au cartulaire manuscrit du Temple constitué par le Marquis d'Albon et conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1930), p. 15; RRH nos. 446, 462, 466. Possibly he returned once more to Europe to become *magister in Francia;* see R. de Lasteyrie, *Cartulaire général de Paris*, 1 (Paris, 1887), no. 533, if this is correctly dated ca. 1175. On Walter's career as a Templar see Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, "Templer in königlichen und päpstlichen Diensten," *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 1:292.

TABLE 2
Brisebarre Lords of Beirut (Mayer)



There is no room for Nickerson's Guy II, lord of Beirut,[35] or for her Walter II; her Walter III must be renumbered Walter II.

This does not merely revise the genealogy of one of the baronial families of Outremer, nor does it simply clear up a few decades of Beirut's history. It is also an example of the extent to which the lives in a great noble family could be affected by changing fortunes, political upheavals, and intrafamily feuds. Either the first purge carried out by King Fulk, in 1132, or his second purge, executed in the wake of the rebellion of Count Hugh II of Jaffa in 1134, cost Walter I his lordship and forced him into exile. His brother Guy was one of the big winners. He was royally rewarded by Fulk for the role he had played in arranging the marriage which made Fulk king of Jerusalem. Throughout Fulk's reign the claim of Guy's brother Walter I to be lord of Beirut loomed over Guy from Walter's exile at Latakia. This was a strong incentive for Guy to remain loyal to the king. That Fulk was able to bring about the changes in Jaffa and in Beirut is testimony to the relative strength of the monarchy in his day. Fulk could maintain his Beirut policy even after he had made his peace with the nobility following the revolt of Count Hugh. He had sweetened this bitter pill for the magnates by keeping Beirut strictly within the Brisebarre family, and the nobles were more concerned about the fortunes of their *lignages* than about their individual luck. Yet what Fulk had done in Beirut was not entirely forgotten. After his death in 1143 there was a reaction which we observe not only in Beirut but likewise at Hebron.[36] Guy was ousted, and Walter I was reinstated by Queen Melisende. Power hungry as she always was, she had learned a lesson from her husband and, immediately after his death, began building her own clientele. Her constable, Manasses of Hierges, is the most famous case, but Walter I of Beirut must be added to the list. He was by now marked as a man of Melisende to the extent that he could not maintain himself in his lordship very long after the beginning of Baldwin III's personal rule in the middle of 1145. It must have been the king who dealt his mother a hitherto-unrecognized blow when he

[35] I avoid numbering the Guys because Guy the Younger, the brother of Walter II, who is a different person from my Guy the Elder and Nickerson's Guy I and Guy II, was never lord of Beirut.

[36] Mayer, "Angevins," pp. 17f.

replaced Walter I in Beirut with Guy the Elder. The latter repaid him in the same way he had repaid King Fulk, that is, by unflinching loyalty, even at the nadir of Baldwin III's fortunes in 1150. He had no choice. When the king finally got the better of his mother in the civil war of 1152, Guy was secure in Beirut until he died; he was succeeded in orderly fashion by his eldest son, Walter II, while his brother, Walter I, had a remarkable career as a Knight Templar.

There are three reasons why these considerable changes have so far gone unnoticed: the assumption by Nickerson and her predecessors that all Beirut successions were orderly ones, the cold shoulder turned by crusading historians on the information offered by Ordericus Vitalis and Ibn al-Qalanisi that Fulk's reign had a very stormy beginning, and the silence of William of Tyre on the vicissitudes of the Brisebarre family. This last fact perhaps more than anything else has caused historians to overlook a political, and typically feudal, story which dramatically unfolds in the application of the most boring of historical auxiliary sciences: genealogy.

If, by omitting to inform his readers of the changing fortunes of the Brisebarres, William of Tyre chose to present a picture of a kingdom more tranquil in the early thirties than it actually was, could it be that these years saw changes in other lordships about which he does not care to tell us? Let us look at Caesarea (Table 3). When the town was taken in 1101, King Baldwin I gave it to Harpin of Bourges as a royal castellany.[37] When Sidon was taken in 1110, the king gave it as a fief to Eustace I Grenier, a Fleming from the Morinie.[38] Before 1110 Eustace seems to have been enfeoffed with Caesarea and its region because by then he had donated properties in Caesarea and in *Caco* to the Hospitallers (RRH no. 57). Adding Sidon to his possessions in 1110, he was among the big barons of Kings Baldwin I and II. When Baldwin II was taken prisoner by the Muslims in 1123, Eustace I still held both Sidon and Caesarea, and it was in the nature of things that it was he who was elected as regent for the king. This was all the more appropriate since he was at the same time constable of the kingdom, that is, its chief military officer. He died on 15 June 1123.[39]

His widow, Emma, married Count Hugh II of Jaffa. Emma had had two sons by Eustace I, named Eustace II and Walter. William of Tyre says that they were twins and that Eustace II received Sidon while Walter got Caesarea.[40] In the case of twins primogeniture was somewhat difficult to establish, and the partition of the fief seems a plausible solution. But William gives us this piece of information precisely at the moment when he tells us about the revolt of Count Hugh II of Jaffa, dated wrongly by him in 1132. In the

[37] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 7.57, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, 4 (Paris, 1879), p. 544.

[38] *Chronicon* 11.14, p. 519; *Versus de viris illustribus dioecesis Tarvanensis*, ed. Moeller, p. 191. On the origins of Eustace I see A. V. Murray, "A Note on the Origin of Eustace Grenier," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East* 6 (1986), 28–30.

[39] *Chronicon* 12.21, p. 572; Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 3.22, ed. Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 674–75.

[40] *Chronicon* 14.15, p. 652.

TABLE 3
Grenier Lords of Caesarea and Sidon (Mayer)

(1) Eustace I (Caesarea before 1110–23; Sidon 1110–23) = Emma = (2) Hugh II of Jaffa (administers Caesarea 1123–[1126]/28, Sidon 1123–[1126]/28, de facto until 1134)

Eustace II (de iure Sidon [1126]/28–ca. 1131)

Walter (Caesarea [1126]/28–1149)

Sidon was part of the royal domain from 1134 until the middle of the 1140s; then it went to Gerard of Sidon, not of the Grenier family.

beginning of the revolt Walter of Caesarea played a leading part in opposing his stepfather, Hugh of Jaffa. Could there have been a link between this role and the partition of the fiefs of Eustace I Grenier?

The charter evidence does not reflect such a partition. Quite on the contrary and opposed to current opinion the charters indicate that in practical terms the brothers did not at first receive either Sidon or Caesarea. Their mother's uncle, Patriarch Arnulf of Jerusalem (1112–18), had made her a very rich woman when he estranged the town and the oasis of Jericho from the possessions of the Holy Sepulcher and gave them to her on her marriage to Eustace I.[41] Emma kept Jericho throughout her life. In 1116 Eustace I and Emma gave some land and a mill and important water rights to Quarantana, a church belonging to the Holy Sepulcher near Jericho, where Christ had fasted for forty days, hence the name (RRH no. 82). Less than a year after Eustace's death, on 8 April 1124, Emma was the wife of Hugh II of Jaffa, even though it was considered improper for a widow to remarry within the year after her husband's death.[42] At this date she was petitioned by the priest of Quarantana to increase the water rights. She did so, this time with the consent of her sons, Eustace II and Walter, because Jericho was part of their inheritance. But she also did so "per manum viri eius domni Hugonis principis Ioppe," her new husband (RRH no. 104). It was he who was in charge of Jericho on behalf of Emma and the boys. They were evidently minors. Their parents had married when Arnulf was patriarch, that is, not before April 1112. The twins could have been born in 1113, not earlier. This tallies with the fact that Walter received Caesarea, having come of age at fifteen, about 1128 (between 1127 and March 1129; see below, p. 873). What applied to Jericho must have applied to Sidon and Caesarea. If Hugh held

[41] *Chronicon* 11.15, p. 519. See also Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 103, n. 20a. The gift was made after Arnulf had become patriarch because William censures him for something he did as archdeacon and then begins his story about the gift of Jericho by saying: "Hic sicuti et prius se ipsum continuans . . ."

[42] *Chronicon* 21.14(15), p. 981.

the oasis on behalf of the twins, he must also have administered the two maritime towns and their respective lordships for them. These were vast possessions. It meant that Hugh controlled the coast and the rich coastal plain from its then most southerly Christian point near Jaffa nearly to Haifa and again further north at Sidon, while only Beirut and Haifa were in the hands of other vassals and only the central part from Acre to Tyre was in the hands of the king. It is easy to see why Hugh occasionally styled himself *princeps*.[43] Count Hugh was quite clearly a potential threat to the king.

In 1125 King Baldwin II confirmed the very important treaty which his regents had made with the Venetians two years earlier (RRH no. 105). He made every effort to have a large representation of the clergy and the nobility in the witness list. We find here, among others, the lords of Lydda, Tiberias, Jaffa, and Beirut, all being called *domini* of their respective towns. Then we find *Ego Eustachius Granerius similiter affirmo.* He is not called lord of Caesarea or of Sidon. Since in the charters this had already been true of his father, Eustace I, it has been ignored. But Eustace II was then only twelve years old and therefore still a minor. However, as it was felt to be appropriate to include him but not his brother, it would seem that, whatever the legal arrangements had been at the time of the death of Eustace I, it was intended that Eustace II should receive his father's undivided fief when he would come of age in 1128. We find the same situation in January 1126. Barisan-le-Vieux, the constable of Jaffa, then made a donation to the Hospitallers, which was confirmed by Count Hugh II of Jaffa (RRH nos. 112, 113). In both instances we find among the witnesses *Eustachius autem Granerius et Galterius frater eius.* The boys were still living at Jaffa with their mother and their stepfather. But Walter is merely the appendix to his brother, just as in the same charters Guy the Elder Brisebarre is merely the brother of Walter I, lord of Beirut. Again the evidence points to Eustace's being the preferred one of the twins.

And preferred he was indeed. In the same year, 1126, we find him acting as if he were lord of Sidon and also married, although he was only thirteen years old. With the assent of his wife, Papia, and his barons, he confirmed the gift of a mosque and a plantation in Sidon which King Baldwin I had made to the abbey of Josaphat at the request of Eustace I (RRH no. 114b). The inference to be drawn is that sometime after January 1126 Eustace II had been made lord of Sidon, possibly in connection with his wedding, which given his age must have been a very recent event. It would also seem that the monks of Josaphat petitioned him for the confirmation precisely because he had recently become lord of Sidon. Had he been elevated earlier to this position, they would have approached him sooner. However, Eustace's position at Sidon was not without limitations. His mother was among the witnesses; the business was transacted in her presence; and his brother gave his assent.[44] Had Eustace II been lord of Sidon in name and in fact, this assent

[43] Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 108, n. 31a.

[44] "Hoc idem vero donum frater meus Walterius laudando in nostrae praesentia matris concessit." That Walter "wrote" the charter for Eustace II is a bad mistake by Röhricht in RRH no. 114b.

would not have been necessary. But as he was still a minor, his mother's assent was advisable. And if the decision that he should have Sidon was not yet final (because it would at least have to be reconfirmed in 1128, when both he and his brother would come of age), then his brother's assent was advisable. In any case, we must conclude from this charter that the last word in the affairs of Sidon still belonged to Emma and, consequently, to Hugh II of Jaffa. Eustace II in 1126 was only the future lord of Sidon.

The death of Queen Morphia of Jerusalem, which occurred more likely on 1 October 1126 than on 1 October 1127,[45] necessitated drastic decisions in Jerusalem. Baldwin II had four daughters but no son. It was now decided that the oldest daughter, Melisende, was to succeed him. This first female succession to the crown pleased the Latin barons no more than a similar succession pleased their contemporary counterparts in England. In both countries it was to lead to war and revolt. It may very well be that the occasion had to be used to settle pending feudal problems in order to avoid additional unrest among the nobility. Perhaps this caused Eustace II's premature marriage and his elevation to the position of future lord of Sidon. If the regulation of the royal succession and the Sidon settlement were contemporaneous, they must have occurred after Queen Morphia's death on 1 October 1126 and before the year had ended, since the year 1126 still saw Eustace II's promotion.

But Sidon could not be disposed of without deciding the fate of Caesarea. In January 1126 Walter had only been Eustace's brother (RRH nos. 112, 113). In 1127 he was still living in Jaffa and witnessed — characteristically this time without Eustace — a charter issued by Barisan-le-Vieux simply as *Walterius Granerius* (RRH no. 120). But in March of 1129 he was named by the royal chancery in the witness list of a royal diploma, which also contains the name of Hugh of Jaffa, as *Gualterius Cesaree domnus*.[46] Walter had been recognized by the king as lord of Caesarea but evidently not of Sidon. He had come of age during the previous year so that he was now lord of Caesarea in his own right. This leads me to assume that the same decision which had been taken for Sidon late in 1126 had also been taken for Caesarea and that the fief of Eustace I was not actually divided until this time. But just as Eustace II's role in Sidon was only a limited one, so was Walter's in Caesarea up to 1128; Caesarea remained under the sway of Hugh II of Jaffa as long as Walter was a minor. Hardly had he come of age when the royal chancery officially styled him lord of Caesarea. Eustace II may have been absent when this royal charter was issued, but more likely he was dead. In this case Hugh's regime in Sidon continued.[47]

[45] Rudolf Hiestand, "Chronologisches zur Geschichte des Königreiches Jerusalem um 1130," *Deutsches Archiv* 26 (1970), 220–24.

[46] RRH no. 121. On the date see Hiestand, "Chronologisches," p. 223, n. 15, and p. 229, n. 60.

[47] In June of 1128 Patriarch Warmund of Jerusalem took part in the siege of Belhasem *in pago Sydoniensi*, a picturesque fortress northeast of Sidon, then held by bandits. He there contracted an illness which caused his death at Sidon on 27 July 1128 (*Chronicon* 13.25, p. 619; on the date of his death see Hiestand, "Chronologisches," pp. 226–29). To clear the country of

On 21 August 1131 King Baldwin II died. On 14 September 1131 Fulk of Anjou was crowned king. Barely one week later, on 21 September 1131, when Walter of Caesarea had just returned from the coronation, he confirmed, in Caesarea, the donations which Eustace I and others had made to the Hospitallers (RRH no. 139). He styled himself *G cognomento Granerius Cesaree et Sydonie dei gratia dominus.* He issued his charter with the assent of his wife, Juliana, and *multi baronum meorum* also assented. He had an impressive retinue of vassals. He had two viscounts, one in Caesarea and one in *Caco;* he even had a chamberlain and a seneschal (for Caesarea only: *dapifer Cesaree*), modeled on the royal household. He now certainly was a full-fledged lord of Caesarea and no longer included an assent of his mother or of Hugh II of Jaffa, who were both still alive, or of anyone except his wife and his vassals. He made his confirmation for the benefit of his own soul but also of that of his father, his brother, all relatives, and all faithful departed. In other words, Eustace II was dead. It is precisely for this reason that Walter added the title of lord of Sidon to that of lord of Caesarea.

But was he really lord of Sidon? The combination title never occurs again. Among the witnesses there is not one official from Sidon. None of the names of the witnesses is identical with any witness in Eustace II's Sidon charter of 1126 (RRH no. 114b). We can locate most of the properties named, and the identified ones are all in the lordship of Caesarea. It is hard to accept that his father, who had been a considerable benefactor of the Hospitallers in Caesarea, should not have been the same in Sidon; yet Walter confirmed possessions only in Caesarea. And the monks of Josaphat, who had petitioned Eustace II for a confirmation of his father's gifts in Sidon immediately after his accession there, did not bother to get this reconfirmed now by Walter.

It looks very much as if Sidon was not in Walter's hands. In fact, in his next charter, of 19 December 1135, he was only *Cesariensis dominus* and gave his assent to a business from his lordship. Things remained like this during Walter's life. Whether he issued charters himself or whether he was a witness to royal charters, he was invariably the lord of Caesarea, up to his last appearance in 1149, and he never dealt with affairs outside Caesarea.[48] In fact, since 1147 there was a new lord of Sidon by the name of Gerald.[49] While an old Sidon vassal of 1126 named Theodoric may reappear in one of

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robbers was first of all a task of the local lord. It is slightly incorrect to consider this campaign one of the king's and to deduce that Sidon was at the time royal domain. The king's participation is not mentioned anywhere, nor does the patriarch's presence necessarily mean that the royal army was there. The patriarch had much business in the north in those days. He had consecrated an archbishop at Tyre in 1127 or early 1128, who had immediately gone to Rome against the patriarch's wishes for the pallium and who can be shown to have seen the pope before July 1128. Only after this was a bishop consecrated for Sidon for the first time. Until then and certainly in the spring and summer of 1128, when the archbishop was at the papal curia, it was the patriarch who had to fill in as a bishop in Sidon (*Chronicon* 13.23, pp. 615–17; Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2nd ed. [Leipzig, 1885–88], no. 7315; RRH no. 144).

[48] RRH nos. 159, 162b, 174, 237, 243, 245, 256; *Chronicon* 17.1, p. 761.

[49] RRH no. 245. On the erroneous theory that he was a son of Eustace II see below, n. 51.

Gerald's charters in 1164 (RRH nos. 114b, 393c), Gerald could enlist the services of one Caesarea vassal, Engelbert of Aire, who was in the entourage of Walter of Caesarea in 1146 and in that of Gerald of Sidon in 1158.[50] The only certain link between Caesarea and Sidon in three decades, Engelbert came from a family which had been in the service of Hugh II of Jaffa when he administered Caesarea and Sidon (RRH nos. 112, 113, 147); he therefore may have had fiefs in both lordships and was skillful enough to maintain himself in both.

Since Sidon had still been under some sort of administration by Hugh in 1126 and since Walter could not get his claim to Sidon recognized in 1131, when Eustace II was certainly dead, it seems that Hugh's administration of Sidon continued because neither a child nor the brother of Eustace II got it. Nothing is known about children of Eustace II; since he had gotten married in 1126, when he was no more than thirteen, and may have been dead in 1129, at the age of sixteen, and was certainly dead in 1131, when he would have been eighteen, he may very well not have had any children.[51]

The brother, Walter, certainly did not get Sidon. His mother, who was still alive in 1133 (RRH no. 147), apparently could not help him with this problem, so he decided to help himself. It was he among all the vassals who in 1134 rose in the royal court and accused his stepfather, Hugh II of Jaffa, of lèse majésté and plotting with others against the king's life.[52] William of Tyre calls Walter at this point "etate integer," meaning that he had full legal competence to act on his own. This confirms my reconstruction of Walter's age: he was so young that it had to be stressed that he was fully competent and was no longer the legal charge of the stepfather he was so dramatically accusing. He is said to have acted at the instigation of King Fulk, which may very well be true. But Fulk had to find someone with a considerable grievance against Hugh, since the nobility could not be expected to be very pleased by a charge which, if found to be true, entailed the loss of the guilty man's fiefs. Precisely for this reason it was attractive for Walter to make himself the king's mouthpiece in the matter. If Hugh fell, Walter could finally expect to come into Sidon, because his stepfather's administration there would end.

[50] RRH no. 243; J. Delaville Le Roulx, "Chartes de Terre Sainte," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 11 (1905–8), 181, no. 1.

[51] The assumption by John L. LaMonte, "The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Byzantion* 17 (1944/45), 188–89, that Gerard of Sidon was a son of Eustace II is entirely unsupported. The *Lignages d'Outremer*, p. 456, attributes two sons named Gerard and Walter to Eustace I and Emma when, in fact, we know that they were named Eustace and Walter. This caused LaMonte to postulate that the *Lignages* had confused Eustace I and II and had attributed to the couple their true son Walter and a son Gerard who, however, was the son of Eustace II. This is as ingenious as the theory of the older genealogists that Gerard and Eustace II were one and the same person and that he was lord of Sidon from 1123 to 1164. Upon closer examination LaMonte's theory falls to the ground just as the other one had done. LaMonte supposed that Walter of Caesarea in 1131 was the warden of Gerard and therefore styled himself lord of Caesarea and Sidon and that in 1135, when Walter had dropped the Sidon title, the wardship had ended. But this would have meant that Gerard had reached the age of at least fifteen in 1135 and so could not have been born later than 1120, when his supposed father, Eustace II, was only seven years old (see above, p. 871)!

[52] *Chronicon* 14.16, p. 652.

Things did not develop along these lines. There was not a new lord of Sidon until 1147, and Walter never got the lordship. When the revolt triggered by Walter's accusation collapsed, Hugh's fiefs were taken by the king. The verdict affected not only Jaffa but also Jericho, even though this belonged to Emma. The oasis was taken over by the royal family because Queen Melisende was able to endow the double monastery of Bethany with it.[53] The same thing must have happened to Sidon, and it must have remained royal domain from 1134 up to the middle of the 1140s. It should be remembered that the verdict of 1134 was very mild indeed. Hugh was exiled but only for three years; he was allowed to return afterwards. In the meantime all his debts would be paid from the revenues of his possessions. Whether the king would actually have readmitted him remains uncertain. After all, the "temporary" takeover of his fiefs to settle the count's debts merely covered up the fact that the king did, in fact, confiscate his fiefs. They must have included the lordship of Sidon. This is why we do not hear of another lord of Sidon until after Fulk's death, when at least this injustice could be repaired.

But the winner was not Walter. He remained loyal to Fulk, as far as we know, but he had no choice. He probably also remained bitter because King Fulk had outwitted him. John LaMonte pointed out that he never became one of the intimates of either King Fulk or King Baldwin III, witnessing only one charter of each.[54] Towards the end of his life he was in very difficult financial circumstances: in 1146 he sold a piece of property in a profitable bargain to the Hospitallers in order to raise money "pro liberatione mea et hominum meorum, qui pro debitis meis apud Acon sepissime tenebantur capti et semper fidei sue sponsione astricti" (RRH no. 243). Both he and his vassals had had to serve time because he was unable to meet his debts. In the internal troubles of the kingdom from 1147 to 1152, inasmuch as he still saw them, he does not appear to have taken sides. He was still alive in 1149, but in 1154 he had been succeeded by his son Hugh, whereas another son, Eustace III, joined the lepers of St. Lazarus (RRH nos. 256, 293, 361). The life of Walter Grenier of Caesarea, like that of many other men, had taken a turn for the worse under King Fulk.

The tableau which has emerged is very typically feudal but very far removed from the impression we have had so far of the kingdom of Jerusalem in this period. Joshua Prawer in a fundamentally important paper on the development of the Jerusalem nobility characterized the period of Kings Fulk and Baldwin III, that is, the years 1131–63, thus: "The first impression one receives is that of stability. In startling contrast to the preceding period, we see the noble families now firmly established in their seignories. Succession has become regular; genealogies are continuous and clear — proof that the seignorial families have become rooted in their patrimonies."[55] Yet at close

[53] *Chronicon* 15.26, p. 710; Mayer, "Queen Melisende," p. 103, n. 20a.

[54] RRH nos. 174, 245; John L. LaMonte, "The Lords of Caesarea in the Period of the Crusades," *Speculum* 22 (1947), 148.

[55] Joshua Prawer, "La noblesse et le régime féodal du royaume latin de Jérusalem," *Le moyen âge* 65 (1959), 52 = idem, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 27–28.

scrutiny one finds that the purges which Fulk carried out among the nobility brought about grave changes and provoked a partial reaction after his death. Hugh II of Jaffa lost his vast dominions of Jaffa and Sidon. The Ibelins embarked on their rise at a speed which soon became breathtaking. Beirut stayed in the Brisebarre family but shifted back and forth between Walter I and Guy the Elder. The Grenier family permanently lost Sidon. From his days as count of Anjou King Fulk was an old hand at taming vassals and keeping them at bay. He did the same in Jerusalem, and although his triumph over Hugh II of Jaffa was only half a victory because from now on he had to associate his wife Melisende with his government, he had clearly indicated to the magnates what would happen to them if they rose in revolt. There were winners, like Guy the Elder of Beirut, William of Buris of Galilee, Baldwin of Ramla, Renier Bruce of Banias, and Barisan-le-Vieux of Ibelin, who formed a closely knit clan at all times loyal to King Fulk. Others, like Walter of Caesarea, may have grumbled but only in their armchairs. Walter had lost Sidon; he was not going to risk Caesarea. Others, like Hugh II of Jaffa and Walter I of Beirut, were exiled. In his relations with his vassals King Fulk was the last strong king of Jerusalem.

Prawer is correct, however, in pointing out that in this period the social cohesion of the nobility increased through royal service, intermarriage, and the accumulation of lands in the hands of a tiny stratum of true magnates: with the cohesion grew the consciousness of its potential power. What Fulk had done was not forgotten. Hardly had he died when Queen Melisende, trying to build her own clientele, undid his actions in Beirut. Her son did his best to undo what she was doing, and in Beirut he succeeded quickly. As the kingdom helplessly drifted towards the civil war of 1152 between mother and son, a class of nobles who were strong enough to defy a royal summons in 1150 and whose support had to be bought by both sides developed a new feeling of strength. From now on, high-handed actions in the style of King Fulk were no longer possible. Where Fulk would have imposed a decision, Baldwin III slowly had to give way. Two years before his death, he gave the Transjordan to Philip of Nablus, now loyal for a decade but before 1152 a die-hard supporter of Queen Melisende. The king retained the vital caravan control in southern Transjordan, but only on parchment. With his castles there now in a vassal's hands, the caravan control gradually slipped from the regalia. And when in 1174 Milo of Plancy attempted to keep the powerful magnates from the presence of the king and thus deprived them of their determining influence on politics, they murdered him because he had dared touch one of the very bases of their power. As in Europe the baronial class slowly put checks on the monarchs, but the kings had held out for one reign longer than has hitherto been seen.

XVIII

Die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron

Die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron ist bereits von GUSTAV BEYER untersucht worden[1]. Es gelang ihm die richtige Einsicht, daß die vor ihm sogenannten Herren von Hebron in der Frühzeit lediglich königliche Kastellane waren[2], ohne daß er indessen bemerkt hätte, daß in diesem Amt einer der wichtigen Kristallisationspunkte für die Entstehung wirklicher Baronien des Königreichs Jerusalem lag. Das aber ist der Schlüssel für die Klärung der Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron, die komplexer ist, als BEYER klar war. Die Ausgliederung Hebrons aus der Krondomäne und seine Erhebung zur eigenen Baronie setzte BEYER[3] gleichzeitig mit dem großen Tausch von 1161 an, in dem Philipp von Nablus, der spätere Templermeister, seine Familienbesitzungen in Samaria gegen die riesige Herrschaft Transjordanien (Outrejourdain) hergab[4], mußte freilich bereits einräumen, daß die darauf bezügliche Urkunde bisher nicht aufgefunden sei. In RRH n° 366 ist nämlich von Hebron nicht die Rede. Aber wenn Philipp von Nablus seine Lehen um Nablus gegen Transjordanien *und* Hebron tauschte, ist nicht einzusehen, warum über Hebron gesondert geurkundet worden sein sollte, so daß das Fehlen der Erwähnung Hebrons in RRH n° 366 störender ist, als BEYER wahrhaben wollte. Aber selbst wenn eine eigene Urkunde über die Verleihung Hebrons als Baronie an Philipp von Nablus 1161 ergangen sein sollte, so ist nicht zu erkennen, warum sie verloren sein sollte. RRH n° 366 war ein Vorgang von grundsätzlicher Wichtigkeit für die Familie Milly, der Philipp von Nablus entstammte. Das Rechtsgeschäft tangierte nicht nur ihn, sondern auch seine beiden Brüder Guido Francigena und Heinrich den Büffel, da Philipp die Familienlehen in Samaria der Krone gegenüber gesamthaft vertrat und seine Brüder daraus mit Afterlehen ausgestattet hatte. Da über deren Rechtsstellung nunmehr entschieden werden mußte und in RRH n° 366 auch entschieden wurde, erhielt offensichtlich jeder der drei Brüder eine Ausfertigung von RRH n° 366, und diejenige Heinrichs des Büffels gelangte in das Archiv der sogenannten Seigneurie de Joscelin und von dort aus, als der Deutsche Orden 1220 die Seigneurie ankaufte, in das Archiv und das Kopialbuch des Deutschen Ordens[5]. Bestünde also der von BEYER postulierte innere Zusammenhang zwischen der Preisgabe der Millyschen Familienlehen in Samaria einerseits und der Verleihung der Doppelherrschaft Transjordanien-Hebron andererseits, so müßte eine gesonderte Urkunde über Hebron denselben Weg genommen haben und noch erhalten sein, auch wenn

[1] G. BEYER, Die Kreuzfahrergebiete von Jerusalem und S. Abraham (Hebron), ZDPV 65 (1942), 169–174.
[2] Ebd., S. 172.
[3] Ebd., S. 173.
[4] R. RÖHRICHT, Regesta regni Hierosolymitani (Innsbruck 1893; Additamentum ebd. 1904; künftig zitiert als RRH mit Nummer), n° 366.
[5] E. STREHLKE, Tabulae ordinis Theutonici (Berlin 1869), 3 n° 3. H. E. MAYER, Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden, in: Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas, hg. J. FLECKENSTEIN und M. HELLMANN (Vorträge und Forschungen 26; Sigmaringen 1980), 182.

der Deutsche Orden nachweislich nicht das ganze Archiv der Seigneurie de Joscelin erhielt[6]. Aber nach Beyer wäre die Urkunde über Hebron von derselben Bedeutung für den Deutschen Orden gewesen wie diejenige über Transjordanien, so daß man auch von der Überlieferungssituation her gleiche Überlebenschancen für beide Stücke annehmen muß.

Bei dieser Sachlage kann Beyers Lösung nicht befriedigen und gibt Anlaß, die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron nochmals völlig neu zu untersuchen, was um so lohnender ist, als Beyer die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung Hebrons ebenso richtig erkannt hat wie seine dominierende Position als Kreuzungspunkt zweier sehr wichtiger Straßen, einmal der großen Nord-Südverbindung im Landesinneren auf der Wasserscheide zwischen Mittelmeer und Totem Meer und zum anderen der von Gaza und Askalon um das Südende des Toten Meeres nach Kerak, der Hauptfestung der Herrschaft Transjordanien, führenden Straße[7]. Beyers Annahme basierte auf der richtigen Feststellung, daß Rainald von Châtillon, einer der Nachfolger Philipps von Nablus in Transjordanien, gleichzeitig Herr von Hebron war, als welcher er seit 1177 urkundet[8]. Auch hier hätte Beyer stutzig werden müssen durch die Feststellung, daß Philipp von Nablus von der königlichen Kanzlei nicht ein einziges Mal als Herr von Hebron, ja nicht einmal als Philipp von Hebron bezeichnet wurde, obwohl er 1165 in RRH n° 412 immerhin als *Philippus de Monte Regali* bezeichnet wird, also nach der zweitstärksten und namengebenden Burg der Herrschaft Transjordanien. Nun bestritt Beyer, daß dem *dominus*-Titel in Jerusalem überhaupt Bedeutung zukomme[9]. Das ist so kategorisch nicht haltbar. Nicht jeder Baron wurde immer als *dominus* bezeichnet; auch Philipp von Montréal erhielt in RRH n° 412 diesen Titel nicht, obwohl er zweifelsfrei Herr von Montréal-Transjordanien war. Aber die Nennung erfolgt in der Zeugenliste, und hier werden die Barone nur selten als *domini* bezeichnet. Auch sonst war die Titulierung bis zu einem gewissen Grade dem Belieben des Kanzleinotars überlassen, aber doch nicht völlig. War auch gewiß nicht jeder *dominus* ein Baron, so war doch jeder Baron mit einer eigenen Seigneurie ein *dominus*, selbst dann, wenn dieser Titel im Einzelfall wegblieb. Und wo ein Nichtbaron als *dominus* bezeichnet wird, gilt es mindestens aufzupassen und der Stellung des Mannes nachzuspüren, denn immer bedeutet die Verwendung des Titels mindestens, daß der Titulierte ein erhebliches Gewicht hatte, etwa eine seigneursähnliche Stellung. Man kann den Titel nicht einfach beiseite schieben, wie Beyer dies getan hat, der sich stattdessen ganz darauf verließ, wer jeweils den Konsens zu Besitzverschiebungen gab, der König (in welchem Falle der betreffende Bezirk noch zur Krondomäne gehörte) oder ein anderer (in welchem Falle der Bezirk bereits den Status einer Baronie hatte). Dies ist gewiß ein wichtiges Indiz und sicher gewichtiger als die Verwendung des *dominus*-Titels. Aber nicht immer sind verwertbare Konsense erhalten. Dann kommt der *dominus*-Titel wieder zum Tragen, der auch sonst ergänzend stets mitzubeachten ist. Wenn Beyer in diesem Zusammenhang von staatsrechtlichen Vorstellungen im Königreich Jerusalem spricht, so hat er zwar im Prinzip recht, aber es war doch nicht so, daß dieses Staatsrecht in dem uns heute vertrauten Sinne strikt kodifiziert gewesen wäre, sondern viel, fast alles blieb dem unkodifizierten und daher innerhalb einer gewissen Bandbreite doch Schwankungen unterworfenen Gewohnheitsrecht vorbehalten. Beyer hat zwar im Ergebnis recht, wenn er bestreitet, daß die frühen *domini* von Hebron vor Philipp von Nablus bereits Seigneurs von Hebron gewesen seien, aber sie werden durch die Verwendung des Titels doch aus der Masse der Kronvasallen ohne

[6] Ebd., S. 174f. 208.
[7] Beyer, ZDPV 65 (Anm. 1), 169f.
[8] RRH n° 551. Mayer, Seigneurie de Joscelin (Anm. 5), 173 Anm. 9.
[9] Beyer, ZDPV 65 (Anm. 1), 170f.

Baronie deutlich herausgehoben. Umgekehrt ist es, wie gesagt, störend, daß Philipp von Nablus weder den *dominus*-Titel erhält noch auch nur nach Hebron benannt wird.

Nun hätte sich BEYER für seine Theorie der Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron bereits auf eine genealogische Quelle des 14. Jh.s berufen können. Die *Lignages d'Outremer* sagen nämlich zweimal ausdrücklich, daß der König von Jerusalem 1161 mit Philipp von Nablus dessen samaritanische Familienlehen gegen die Herrschaften Transjordanien *und* Hebron tauschte[10]. Aber gegen diese Behauptung sprechen dieselben Argumente wie gegen die Theorie BEYERS. Lassen sich die *Lignages d'Outremer* widerlegen?

Hebron wurde von Gottfried von Bouillon 1099 oder 1100 erobert, ohne daß sich das Datum genauer festlegen ließe[11]. Nachdem Arsur etwa am 25. März 1100 einen Vertrag mit Gottfried ausgehandelt[12] und im Zusammenhang damit den gefangenen Gerhard von Avesnes freigelassen hatte, verlieh Gottfried diesem *maxima terrae beneficia centum marcarum cum castello, quod dicitur ad Sanctum Abraham* (= Hebron)[13]. Gerhard starb in der Schlacht bei Ramla 1102[14]. Möglicherweise blieb es nach Gottfrieds Tod und dem Regierungsantritt seines Bruders Balduin I. nicht bei dieser Belehnung, denn wir treffen in Hebron dann Geldemar Carpinel. Er behauptete, einen Anspruch auf Haifa, das im August 1100 erobert wurde, aus einer proleptischen Verleihung Gottfrieds für den Fall der Eroberung zu haben. Als aber tatsächlich der Normanne Tankred Haifa übernahm, soll sich Geldemar *ad castellum validissimum ac ditissimum, quod dicitur ad Sanctum Abraham*, zurückgezogen haben[15]. Es hat dabei für die Frage, welchen Rechtsstatus (königliche Domäne oder Seigneurie) Hebron hatte, keine Bedeutung, daß der König nach der verlorenen Schlacht bei Ramla von Mitte Mai 1102 alle Waffenfähigen in Jerusalem und Hebron zur Kriegführung nach Jaffa aufbot[16], denn diesen Befehl konnte er einem Seigneur ebenso erteilen wie einem königlichen Kastellan. Aber BEYER hat richtig erkannt, daß dies bedeutet, daß damals eine Garnison in Hebron lag[17]. Dies gilt umso mehr, als der Ort selbst zerstört und nur das Kastell intakt war. So jedenfalls wird die Stadt 1102 von Saewulf und 1106/07 von dem russischen Igumen Daniil geschildert[18].

[10] Les Lignages d'Outremer, Recueil des Historiens des Croisades (künftig gekürzt: RHC). Lois 2,452. 462.

[11] Albert von Aachen, Historia Hierosolymitana VII. 26, RHC. Historiens occidentaux (künftig gekürzt: Hoc) 4,523; Balderich von Dol, Historia Ierosolimitana, RHC. Hoc. 4,111: schätzungsweise im Herbst 1099, nämlich nach der Eroberung von Jerusalem und nach Tankreds Besetzung von Tiberias.

[12] H. HAGENMEYER, Chronologie de la première croisade, Revue de l'Orient latin 8 (1900–1901), 325 n° 453.

[13] Albert von Aachen VII. 15, S. 516. J. RILEY-SMITH, The motives of the earliest crusaders and the settlement of Latin Palestine, 1095–1100, English Historical Review 98 (1983), 726 Anm. 3 nimmt zu Unrecht an, hier sei nicht Hebron selbst, sondern ein Kastell bei Hebron gemeint, vielleicht Thecua. Bei dieser Interpretation wird der Satz aber unübersetzbar. Auch sind damit zwei andere Sätze bei Albert von Aachen (unten S. 67) zu vergleichen, wo gar kein Zweifel sein kann, daß mit *ad Sanctum Abraham* Hebron direkt gemeint ist (so auch RILEY-SMITH, ebd. S. 728 Anm. 8). Auf Thecua, das bei Bethlehem, nicht bei Hebron lag, gibt es schon gar keinen Hinweis.

[14] Albert von Aachen IX. 4, S. 593.

[15] Ebd., VII. 26, S. 523.

[16] Fulcher von Chartres, Historia Hierosolymitana, hg. H. HAGENMEYER (Heidelberg 1913), II. 21, S. 449.

[17] BEYER, ZDPV 65 (Anm. 1), 170.

[18] Pilgrimage of Saewulf to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, übers. vom Bischof von Clifton, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 4,47. Vie et pèlerinage de Daniel, hégoumène russe, übers. von MADAME DE KHITROWO, Itinéraires russes en Orient (Société de l'Orient latin. Série géographique 5; Genf 1889), 44.

Als nächster Besitzer Hebrons wird in dem Gedicht *De illustribus viris* Hugo von Rebecques aus der Gegend von Thérouanne genannt:

Et castrum quoddam, quod Sancti dicitur Abraham Hugo Rebecensis tenuit, miler generosus[19].

In der Fälschung RRH n° 43 für Genua von angeblich 1104 erscheint als Zeuge Hugo de S. Abrahm, und Albert von Aachen nennt ihn zu 1105[20]. Möglicherweise wird er im Jahre 1227 in RRH n° 983, einer großen Besitzbestätigung des Papstes Gregor IX. für das Bistum Bethlehem, als *dominus de S. Habraham* bezeichnet, aber zu dieser Zeit war Hebron schon lange eine Herrschaft des Reiches (wenigstens in der Theorie, denn faktisch war es seit 1187 an die Muslime verloren). Ich habe bereits an anderer Stelle darauf hingewiesen, daß es sich um den zweiten Hugo von Hebron (s. unten S. 69) gehandelt haben könnte[21]. Der Papst bestätigte nämlich dem Bistum Bethlehem zwei Casalien aus einer Schenkung eines *Gonfredus de Turre* sowie die Schenkung weiteren unspezifizierten Besitzes, die Hugo von Hebron aus dem Lehen dieses Gaufrid gemacht hatte. Gaufrid war ein Vasall Balduins I. von Jerusalem, der zugleich Kastellan des Davidsturms, also der Zitadelle von Jerusalem, war und 1106 in muslimische Gefangenschaft geriet. Das würde bedeuten, daß Gaufrid zugleich Lehen des Königs und Hugos von Hebron innehatte. Wenn aber Gaufrid identisch ist mit einem gewissen Gottfried, der nach dem 1138 verfaßten Kolophon einer syrischen Handschrift 1103/04 in sarazenische Gefangenschaft geriet, daraus erst 1137 wieder entlassen wurde und 1138 starb[22], könnte mit Hugo von Hebron auch jener dortige Kastellan gemeint sein, der von 1136 bis 1144 bezeugt ist. Der erste oder zweite Hugo von Hebron muß als Lehnsherr Gaufrids in der Zeit der Gefangenschaft dessen hebronensisches Lehen nicht nur verwaltet, sondern praktisch eingezogen haben, da er daraus ohne Gaufrids Zustimmung zugunsten von Bethlehem verfügte, wenn auch mit einer theoretischen Wahrung von Gaufrids Recht auf das Lehen.

Ducange-Rey[23] nennen nach dem ersten Hugo einen gewissen Rorgius als „Herrn" von Hebron, der uns ansonsten als Herr von Haifa bekannt ist und 1107 starb[24]. Die einzige Quellenbasis hierfür ist ein Satz bei Albert von Aachen[25], der schreibt, die Muslime seien gekommen *ad expugnandum castellum, quod dicitur ad Sanctum Abraham, et destruendum, quod tunc quidam Walterus cognomine Mahumeth post mortem Rorgii dono regis susceptum tuebatur*. Daraus folgt an sich noch keineswegs zwingend, daß Albert von Aachen Rorgius für den örtlichen Machthaber in Hebron hielt. Vielmehr könnte *post mortem Rorgii* eine reine Zeitangabe sein. Aber das mag hier um so eher auf sich beruhen bleiben, als wir in Hebron noch in einem weiteren Fall sehen werden, daß ein Seigneur des Reiches gleichzeitig in Hebron königlicher Kastellan war (s. unten S. 71). Man sollte also Rorgius eher in der Reihe der Kastellane von Hebron belassen, zumal das Wort *tuebatur* mehr auf eine Kastellanie deutet als auf eine Seigneurie.

[19] Ch. Moeller, Les Flamands du Ternois au royaume latin de Jérusalem, Mélanges Paul Frédéricq (Brüssel 1904), 192.
[20] Albert von Aachen IX. 48, S. 621.
[21] H. E. Mayer, Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem (Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 26; Stuttgart 1977), 76–78.
[22] Abbé Martin, Les premiers princes croisés et les Syriens jacobites de Jérusalem, Journal asiatique 8. Ser. 13 (1889), 57–70 in französischer Übersetzung.
[23] Les familles d'Outremer de Du Cange, hg. v. E. G. Rey (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France; Paris 1869), 423 f.
[24] Albert von Aachen IX. 5. X. 17, S. 593. 639.
[25] Ebd. X. 33, S. 646.

Ab 1107 hatte dann nach Alberts Angabe der mehrfach auch urkundlich bezeugte Walter Mahumet Hebron inne. In welcher Eigenschaft, das wissen wir nicht exakt. Der Ausdruck *dono regis* deutet auf eine königliche Verleihung, aber verliehen wurden Landlehen und Seigneurien ebenso wie königliche Kastellanien mit den damit verbundenen Amtslehen. Auch Walter dürfte kaum mehr als Kastellan gewesen sein. Man muß auch Alberts Wortgebrauch sorgfältig beachten. Während er von Rorgius etwa schreibt, *qui dono regis civitati Cayphas praeerat*, heißt es von Walter, daß er vom König die Burg (aber nicht die Stadt) Hebron erhalten hatte. Walter ist bezeugt bis 1115 (RRH n° 76b. 79. 80). Er wird niemals *dominus* von Hebron genannt. Wohl erscheint er 1110 als *Walterus de Sancto Abraham*[26], aber in RRH n° 80 wird er unter den Zeugen als *Galterius Mahumet* aufgeführt, während einige Namen vor ihm ein *Balduinus de Sancto Abraham* steht. Auch dies deutet darauf hin, daß Hebron damals lediglich eine königliche Kastellanie war, in der die Amtsinhaber durchaus wechseln konnten. Wäre Walter Herr von Hebron gewesen, so hätte es zu Mißverständnissen Anlaß geben müssen, wenn Balduin, was immer seine Funktion war, als *de Sancto Abraham* bezeichnet worden wäre, der eigentliche Herr von Hebron aber nur als *Galterius Mahumet*.

Auf jeden Fall war Walter Mahumet bei Hebron begütert, denn in der Besitzbestätigung RRH n° 134 des Königs Balduin II. für das Kloster S. Maria im Tal Josaphat von 1130 (und gleichlautend in der Nachurkunde RRH n° 291 von 1152) lesen wir, daß er dem Kloster das Casale *Iamaruara in valle Clin* mit Zustimmung des Königs Balduin I. geschenkt hatte. In den päpstlichen Besitzbestätigungen JL. 9847.10003α. Registres d'Alexandre IV n° 129 wird der Ort bestätigt als *in territorio Ebron casale unum nomine Iamarvara*.

Iamaruara ist auf der englischen Ausgabe der Israel-Karte 1:100000 Khirbat Jamrura (*Ḫirbet Ǧamrūra*; Palestine Grid 148.110), 14,5 Kilometer nordwestlich von Hebron im *Wādī el-Merǧ*. Später wird es in den Papstprivilegien im Territorium von Hebron lokalisiert. Beyer hat an diese unterschiedliche Bezeichnung Spekulationen über die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron geknüpft[27], die indessen schon deshalb unhaltbar sind, weil noch in RRH n° 291 von 1152 die physikalisch-geographische Lokalisierung *in valle de Clin*, nur zwei Jahre später in JL. 9847 eine möglicherweise an eine vorhandene Seigneurie anknüpfende Bezeichnung „im Territorium von Hebron" gebraucht wird. Da Beyer[28] selbst die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron – wenn auch zu früh – erst um 1161 ansetzte, mußte er in die Annahme ausweichen, die Lokalisierung *in territorio Ebron* (die übrigens auch geographisch gemeint sein kann) sei in der päpstlichen Kanzlei zwar gebraucht worden, aber nicht amtlich gewesen. Dies ist ein seltsames Argument, denn wenn darin die Ausbildung einer Seigneurie zu erkennen sein soll, was generell nicht von der Hand zu weisen und in manchen anderen Fällen auch nachweisbar ist, dann ist es belanglos, ob der Ausdruck amtlich oder nichtamtlich benutzt wurde. Sein bloßes Vorkommen würde dann die Existenz einer Seigneurie erweisen.

Daß *Ḫirbet Ǧamrūra* später zur Herrschaft Hebron gehörte, ist, wie Beyer[29] richtig bemerkt hat, deshalb nicht zweifelhaft, weil Rainald von Châtillon, *qui tunc in terra Ebron dominium habebat* (und gleichzeitig Herr von Transjordanien war), nach 1177 einen Vertrag zwischen Josaphat und S. Maria Grandis in Jerusalem über *Ḫirbet Ǧamrūra* herbeiführte[30].

[26] Ebd. XI. 40, S. 683.
[27] Beyer, ZDPV 65 (Anm. 1), 194 Anm. 1.
[28] Ebd., S. 173.
[29] Ebd., S. 171.
[30] RRH n° 623a. Das Stück ist undatiert, ist aber auf alle Fälle nach 1177 anzusetzen.

Zwischen 1163 und 1168 (RRH n° 393a) war es zu einer gütlichen Einigung zwischen dem Bischof Radulf von Bethlehem und dem Abt Wilhelm von S. Maria im Tal Josaphat gekommen, der in erster Linie die Johanneskirche in Askalon betraf. Dabei wurde der Bischof verpflichtet, *secundum suum posse* dem Kloster bei der strittigen Abgrenzung (*divisio*) des Casales Gemerosa zu helfen. Daß auch dieses mit *Ḫirbet Ǧamrūra* identisch ist, ergibt sich unschwer aus einer anderen Umschrift des lateinischen Ortsnamens ins Arabische, wie sie BEYER[31] vorgenommen hat: „*chirbet dschemrūre*", vor allem aber aus dem erwähnten Vertrag RRH n° 623a, in dem eine neue Grenzziehung zwischen dem Casale Gemerosa des Klosters Josaphat und dem benachbarten Casale Trakemia vorgenommen wurde. Trakemia aber ist das *Ḫirbet Ǧamrūra* benachbarte *Terqūmya* (Palestine Grid 151/109).

Für das Problem der Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron können wir festhalten, daß Walter Mahumet im Gebiet der späteren Seigneurie von Hebron begütert war, was aber nicht beweist, daß er dort Seigneur war. Eine Stellung als königlicher Kastellan ist viel wahrscheinlicher, zumal noch in RRH n° 623a die Grenzziehung von dem Kastellan von Hebron vorgenommen wurde, der jetzt natürlich der Kastellan Rainalds von Châtillon war. Ebenso ergibt sich, worauf wir weiter unten zurückkommen werden, daß eine Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron in diesem Falle erst unter Rainald von Châtillon feststellbar ist, d. h. nachdem er 1176 aus langer muslimischer Gefangenschaft freigekommen war und 1177 Transjordanien und Hebron erhalten hatte. Denn er war es, der die schon seit der Mitte der sechziger Jahre anhängige Frage der Grenzziehung zwischen den beiden Dörfern entschied, nicht Philipp von Nablus, der nach den *Lignages d'Outremer* angeblich 1161 die Herrschaft Hebron als erster Seigneur erhalten hatte.

Mit dem bereits oben S. 68 genannten Balduin von Hebron kommen wir nun endlich auf sicheren Grund. Es sieht nämlich tatsächlich so aus, daß mindestens Balduin nur königlicher Kastellan in Hebron war. Anscheinend hatte er dort schon 1115 Walter Mahumet abgelöst. Er erscheint urkundlich von 1115 bis 1136 als Balduinus de S. Abraham (RRH n° 80.164). Der Bericht über die bekannte Auffindung der Gräber der Erzväter Abraham, Isaak und Jakob in Hebron 1119, der sich freilich in keiner Weise durch irgendeine feudalrechtliche Präzision auszeichnet, nennt Balduin *tribunus* und *defensor loci* und spricht auch von seiner Tätigkeit als *principabatur*[32]. Wir haben aber erneut wie bei Walter Mahumet und Balduin ein zeitliches Überlappen zweier Personen, die in Hebron die führende Position einnahmen. Während nämlich RRH n° 164 von 1136 von Balduin von St. Abraham bezeugt ist, bestätigte der König in diesem für die Geschichte des Johanniterordens wichtigen Diplom die Schenkung von Bethgibelin, die Hugo de Sancto Abraham auf seine Bitten den Johannitern gemacht hatte. Es ist so gut wie ausgeschlossen, daß es sich hier noch immer um den sonst nur bis 1105 bezeugten Hugo von Rebecques (s. oben S. 67) gehandelt haben sollte. Wir müssen ja nicht nur unterstellen, daß die Schenkung der wichtigen Burg Bethgibelin an die Johanniter sogleich vom König bestätigt wurde, selbst also auch etwa 1136 erfolgte, sondern Hugo machte seine Schenkung auch zu Händen des Johannitermeisters Raimund Dupuy, der erst 1120 Meister wurde[33]. Dieser zweite Hugo von St. Abraham urkundete zweimal selbst, einmal ohne Datum als *Hugo dei gratia de castello Sancti Abrahae* (RRH n° 169), das andere Mal 1144 (RRH n° 228a), aber die zweite Urkunde ist nur noch als französisches Regest aus dem 18. Jh. erhalten, das von Hugo als dem „Seigneur du lieu de Saint-Abraham"

[31] ZDPV 65 (Anm. 1), 171.
[32] Tractatus de inventione sanctorum patriarcharum Abraham, Ysaac et Jacob, RHC. Hoc. 5,310.312.
[33] J. RILEY-SMITH, The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050–1310 (London 1967), 43.

spricht, während eine frühere französische Zusammenfassung derselben Urkunde[34] ihn – wahrscheinlich genauer – als „Ugo de Saint Habraham sieur du castel" bezeichnet. Die offizielle Bezeichnung als *de castello Sancti Abraham*, der das ältere Regest von RRH n° 228a etwa entspricht, deutet natürlich viel stärker auf eine Kastellanie hin als auf eine Seigneurie. Man mag einwenden, daß ein Adliger nie *dei gratia* sondern *dono regis* Kastellan war, aber wir werden sogleich sehen, daß sich auch später an dieser hochtrabenden und für einen Kastellan in der Tat seltsamen Devotionsformel nichts änderte. Sie ließ sich natürlich immer mit dem Argument rechtfertigen, daß man das, was man *dono regis* besaß, letztlich auch *dei gratia* innehatte. Freilich läßt die Formel auch das Selbstbewußtsein der Kastellane von Hebron erkennen, die hier eine quasi-seigneuriale Stellung deutlich hervorkehrten.

Das Überlappen von Walter Mahumet und Balduin einerseits und Balduin und Hugo andererseits stellt ein Problem dar. Man könnte theoretisch an die Positionen von Kastellan und Vizegraf denken, aber wir hören zu keiner Zeit etwas davon, daß es in Hebron einen Vizegrafen des Königs gegeben hätte[35]. Erst um 1265 bezeugt Johann von Ibelin in seinem Rechtsbuch die Existenz einer Cour des Bourgeois in Hebron[36], die dann auch eines vorsitzenden Vizegrafen des Herrn von Hebron bedurfte, den es dann schon vor 1187 gegeben haben muß, als Hebron endgültig für die Christen verloren ging.

Wirklich überraschend ist RRH n° 255. Es ist von Ducange-Rey[37] einmal erwähnt, aber nicht ausgebeutet, und dann in der Forschung wieder vergessen worden. In dieser Urkunde bestätigte im Juli 1149 *Anfredus dei gratia de Sancto Abraham castellanus* einem gewissen Martin und seiner Frau einen kleinen Hof (*unum cortillum*) für eine Jahresrente von zwei Byzantinern. Das Rechtsgeschäft erfolgte *in regali curia*, und aus der Zeugenliste, die von Rohard dem Älteren und dem Vizegrafen Benscelinus von Jerusalem angeführt wird und auch sonst durchaus bekannte jerusalemitanische Namen der Zeit enthält, folgt klar, daß es sich um die Cour des Bourgeois von Jerusalem handelte. Martin hatte den Hof, der sicher in oder bei Jerusalem lag, schon früher von Hugo von St. Abraham gekauft (RRH n° 169). Im Jahre 1152 schenkte Martin, der hier mit vollem Namen Martinus Caroana genannt wird, in RRH n° 280 seine gesamte *hereditas* (also einen Besitz im Rechtsstatus der sogenannten *teneure en borgesie*) dem Chorherrenstift des Hl. Grabes, behielt sich aber auf Lebenszeit ein Nießbrauchrecht vor, das nur dahingehend eingeschränkt war, daß er seine *borgesie* künftig nicht mehr verkaufen oder verpfänden durfte, was ihm RRH n° 169.255 noch ausdrücklich zugesichert hatten. Hugo von St. Abraham hatte noch an Martin und seinen Erben (*et suo heredi*) verkauft. Dabei war Martins erste Frau offenbar mit inbegriffen, denn der Kastellan Anfred bestätigte den Verkauf an Martin, seine Gemahlin und seine Erben. Aus der Übertragung an das Hl. Grab ergibt sich, daß diese Gemahlin namens Teiza inzwischen

[34] Inventar von Manosque a. 1531 fol. 16r. Frdl. Mitteilung von Prof. R. Hiestand (Düsseldorf).

[35] In der gleich zu behandelnden Urkunde RRH n° 255, die der Kastellan von Hebron ausstellte, wird unter den Zeugen genannt *domino Roart Benscelino vicecomite*. Daraus darf man nicht auf einen Vizegraf Rohard Benscelinus von Hebron schließen, auch wenn ein *dominus Rohardus Bencellinus vicecomes* unter den Zeugen von RRH n° 259 von 1150 erscheint in einer Schenkung, die Besitz bei Bethlehem betrifft. In beiden Fällen ist klarerweise anders zu interpungieren: *dominus Rohardus, Bencellinus vicecomes*. Bencellinus war Vizegraf von Jerusalem von Gnaden der Königin Melisendis. Vgl. H. E. Mayer, Studies in the History of Queen Melisende of Jerusalem, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 26 (1972) 152, wo freilich die Angabe zu korrigieren ist, er sei nur 1150 als Vizegraf von Jerusalem belegt, was RRH n° 255 ignorierte. Tatsächlich war er 1149–1150 Vizegraf von Jerusalem, der *dominus* Rohardus dagegen ist Rohard der Ältere, der 1135–1147 Vizegraf in der Hauptstadt war. Vgl. ebd.

[36] Livre de Jean d'Ibelin, RHC. Lois 1,420.

[37] Les familles d' Outremer, 424.

verstorben war und Martin, der – formlos oder durch Urkunde – seine *borgesie* schon früher dem Hl. Grab übereignet hatte, jetzt eine zweite Frau zu heiraten im Begriffe war und deshalb die Übertragung wiederholte, der man jetzt hinzufügte, daß etwaige Nachkommen *ex ista uxore, quam accipio*, nach seinem Tode ebensowenig wie die zweite Frau selbst Ansprüche auf die *borgesie* geltend machen dürften. Teiza war tot, und der Konsens von Martins Sohn aus erster Ehe, der hier deshalb auch namentlich als Bonnetus genannt wird, garantierte, daß auch er keine Ansprüche erheben würde. Als eine Rechtsfolge der Besitzübertragung an das Hl. Grab von 1152 gingen die Urkunden RRH n° 169.255 Hugos und Anfreds von St. Abraham in das Archiv des Chorherrenstiftes über, wo sie im Chartular auch unmittelbar aufeinander folgen.

Es liegt auf der Hand, daß die Bestätigung Anfreds eingeholt wurde, weil er der Rechtsnachfolger Hugos geworden war. In der Tat diente Hugos Urkunde RRH n° 169 auch als Vorurkunde für Anfreds Urkunde RRH n° 255, denn aus RRH n° 169 stammt Anfreds Devotionsformel und Intitulatio *dei gratia de Sancto Abraham castellanus*. Uns interessiert hier die Frage, wer dieser Kastellan Anfred von Hebron eigentlich war, und hier erleben wir die eigentliche Überraschung. Anfred oder Anfrid ist ein Synonym für Humfred, und es handelt sich um eine der bedeutendsten Figuren im Königreich Jerusalem des 12. Jh., um den späteren Konstabler Humfred II. von Toron. Denn schon 1148, also nur ein Jahr vor der erwähnten Bestätigung des Kastellans Anfrid von Hebron für Martin, beurkundete der Patriarch von Jerusalem in RRH n° 251, daß *Anfredus de Torono* dem Leprosenkonvent des hl. Lazarus vor Jerusalem Weinberge und eine Geldrente *in terra Sancti Abrahe* geschenkt hatte. Bezeugt ist diese Urkunde unter anderem von einem bekannten Mitglied der Cour des Bourgeois in Jerusalem, ferner von zwei Rittern von Hebron und einem dortigen Syrer und schließlich von der Gemahlin und dem Sohn Humfreds II. (*Uxor etiam ipsius Anfredi et filius donum istud laudaverunt*). Es ist also ganz fraglos, daß Humfred schon vor seiner Nennung als Kastellan von Hebron dort Besitz hatte, und entweder empfahl ihn dies als Kastellan oder er übte die Funktion bereits aus.

Wir müssen uns vergewissern, ob es sich hier wirklich um Humfred II. handelte, da in dieser Familie vier Humfrede aufeinander folgten und Wilhelm von Tyrus die Dinge noch zusätzlich dadurch erschwerte, daß er scheinbar nur von drei Humfreden berichtet[38]. Zweimal hat Wilhelm nämlich Humfred I. nicht mitgezählt, sondern seine Zählung erst mit dem weitaus bedeutenderen Humfred II. angefangen, mit dem der wahre Aufstieg der Familie begann. Er ist gewissermaßen zum Heros eponymos und zum *senior Henfridus* geworden, während an den zitierten Stellen sein Sohn Humfred III. nur noch dazu diente, um die genealogische Brücke von Humfred IV., über dessen Ehe mit einer Königstochter Wilhelm an beiden Stellen berichtet, zu der mächtigen Verwandtschaft zu schlagen, nämlich zu dem Konstabler Humfred II. als Großvater väterlicherseits, zu Philipp von Nablus, Herr von Transjordanien und später Templermeister, als Großvater mütterlicherseits und zum Stiefvater Rainald von Châtillon, dem ehemaligen Fürsten von Antiochia und späteren Herrn von Transjordanien und Hebron. Humfred I. war hier unwichtig, obwohl Wilhelm ihn an anderer Stelle durchaus kannte und von ihm berichtet, schon vor der Eroberung von Tyrus durch die Christen 1124 sei der größte Teil des umliegenden Berglandes, fast bis zum Liba-

[38] Wilhelm von Tyrus, Historia rerum in partibus transmartiis gestarum XXII. 5. 28, RHC. Hoc 1, 1068 f. 1124. Keinesfalls handelt es sich bei dem Kastellan von Hebron um Humfred III., der ab 1148 in den Urkunden greifbar wird, da die Schenkung Humfreds II. RRH n° 251 eben mit Konsens seines Sohnes ausgestellt ist, und Humfred IV., der Sohn Humfreds III., damals überhaupt noch nicht geboren war, da Humfred III. erst um 1163 heiratete.

non, beherrscht worden von einem *nobilis et potens homo, qui in montibus habitabat, Henfredus videlicet de Torono* (= Humfred I.), *iunioris Henfredi, qui postea factus est regius constabularius* (= Humfred II.), *pater*[39]. Hier ist der bei Wilhelm später zum *senior Henfredus* avancierte Humfred II. von Toron noch der *iunior Henfredus*. Später ging dieser Beiname auch in den Urkunden auf des Konstablers Sohn Humfred III. über, der noch vor dem Vater starb, was die Klärung der genealogischen Zusammenhänge weiter erschwert hat. Urkundlich ist Humfred I. von Toron belegt von 1115 bis mindestens 1128 (RRH n° 79.121). Ob es sich bei dem *Anfredus vir religiosus*, der in RRH n° 59 von 1109/10 unter den weltlichen Zeugen erscheint, also kein Mönch war, um Humfred I. handelt, ist nicht sicher, aber möglich und sogar wahrscheinlich, und vermutlich soll *religiosus* hier nur „fromm" heißen. In der Regel wird angenommen, daß die Burg Toron um 1105/06 von dem Fürsten von Galilaea erbaut und dann zu einem späteren Datum an Humfred I. verlehnt worden sei[40]. Für eine solche Abspaltung der eigentlichen Seigneurie Toron aus dem Fürstentum Galilaea könnte immerhin sprechen, daß Humfred I. 1115 in RRH n° 79 als Zeuge für den Fürsten erscheint, so daß man ihn normalerweise für einen Vasallen des Fürsten halten würde. Dagegen steht freilich das gewichtige Zeugnis Alberts von Aachen, der zu 1111 von einem *Reinfredus vir christianus et illuster miles regis* berichtet[41]. Bei diesem Königsvasallen kann es sich nur um Humfred I. handeln, denn es geht hier um den Versuch der Muslime in Tyrus, mit einer Sendung von 20000 Goldstücken nach Damaskus durchzukommen, um den dortigen Emir zum Eingreifen vor Tyrus zu bewegen. Hierfür wollte man sich mit 1000 Goldstücken die Durchzugserlaubnis „Reinfreds" erkaufen, der demzufolge die Burg Toron kontrollierte, die man zwangsläufig passieren mußte, wenn man von Tyrus nach Damaskus wollte. Humfred informierte allerdings den König, der die Geldsendung überfiel und erbeutete.

Ob es sich bei dem in RRH n° 164 von 1136 genannten Humfred um Humfred I. oder II. handelt, bleibt unsicher, da Humfred II. chronikalisch erst 1137 als junger Mann nachzuweisen ist[42] und danach eine Lücke in den urkundlichen Zeugnissen bis 1145 klafft. Humfred II. ist urkundlich genannt von entweder 1136 oder 1145 an bis zum 2. April 1179 (RRH n° 164.236.579); er starb nach Wilhelm von Tyrus am 22. April 1179 an den Folgen schwerer Verwundungen, die er am 10. April erlitten hatte[43]. In den Jahren 1148 bis 1168 ist er zusammen mit seinem Sohn Humfred III. belegt[44]. Chronikalisch tritt Humfred III. erstmals 1157 auf, als er mit seinem Vater zusammen die väterliche Burg Banias verteidigte und Wilhelm von Tyrus ihn als *paternae probitatis aemulator praecipuus* bezeichnete[45]. Entscheidend für die Genealogie ist RRH n° 628 von 1183, das ausgestellt ist von *Hainfredus* (= Humfred IV), *filius videlicet domni Hainfredi iuvenis* (= Humfred III.), *assensu et voluntate domni mei Rainaldi principis terre Montis Regalis et Ebronensis domni atque domne Stefanie matris mee, uxoris sue predictique honoris domne*, und zwar zum Seelenheil *domni Philippi avi mei* (= Philipp von Nablus) *atque domni Hainfredi connestabuli* (= Humfred II.) *et domni*

[39] Wilhelm von Tyrus XIII.13, S. 574.
[40] Stellvertretend für viele P. Deschamps, Les chateaux des croisés en Terre Sainte, 2 (Paris 1939), 118. Vgl. auch J. Prawer, Historie du royaume latin de Jérusalem, 1 (Paris 1969), 273 Anm. 1.
[41] Albert von Aachen XII.3, S. 690.
[42] Wilhelm von Tyrus XIV.26, S. 645.
[43] Ebd. XXI.27, S. 1052f.
[44] RRH n° 251.266.325.354.366.400.450. Vgl. auch Revue de l'Orient latin 11 (1905–08), 184 von 1166. Um Humfred III. mag es sich auch bei dem *Hemfredus de Torreum* handeln, der 1159 in RRH n° 339 als Zeuge auftritt, obwohl die Zuordnung unsicher bleibt.
[45] Wilhelm von Tyrus XVIII.12, S. 839.

Hainfredi patris mei (= Humfred III.). Es handelt sich um Humfred IV. von Toron, der sich als Sohn eines *Hainfredus iuvenis* (= Humfred III.) und als Enkel des Konstablers Humfred II. bezeichnet, ferner als Sohn der Stephanie von Milly, der Herrin von Tansjordanien, und der ihren Gemahl Rainald von Châtillon als seinen Herrn nennt und Philipp von Nablus und Humfred II. von Toron als seine beiden Großväter.

Wie der Aufstieg vieler Familien des Mittelalters hing auch derjenige der Familie Toron zum guten Teil von geschickt arrangierten Heiraten ab. Ein anderer Weg war der über die königlichen Ämter. Humfred II. bemühte sich auch darum. Im Jahre 1144 war noch Hugo II. Kastellan von Hebron (RRH n° 228a). Im Jahre 1149, wahrscheinlich aber schon 1148, war Humfred II. von Toron als Kastellan von Hebron auf Hugo II. gefolgt (RRH n° 251.255). Als Humfred II. als einer der wenigen Getreuen Balduin III. 1150 auf seinem Feldzug nach Edessa folgte, verlangte er erfolglos, auch noch als Kastellan der Burg ʿAinṯāb eingesetzt zu werden, die der König für unhaltbar hielt[46]. Im Jahre 1152 erreichte er das wichtigste Kronamt, als er Konstabler des Reiches wurde[47]. Man kann sich schlecht vorstellen, daß er die Kastellanie in Hebron beibehalten hätte, da er sie faktisch nicht mehr ausfüllen konnte. Wer ihm nachfolgte, wissen wir nicht.

Was die Ehen der Herren von Toron betrifft, so kennen wir die Gemahlin Humfreds I. nicht. Ebensowenig wissen wir mit Sicherheit, wen Humfred II. in erster Ehe heiratete. Aber es besteht eine gewisse Wahrscheinlichkeit für die Vermutung von Ducange-Rey[48], daß es die Tochter von Rainer Brusch war. Diesem war 1132 seine Festung Banias von den Muslimen weggenommen worden und er erhielt sie erst 1140 zurück[49]. Nur durch eine Ehe von Rainers Tochter mit dem benachbarten Humfred II. von Toron ist es zu erklären, daß 1157 Banias im Besitz von Humfred II. war und vom Konstabler gemeinsam mit seinem Sohn Humfred III. verteidigt wurde.

In zweiter Ehe heiratete Humfred II. etwa im Juni 1177 Philippa, die Schwester des Fürsten Boemund III. von Antiochia[50]. Sie war außerdem eine Schwester der Kaiserin Maria der Lateinischen von Byzanz, der zweiten Gemahlin des Kaisers Manuel I. Komnenos. Es war natürlich auch eine Statusehe. Die Familie, die gut genug gewesen war, dem byzantinischen Kaiser eine Gattin zu stellen, stellte jetzt dem Konstabler eine. Wenngleich Philippas Reputation vielleicht etwas darunter gelitten hatte, daß der byzantinische Abenteurer Andronikos Komnenos sie um 1166 verlassen hatte[51], so war es noch immer eine brillante Partie für den Konstabler, weniger bedeutsam an Geld und Ländereien als an Sozialprestige.

Aber es gab noch einen viel praktischeren Grund für die Eheschließung, daß nämlich der Konstabler weiteren männlichen Nachwuchs zeugen mußte. Was dies betrifft, so muß die Frage natürlich von Philippas Alter her beurteilt werden. Sie kann nicht mehr die Jüngste gewesen sein, denn da ihr Vater 1149 gefallen war, mußte sie 1177 mindestens auf die 30 zugehen, war aber vermutlich um einiges älter, da ihr Stiefvater Rainald von Châtillon sich um das Jahr 1155, jedenfalls vor seiner Gefangennahme 1160, bei Ludwig VII. von Frankreich um einen Gemahl für sie bemühte (RRH n° 319). Zweifellos war Humfred II. wesentlich älter als Philippa, denn da er 1137 bereits im königlichen Heer kämpfte und vom König

[46] Mayer, Queen Melisende (Anm. 35), 138.148–151.158.
[47] Wilhelm von Tyrus XVII.14, S. 781.
[48] Les familles d'Outremer, 470.
[49] Wilhelm von Tyrus XIV.17.XV.11, S. 631.676.
[50] Ebd. XXI.13, S. 1026f.
[51] C. Cahen, La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche (Paris 1940), 412.

konsultiert wurde, auch wenn Wilhelm von Tyrus ihn damals als militärischen Neuling (*tyro et nimium adolescens*) bezeichnete[52], so müssen wir ihm doch die venia aetatis und damit 15 Jahre zubilligen, so daß er spätestens 1122 geboren war, was ihn 1177 wenigstens 55 Jahre alt machte. Aber Philippa war ganz gewiß noch im gebärfähigen Alter. Wenn die Ehe kinderlos blieb, so deshalb, weil sie generell unter einem unglücklichen Stern stand, denn kaum war sie geschlossen, da erkrankte Humfred II. ernsthaft und Philippa tödlich[53]; in S. Maria im Tal Josaphat, der Grablege der Königinnen von Jerusalem, ihrer Mutter Konstanze und ihres Halbbruders Rainald, wurde sie beigesetzt (RRH n° 605a).

Die nur ganz kurze Zeit bestehende Ehe Humfreds II. mit Philippa von Antiochia markiert den Zenith des Ansehens des Konstablers, für dessen Familie jetzt nur noch Ehen mit der obersten Schicht des Landes in Frage kamen. Ein Jahr nach seinem Tode wurde sein Enkel Humfred IV. verlobt mit Isabella, der Tochter des Königs Amalrich I. und Halbschwester des Königs Balduin IV. Aber die Ambitionen der Familie und des Konstablers zeigten sich schon an der Ehe, die Humfred II. um 1163 für seinen Sohn Humfred III. arrangierte[54], auch wenn die vollen Konsequenzen dieser Ehe damals noch nicht absehbar waren. Er heiratete damals Stephanie von Milly, die Tochter Philipps von Nablus, der seit RRH n° 366 von 1161 Herr von Transjordanien war. Aus dieser Ehe ging Humfred IV. hervor[55]. Da Wilhelm von Tyrus diesen bei seiner Verlobung 1180 als *adolescens* und *puer iam pubes* bezeichnet, müssen wir auch Humfred IV. 1180 wenigstens 15 Jahre geben, was bedeutet, daß er spätestens 1165 geboren ist, die Ehe Humfreds III. also spätestens 1164 oder Anfang 1165 geschlossen wurde, vielleicht auch etwas früher, so daß Mas-Latries Vermutung „ca. 1163" nicht grundlos ist. Wäre Humfred IV. bei seiner Verlobung 20 Jahre oder älter gewesen, so hätte Wilhelm von Tyrus ihn kaum noch *puer iam pubes* genannt, zumal er das Alter der Braut mit kaum acht Jahren angab[56].

Immerhin lassen diese Berechnungen erkennen, daß die Ehe Humfreds III. mit der Tochter Philipps von Nablus auch vor der Übernahme Transjordaniens durch Philipp 1161 geschlossen worden sein kann, als Philipp freilich auch bereits ein mächtiger Grundbesitzer in Samaria aus einer der ganz alten Familien des Landes war. In keinem Falle verband sich mit der Ehe Humfreds III. für diesen eine Expektanz auf Transjordanien. Dies war mit Sicherheit nicht der Fall, wenn sie vor 1161 geschlossen wurde. Aber auch wenn sie erst danach um 1163 zustande kam, so hatte Humfreds Gemahlin Stephanie von Milly doch keine Erbansprüche in Transjordanien, denn als Philipp von Nablus Ende 1165 oder Anfang 1166 in den Templerorden eintrat[57], wandte er die Nachfolge in Transjordanien nicht seiner Tochter Stephanie von Milly und deren Mann Humfred III. von Toron zu, sondern seiner

[52] Wilhelm von Tyrus XIV.26, S. 645.
[53] Ebd. XXI.13.20, S. 1027, 1038.
[54] Zum Datum vgl. L. De Mas Latrie, Les seigneurs du Crac de Montréal, Archivio Veneto 25 (1883), 487.
[55] Wilhelm von Tyrus XXII.5, S. 1068f.
[56] Achtzehn Jahre für Isabella bei der Heirat im November 1183, wie in RRH n° 867 = Migne, Patrologia Latina 216, 980 n° 11 angegeben, ist gewiß zu hoch gegriffen, da Isabella einer Ehe entstammte, die erst im August 1167 geschlossen wurde, mithin frühestens Ende Mai 1168 geboren sein konnte und im November 1183 höchstens fünfzehneinhalb Jahre alt sein konnte, sehr wahrscheinlich aber nach Wilhelms Rechnung erst knapp über elf Jahre alt. Aber in RRH n° 867 sollte die Rechtmäßigkeit der Scheidung der Ehe Humfreds IV. von Isabella bestritten werden, die unter anderem mit dem Argument betrieben worden war, daß die Braut bei der Hochzeit *infra annos*, d.h. unter 12 Jahre alt, gewesen sei.
[57] Am 17. Januar 1166 bestätigte der König Amalrich (I.) den Templern den Besitz von Amman und andere Besitzungen, die Philipp von Nablus ihnen am Tage seines Eintritts in den Templerorden

anderen Tochter Helvis/Helena und deren Mann Walter III. von Bairut, wie sich aus RRH n° 454 ergibt, der dafür Bairut fahren lassen mußte. Erst als Helena und ihre Tochter Beatrix anscheinend Anfang der siebziger Jahre verstorben waren, mußte Walter, der Transjordanien ja nur als Mann Helenas gehabt hatte, dort weichen. Nun hingen die Rechte auf Transjordanien an der verbliebenen Tochter Philipps von Nablus, Stephanie von Milly, deren Wiederverheiratung nunmehr zum Politicum werden mußte, denn ihr erster Mann Humfred III. von Toron war tot. Er ist letztmals als lebend erwähnt am 9. August 1168 (RRH n° 450), also zu einer Zeit, als nach Ausweis von RRH n° 454 vom November 1168 zwischen seiner Frau Stephanie und Transjordanien noch Helena von Milly und ihre Tochter Beatrix standen. Humfred III. starb dagegen sicher vor seinem Vater Humfred II., also vor dem 22. April 1179, da auf den Konstabler in Toron nicht der Sohn Humfred III., sondern sofort der Enkel Humfred IV. folgte, und ebenso starb Humfred III. natürlich vor dem 18. April 1174, da von einer Annullierung der Ehe nichts bekannt ist und an diesem Tage seine Witwe Stephanie von Milly bereits mit dem königlichen Günstling Milo von Plancy verheiratet war, dem sie auch die Herrschaft Transjordanien gebracht hatte[58]. Humfred IV., einer wahrscheinlich um 1163 geschlossenen Ehe entstammend, war noch zu klein, um Transjordanien zu verwalten, und noch lebte ja seine Mutter, deren Wiederverheiratung mit dem ehrgeizigen Milo von Plancy aber natürlich die Erbansprüche Humfreds IV. auf Transjordanien gefährden konnte. Die Ehe dauerte freilich nicht lange, denn bereits im Oktober 1174 wurde Milo von Plancy in Akkon ermordet[59].

Seine Nachfolge in der Macht trat als Regent für den minderjährigen König Graf Raimund III. von Tripolis an. Aber als der König Mitte 1176 volljährig wurde[60], endete Raimunds Regentschaft und übermächtig wurde nun die Königinmutter Agnes von Courtenay mit ihrer Kamarilla. Noch im Jahre 1176 kaufte man zwei seit über einem Jahrzehnt in muslimischer Gefangenschaft schmachtende hohe Adlige frei, die man sofort in führenden Stellungen im Königreich Jerusalem etablierte. Der eine war der Bruder der Agnes, Joscelin III. von Courtenay, Titulargraf von Edessa. Noch im Jahre seiner Freilassung wurde er von seinem Onkel, dem König Balduin IV., in das rangmäßig höchste Kronamt des Seneschalks befördert (RRH n° 537) und baute sich seit 1179 in der Krondomäne von Akkon jenes Besitzkonglomerat auf, das vereinfachend unter dem Namen Seigneurie de Joscelin lief. Der andere war Rainald von Châtillon, der ehemalige Fürst von Antiochia. Da dort bereits seit 1163 Boemund III. regierte, war an eine Rückkehr nach Antiochia nicht zu denken. Rainald stieg zum dritten Gemahl der Stephanie von Milly und damit zum Herrn von Transjordanien auf[61]. Rainald erschien im Jahre seiner Freilassung und 1177 urkundlich noch als *princeps* ohne jeglichen Zusatz (RRH n° 539. 545. 546). Im November 1177 aber urkundete er selbst als *quondam Antiochiae princeps et nunc per dei gratiam Hebronensis et Montis Regalis dominus* (RRH n° 551) und wurde noch 1177 auch von der königlichen Kanzlei als Herr von Transjordanien und Hebron bezeichnet (RRH n° 553a). Man kann also seine Ehe in das Jahr 1177 setzen.

Die Etablierung Joscelins III. von Courtenay und Rainalds von Châtillon im Königreich

geschenkt hatte (J. Delaville Le Roulx, Chartes de Terre Sainte, Revue de l'Orient latin 11 [1905–1908], 183 n° 2). Dieses Diplom wird wohl etwa gleichzeitig mit dem Eintritt sein.

[58] RRH n° 514. Wilhelm von Tyrus XXI. 4, S. 1008.

[59] Ebd. XXI. 4, S. 1009.

[60] Als Amalrich (I.) am 11. Juli 1174 starb, war sein Nachfolger Balduin IV. *vix ... annorum tredecim* (Wilhelm von Tyrus XXI. 2, S. 1006). Er erreichte somit die Volljährigkeit des abgeschlossenen 15. Lebensjahres Mitte 1176.

[61] Wilhelm von Tyrus, XXII. 5, S. 1069. RRH n° 628.

Jerusalem veränderte dort die politischen Konstellationen. Es sank der Einfluß des Grafen Raimund III. von Tripolis. Es sank anscheinend auch der Einfluß des Konstablers Humfred, denn in RRH n° 537 von 1176 gelang es dem Seneschalk Joscelin III., Humfred in der Zeugenliste zu überrunden. Joscelin wurde als erster und vor Humfred genannt, was nicht einmal dem Seneschalk Milo von Plancy gelungen war. Nun wäre dies in sich selbst nicht sonderlich beweiskräftig, da es zu einer gänzlich rigiden Ämterhierarchie in den Zeugenlisten Jerusalems nie kam. Viel bemerkenswerter ist, daß der Konstabler, der zuvor in den Königsurkunden unter Balduin III. und Amalrich (I.) quasi omnipräsent gewesen war, im Anschluß an RRH n° 537 aus den Diplomen bis zum Frühjahr 1179 ganz verschwindet. Damals führte man Krieg an der Jakobsfurt, also unweit seiner Herrschaft Toron, wobei man ihm die Teilnahme am Feldzug und folglich auch die Bezeugung im Feldlager ausgestellter Diplome (RRH n° 577.579) nicht verweigern konnte. Es hat durchaus den Anschein, als sei er, ohne daß er sein Kronamt förmlich aufgegeben hätte, das er am 2. April 1179 noch innehatte (RRH n° 579), im Hofdienst kaltgestellt worden, nachdem die Clique der Agnes die Führung im Reich übernommen hatte[62].

Dabei kann man von politischer Resignation des Konstablers nicht sprechen. Er heiratete ja im selben Jahr 1177, in dem Rainald von Châtillon Stephanie von Milly ehelichte, Philippa von Antiochia (s. oben S. 73). Ja die Ehe zwischen den beiden muß sogar dem im Juni 1177 erfolgten Tod des Markgrafen Wilhelm Langschwert von Montferrat vorausgegangen sein, den man im Oktober 1176 als zukünftigen König ins Land geholt und einstweilen mit der Doppelgrafschaft Jaffa-Askalon ausgestattet hatte. RRH n° 553a, wo Rainald bereits als Herr von Transjordanien und Hebron bezeichnet wurde, war nämlich die königliche Bestätigung von Schenkungen, die Rainald mit Zustimmung seiner Gemahlin Stephanie, aber auch mit derjenigen Wilhelm Langschwerts gemacht hatte. Damit ging die Ehe zwischen Rainald und Stephanie zeitlich auch derjenigen zwischen Humfred II. und Philippa voraus, die um die Zeit des Todes Wilhelm Langschwerts geschlossen wurde[63].

Humfreds Ehe mit Philippa muß in der Tat als rasche Reaktion des Konstablers auf die Ehe zwischen Rainald und Stephanie angesehen werden. Hierzu war der Konstabler mit Rücksicht auf seine Familie genötigt. Man muß sich die Entwicklung nochmals vergegenwärtigen: Als die Ansprüche auf Transjordanien übergingen auf Stephanie von Milly, die zu der Zeit die Gemahlin oder Witwe Humfreds III. von Toron war, hatte des Konstablers Enkel Humfred IV. von Toron Expektanzen in Transjordanien und Toron, dort von der Mutter, hier vom Großvater und Vater her. Nach dem Tode seines Sohnes Humfred III. mußte es das vorrangige Ziel des Konstablers sein, Transjordanien für seinen Enkel zu sichern. Es liegt auf der Hand, daß dies zumindest potentiell gefährdet wurde durch die weiteren Ehen Stephanies von Milly. Eine Wiederverheiratung Stephanies nach dem Tode Humfreds III. war für den König solange nicht sonderlich dringend, wie die Ansprüche auf Transjordanien an ihrer Schwester Helena hingen. Als sie aber auf Stephanie übergingen, wurde ihre erneute Heirat drängend, weil Transjordanien als eines der größten Kronlehen ja rechtlich und praktisch eines Mannes bedurfte, der es verwaltete und den Dienst daraus

[62] Es scheint, daß Humfred II. als Konstabler von Mitte 1177 bis Frühjahr 1179 de facto von Rainald von Châtillon ersetzt wurde. Als nämlich im August 1177 Graf Philipp von Flandern ins Hl. Land kam, trug ihm der König zweimal vergeblich die Regentschaft des Reiches an. Danach ernannte er, wie es schon vor der Ankunft des Grafen beschlossen worden war, Rainald zum *regni et exercituum procuratorem* (Wilhelm von Tyrus XXI. 14, S. 1028). Das war mehr als Konstabler, aber es begriff dessen Funktionen, nämlich das Heereskommando, mit in sich. Vgl. ebd. XVII. 14, S. 781 zur Ernennung Humfreds II.: *ordinavit constabularium suum et ei militiae suae curam commisit.*

[63] Ebd. XXI. 13, S. 1026.

leistete. Die Ehe mit dem beim Adel verhaßten Milo von Plancy dauerte weniger als ein Jahr und stellte in der Praxis keine Bedrohung der Ansprüche Humfreds IV. dar, offenbarte aber die potentielle Bedrohung durch eine weitere Heirat Stephanies. Obwohl an sich eine Wiederverheiratung Stephanies im Interesse der Krone lag, konnte Humfred II. während der bis 1176 dauernden Regentschaft Raimunds III. von Tripolis dies verhindern. Erst als die Kamarilla der Agnes von Courtenay die Macht im Staat übernommen hatte und durch Joscelin III. von Courtenay und Rainald von Châtillon verstärkt worden war, gelang dies nicht mehr. Der Konstabler mußte damit rechnen, daß Rainald alles tun werde, um die Nachfolge in Transjordanien unter Umgehung der Ansprüche Humfreds IV. von Toron etwaigen Kindern aus seiner Ehe mit Stephanie von Milly zuzuwenden, die tatsächlich kinderlos blieb, ohne daß dies 1177 vorhersehbar gewesen wäre. In diesem Fall blieb Humfred IV. noch die Nachfolge im väterlichen Erbgut Toron mit Châteauneuf und dem allerdings seit 1164 muslimisch gewordenen Banias. Hatten Rainald und Stephanie keine Kinder, so war das Erbrecht Humfreds IV. in Transjordanien ungefährdet. Aber dann galt es für den Konstabler, Vorsorge an einer anderen Stelle zu treffen, nämlich bei der Nachfolge in Toron. Denn die beiden durch Philipp von Nablus und Walter III. von Bairut geschaffenen Präzedenzfälle waren unmöglich zu übersehen. Beide hatten sich ihrer anderen Lehen entledigen müssen, ehe sie Transjordanien hatten übernehmen können. Waren auch Lehenskumulationen nicht mehr ungebräuchlich, so wollte man diese jedenfalls bei dem ohnehin schon sehr großen Transjordanien nicht. Der Konstabler mußte damit rechnen, daß vor einem Einrücken seines Enkels in die Herrschaft Transjordanien die Opposition verlangen würde, daß er zuvor auf Toron verzichte. So mußte der Konstabler, ohne gleich die Rechte des Enkels auf Toron fahren zu lassen, den Versuch machen, für Toron eine zweiten männlichen Erben zu schaffen[64]. Seine Ehe mit Philippa von Antiochia diente sicher auch diesem Zweck, aber wegen des raschen Todes Philippas wurde nichts daraus und im April 1179 erlag auch der Konstabler tödlichen Verwundungen.

Humfred II. von Toron hatte um so mehr Anlaß zu der Befürchtung, daß man von Humfred IV. als Preis für Transjordanien den Verzicht auf Toron verlangen werde – auf das er tatsächlich schon im Jahr nach dem Tode des Konstablers im Zusammenhang mit seiner Verlobung mit der Königstochter Isabella verzichten mußte[65] –, als Rainald von Châtillon ja nicht nur Herr von Transjordanien, sondern auch Herr von Hebron war und man die Konzentration von Transjordanien, Hebron und Toron in der Hand Humfreds IV. schon gar nicht zulassen konnte. Nach allem, was wir über Hebron wissen, hatte Rainald diese Rechte nicht mit Stephanie geheiratet, denn für die Versicherung der *Lignages d'Outremer* (s. oben S. 66), schon Stephanies Vater Philipp von Nablus sei Herr von Hebron gewesen, gibt es keine Indizien. Ein schwacher Hinweis könnte es sein, daß eine Schenkung Philipps von Nablus für die Leprosen von St. Lazarus vor Jerusalem, die selbst verloren ist, nach Ausweis der Bestätigung des Grafen von Askalon von 1155 (RRH n° 308) vom Prior Roger von Hebron bezeugt wurde. Das kann aber durchaus durch den Zufall seiner Präsenz bewirkt worden sein, denn Philipp hatte den Leprosen das in Frage stehende Casale, das bei Bethgi-

[64] Einen zweiten männlichen Erben deshalb, weil Humfred IV. noch eine Zwillingsschwester hatte (ebd. XXI.4, S. 1009), die 1181/82 nach Kleinarmenien verheiratet wurde und damit aus den Erbüberlegungen ausschied; vgl. La chronique attribuée au connétable Smbat, übers. v. G. DÉDÉYAN (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 13; Paris 1980), 57.

[65] Wilhelm von Tyrus XXII.5, S. 1068f. Im Jahre 1181 treffen wir dann folgerichtig einen königlichen Kastellan in Toron und ein Jahr später verfügte der König über gewisse Einkünfte *ex tota terra Toroni* (RRH n° 606.615).

belin lag[66], schon während der Belagerung von Askalon 1153 geschenkt, und auch die Tatsache der Bestätigung durch den Grafen von Askalon erweist, daß es sich um Besitz in dieser Doppelgrafschaft handelte, nicht in der Kastellanie oder Seigneurie von Hebron, wie ja RRH n° 308 auch von den beiden Vizegrafen von Jaffa und Askalon bezeugt wurde. RRH n° 308 beweist also nur, daß die Millys nicht nur in Samaria begütert waren, sondern auch im Philisterlande, obwohl dieser Besitz erst im Zusammenhang mit der Eroberung Askalons 1153 erworben worden sein mag, als der König dort reichliche Landschenkungen machte[67].

Nun gibt es aber in der Tat Indizien dafür, daß die Millys auch Grundbesitz in Judaea hatten, und zwar in der Gegend von Hebron. Einzig dies könnte darauf hindeuten, daß bereits Philipp von Nablus Herr von Hebron war. Beyer[68] hat hierauf schon hingewiesen, aber nicht erkannt, daß eine genauere Betrachtung des Beweismaterials erstens Verdachtsmomente gegen dieses entstehen läßt und es zum anderen zu dem Schluß führt, daß dann nicht erst Philipp von Nablus, sondern bereits sein Vater Guido von Milly Herr (oder doch mindestens Kastellan) von Hebron gewesen sein müßte, wogegen die vorgeführte Abfolge der Adligen, die in Hebron eine leitende Funktion einnahmen, deutlich spricht. Für Guido von Milly bleibt in dieser Liste kein Platz. Guido schenkte vor 1118 dem Kloster S. Maria im Tal Josaphat das halbe Casale *Betamar in terra Ierusalem*, denn die Schenkung erfolgte noch mit Zustimmung des 1118 verstorbenen Königs Balduin I.; sie wurde 1130 von Balduin II. bestätigt, woher wir davon wissen (RRH n° 134). In der Besitzbestätigung Balduins I. von 1115 (RRH n° 80) wird Betamar noch nicht genannt, wohl aber als einzige erwähnte Schenkung Guidos von Milly eine Zuwendung unspezifizierter Ländereien und Weinberge im Gebiet von Jerusalem. Da in RRH n° 80 und 134 jeweils nur eine Schenkung Guidos von Milly erwähnt wird, liegt es nahe, die Schenkung von Ländern und Weinbergen mit derjenigen des halben Casales Betamar zu identifizieren, die dann schon vor 1115 erfolgt wäre. Nimmt man diese Gleichsetzung vor, dann braucht man sich nicht weiter mit dem Problem von RRH n° 134 aufzuhalten, das uns viel Grund zur Nachdenklichkeit gegeben hat[69]. Wir haben uns entschlossen, an der Echtheit von RRH n° 134 festzuhalten, freilich mit der Kautele, daß bei der Ausstellung die Kanzlei entweder flüchtig arbeitete oder aber mit Konnivenz des Königs in sehr großzügiger Weise dem Kloster Dinge bestätigte, die ihm nur teilweise zustanden.

Die Erwähnungen von Betamar sind damit noch nicht beendet. In einer Urkunde aus dem Jahre 1180 (RRH n° 596) schenkte *Reginaldus quondam princeps Anthiochensis, nunc autem per dei gratiam Montis Regalis et Hebron dominus et uxor mea domina Stephania* der Abtei Josaphat die zweite Hälfte des Casales und tat kund, daß Guido von Milly einst die erste Hälfte gegeben habe. Nach ihm hätten Philipp von Nablus und seine Brüder Guido Francigena und Heinrich der Büffel diese Schenkung bestätigt und diese Bestätigung mit dem königlichen Siegel besiegeln lassen. Es handelt sich um *Bēt Ummar* (Palestine Grid 160.114), 10 Kilometer nördlich von Hebron, wo die Tradition seit dem 8. Jh. das Grab des Vaters des Propheten Jona ansiedelte[70]. Während *Bēt Ummar* 1180 eindeutig zur Herrschaft Hebron gehörte, wird es in RRH n° 134 nebst seiner Nachurkunde RRH n° 291 von 1152

[66] Mayer, Bistümer (Anm. 21), 130 Anm. 25.
[67] Wilhelm von Tyrus XVII.30, S. 813.
[68] ZDPV 65 (Anm. 1), 171.197.
[69] Mayer, Bistümer, 314–340.
[70] Lokalisierung durch Beyer, ZDPV 65 (Anm. 1), 197, der richtig darauf hinwies, daß der Ort nicht verwechselt werden dürfe mit dem zum Bistum Bethlehem gehörenden Casale *Bethamar – Ḫirbet Bēt Ta'āmire* (Palestine Grid 172/121).

XVIII

noch *in terra Ierusalem* lokalisiert. Dies ist zunächst ein weiterer Hinweis darauf, daß die Herrschaftsbildung in Hebron keinesfalls vor 1152 einsetzte, denn bis zur Ausgliederung Hebrons als Seigneurie aus der Krondomäne konnte man *Bēt Ummar* zu Judaea und damit zum Krondomänenbezirk Jerusalem rechnen.

Wenn Rainald von Châtillon 1180 über ein Casale dicht bei Hebron verfügte, so tat er dies als der dortige Seigneur, und er stellt sich überdies in der Urkunde als der dortige Rechtsnachfolger Guidos von Milly und seines Sohnes Philipp von Nablus dar, dessen Tochter Stephanie von Milly – mit der gemeinsam er RRH n° 596 ausstellte – er geheiratet hatte. Man sollte meinen, daß dies zusammen mit der Darstellung der *Lignages d'Outremer* die Angelegenheit dahin entschiede, daß Philipp von Nablus tatsächlich Herr von Hebron war. Aber er wäre es in der Nachfolge seines Vaters Guido von Milly gewesen, und für Guido, der bis 1126 erwähnt ist (RRH n° 113), ist – wir sagten es schon – in der Abfolge der Kastellane von Hebron kein Platz. Aber man kann auch die Urkunden der Abtei Josaphat fast nirgends kritisch betrachten, ohne auf Ungereimtheiten zu stoßen. Es ist seit langem bekannt, daß das Kloster im Orient und in Sizilien reichlich und virtuos gefälscht hat. Auch hier stößt man sofort auf Unmöglichkeiten. Die Urkunde RRH n° 596 Rainalds von Châtillon von 1180 ist ausgestellt mit Zustimmung *Hanfredi prefate domine Stephanie filii et uxoris eius Elisabeth filie regis Ierusalem*. Es handelt sich um Humfred IV. von Toron und Isabella, die Tochter des Königs Amalrich (I.) aus seiner zweiten Ehe mit Maria Komnena. Daß hier von ihr als Elisabeth die Rede ist, braucht uns nicht zu stören, denn die beiden Namen wurden im Hl. Land auch sonst häufig synonym verwendet. Daß Isabella aber 1180 als *uxor* Humfreds IV. bezeichnet wird, ist unmöglich. Sie wurde 1180 überhaupt erst mit ihm verlobt, und die Hochzeit fand erst 1183 statt[71]. Sie hätte also richtigerweise als *sponsa* bezeichnet werden müssen. Wenn man die Urkunde natürlich erst nach der Hochzeit herstellte, dann wäre der Fehler leicht zu erklären, denn nicht nur war Isabella 1183–1190 tatsächlich die Gemahlin Humfreds IV., sondern diese 1190 in einem Justizskandal aufgelöste Ehe war noch lange Gegenstand politischer Debatten und kurialer Prozesse (s. oben Anm. 56), eben weil die Scheidung unter den dubiosesten Umständen erfolgt war und an Isabella seit dem Tode ihrer Halbschwester Sibille 1190 sämtliche Thronfolgerechte in Jerusalem hingen. Daß Isabella einst die Gemahlin Humfreds IV. gewesen war, geriet lange Zeit nicht in Vergessenheit. Daß sie 1180 nur seine Braut gewesen war, war daneben kaum bemerkenswert. Auch die Formulierung *damus ... casalis reliquam medietatem et in perpetuum cum terra vineis oleis nemore* macht sprachlich keinen sehr guten Eindruck: *et in perpetuum* wirkt im Satzgefüge verstellt. Schließlich wußte der Fälscher auch nicht anzugeben, welcher König von Jerusalem denn sein Siegel an die Vorurkunde Philipps von Nablus gehängt hatte, wie denn überhaupt diese Vorurkunde in dem an sich recht gut erhaltenen Archiv von Josaphat fehlt. In Betracht kämen die Könige Fulko, Balduin III. oder Amalrich (I.).

Gegen eine Fälschung spricht, daß dem Kloster die zweite Hälfte von *Bēt Ummar* für eine Gegenleistung geschenkt wurde. Diese bestand darin, daß aus den Erträgen von *Bēt Ummar* ein Mönch mit Priesterweihe unterhalten werden mußte, der täglich einen Gottesdienst abzuhalten hatte. Aber das Kloster mußte seine Mönche so oder so unterhalten. Es spielte keine Rolle, aus welchen Erträgen der Unterhalt kam, denn anders als ein Chorherr hatte ein Mönch ja keine Individualpfründe, sondern lebte aus dem gemeinsamen Klostervermögen. Die Auflage des Unterhaltes eines ordinierten Mönches belastete das Kloster also in keiner Weise zusätzlich, denn es wurde ja nicht verpflichtet, etwa eine zusätzliche

[71] Wilhelm von Tyrus XXI.5. XXII.28, S. 1068, 1124f.

Mönchsstelle einzurichten. Daneben sind die anderen Gegenleistungen belanglos: eine Öllampe, die Tag und Nacht vor dem Mariengrab brennen soll, und eine Kerze, die bei der Messe, der Vesper und der Matutin brennen muß. Wir halten also RRH n° 596 für unecht, zumal das Casale *Bēt Ummar* in den päpstlichen Besitzbestätigungen für Josaphat überhaupt nicht erwähnt wird, obwohl diese schon mit dem Jahr 1154 einsetzen. Scheidet man RRH n° 596 als unecht aus, dann bleibt von der Stellung der Millys (oder doch wenigstens Philipps von Nablus) als Seigneurs von Hebron nichts. Was bleibt, ist lediglich die in RRH n° 80. 134 bezeugte Tatsache, daß bereits Guido von Milly, Philipps Vater, bei Hebron Streubesitz hatte, dessen er sich zugunsten Josaphats entledigte. Eine seigneuriale Position in Hebron kann daraus nicht hergeleitet werden.

Wohl aber war Humfred II. von Toron, wie wir erstmals gezeigt haben (oben S. 71), 1148/49 Kastellan von Hebron. In den Seigneurien, die wie Scandalion oder Ramla mehr aus einer Burg als aus einer Stadt erwuchsen, war natürlich die Kastellanie immer ein möglicher Keim einer Seigneurie. Wenn jemand einen Anspruch auf Hebron hatte, so waren es die Torons, nicht die Millys. Aber Rainald von Châtillon ist der erste, der als Herr von Hebron bezeichnet wird. Er ist der erste Herr von Hebron, das erst unter ihm 1177 den Rang einer Herrschaft erhielt, obwohl es bereits 1168 zum Bistum erhoben worden war. Natürlich müssen wir unterstellen, daß Rainald diese zweite Erhebung seinem Einfluß in dem Zirkel der Königinmutter Agnes von Courtenay zuzuschreiben hatte, von wo aus der lepröse König Balduin IV. gelenkt wurde; die Erhebung Rainalds zum Herrn von Hebron ging aber zu Lasten der Torons, wenn deren Rechte nicht ausdrücklich gewahrt worden sein sollten. Auch mußte sie ja irgendwie begründet werden, und die naheliegendste Begründung war, daß Rainald bei seiner Eheschließung mit Stephanie als neuer Stiefvater Humfreds IV. seinerseits die Ansprüche der Torons auf Hebron geltend machte[72]. Das hatte für Rainald den Vorteil, daß er etwaigen Erben aus seiner Ehe mit Stephanie immer noch Hebron zuwenden konnte, wenn Humfred IV. seinen Anspruch auf Transjordanien durchsetzen sollte. Oder umgekehrt: Rainald konnte, wenn er seine eigenen Kinder, die er erhoffte, aber nicht bekam, in Transjordanien durchsetzte, Humfred IV. mit Toron und Hebron abspeisen, schließlich sogar mit dem wirtschaftlich ertragsstarken Hebron allein, wenn Humfred aus irgendwelchen Gründen, wie es 1180 tatsächlich erfolgte, auf Toron verzichten mußte.

Aber natürlich ließ der Konstabler die Ansprüche der Torons auf Hebron nicht einfach fahren. In abgestufter Reihenfolge mußte er darauf sehen, daß sein Enkel Humfred IV. entweder Transjordanien und Hebron oder Transjordanien allein oder wenigstens Hebron erhalten werde. Da aber schon bei der zweiten Lösung zu befürchten stand, daß Humfred IV. auf Toron würde verzichten müssen, galt dies erst recht für die erste, möglicherweise auch für die dritte Lösung. Um so drängender war es für den Konstabler 1177, eine zweite Ehe einzugehen und aus dieser noch Kinder zu haben.

Alle diese Rechnungen gingen nicht auf. Rainald von Châtillon hatte aus seiner Ehe mit Stephanie von Milly keine Kinder, Humfred II. keine aus seiner Ehe mit Philippa von Antiochia. Und schließlich wurde Humfred IV. schon ein Jahr nach dem Tode seines Vaters zu

[72] Dies konnte er umso eher, als er im Hinblick auf Humfred IV. diejenige Stellung erreichte, die schon Milo von Plancy angestrebt hatte, der sich 1174 bemühte, *sires del fill* der Stephanie von Milly, d. h. Vormund oder jedenfalls Rechtsvertreter Humfreds IV., zu werden (Wilhelm von Tyrus XXI. 4, S. 1009 [altfranzösische Übersetzung]). Ob er es tatsächlich wurde, steht dahin. Aber 1183 bezeichnete Humfred IV. in RRH n° 628 seinen Stiefvater Rainald von Châtillon als *dominus meus*. Es kann sich freilich hier nicht mehr um eine Vormundschaft gehandelt haben, da Humfred jetzt ganz sicher volljährig war. Die Natur der Rechtsbeziehung muß also offen bleiben, aber daß eine solche bestand, kann nicht bezweifelt werden.

einem Erbverzicht in Toron bewogen, womit er seine wesentlich größeren Expektanzen in Transjordanien und Hebron zu retten versuchte. Toron ging an die Königinmutter Agnes von Courtenay[73], die mit Toron zur Abrundung des Besitzes ihres Bruders Joscelin III. nordöstlich von Akkon wesentlich mehr anfangen konnte als etwa mit Hebron. Dieses ging 1187 ebenso auf Dauer verloren wie 1188–1189 Transjordanien und war also lediglich zehn Jahre eine wirkliche Baronie des Königreiches Jerusalem gewesen, erwachsen aus den Ansprüchen der Familie Toron als Kastellane von Hebron, verwaltet aber ausschließlich von Rainald von Châtillon als Stiefvater Humfreds IV. von Toron.

[73] Ibn Jobair, Voyages, übers. v. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 6; Paris 1953–56), 352.

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In the papers in this volume some names appear in various orthographical forms (e.g. Jean, Johann, Johannes, John or Peter, Petrus, Pierre). As a rule such names are listed in this index only under their usual English form. Place names with San, Saint, Sanctus, Sankt, Santo are found under St.

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